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For the YEAR 1814.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, TASTE
SCIENCE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of GEORGE

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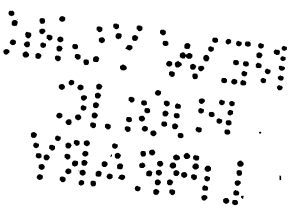

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PREFACE.

AT length the peace, but, we are doubtful whether we can add the independence, of Europe, is restored. How much Britain has contributed towards this event, which, to the hope and foresight of man, a very few years ago, seemed barely possible, the pages of our Register have recorded: it may be, that she stirred up the contest against revolutionary France at first, without due and just provocation on her part, and that, more than once, she urged on the powers of the continent to an unequal and unfortunate contest, when they had been exhausted by their previous efforts:—for this she may be censured;—but she has deserved (we wish we could say, with confidence, or even with much hope, that she will receive) the gratitude of Europe, for her perseverance, for the sacrifices which she has made, and for the comparatively small degree of selfishness and ambition which she has exhibited in all she has done and suffered.

The sacrifices which Britain has made, the sufferings she has undergone, are yet but imperfectly known even to herself;—they are, however, beginning to be felt; she is reduced to the necessity of

either resigning her own agriculture, by the free and unrestricted importation of foreign corn, or of obliging her inhabitants to eat their bread at double the price which it cost before the commencement of the first revolutionary war: to this necessity she is reduced by the immense load of debt, which in the cause of Europe, rather than in her own, she has contracted in little more than twenty years. In our present volume, we have adverted to the subject of the corn laws, and the continuance of the property tax: the latter, notwithstanding some objections to the principle of it, and several to the details of its management, we cannot but consider as having one of the best characteristics of a tax; viz. that it is levied on the income, and not on the expenditure, of the people: the subject of the corn laws we shall again have occasion to discuss; since, now that our pages will not be filled, we hope, with warlike exploits, the œconomical and financial history of our country, and of the other countries of Europe, must claim a larger portion of our volumes.

In the present volume, besides those subjects connected with Britain, we have also detailed the particulars of the trial of Lord Cochrane, and of that arrangement with the Princess of Wales, which induced or enabled her to leave the country. In our remarks on Lord Cochrane's trial, we have endeavoured to show that it has more than a temporary interest; and that it ought to give rise to some important amendments in our criminal code: the subject of the Princess of Wales we have adverted to, principally, because it seemed necessary to bring to a proper conclusion what we had formerly recorded respecting her.

Besides

Besides the details of those military events which, in France, completed the overthrow of Bonaparte, and filled up the measure of the Duke of Wellington's fame, we have endeavoured to point out the consequences which the French revolution has produced on France itself, and on the different countries which had been conquered by France, as impartially as we could, holding the balance between the good and evil. We are sorry to say, that the country for which we have done and suffered the most, will, we are afraid, be the least benefited, and the least grateful:—it is scarcely necessary to add, that we allude to Spain.

Though the result of the congress of Vienna is not known, we have thought proper to offer some remarks on those points which were to come before it; especially on the cases of Poland, Saxony, and the German and Italian States.

The short war between Sweden and Norway forms another topic of this volume. We trust that the union of the two countries will prove advantageous and acceptable to the Norwegians; but we must say, if this be the result, that it will be good springing from evil.

The last topic which engaged our attention, is, to this country, perhaps the most important one; we allude to the peace between the United States and Britain. In the contest we certainly gained no glory: we have taught the Americans to fight well, by the inadequacy of the means we employed: we united against us that portion of the inhabitants

which before were our friends, by our impolitic, not to say our unjustifiable, mode of warfare;—and then we were glad to make peace. May that peace be lasting between two countries, not only so closely related, but the only two countries possessing liberty, and which have it so much in their power to benefit each other!

February 14, 1815.

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BRITISH

THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, TASTE, AND SCIENCE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

[Continued from the last Volume.]

AMONG the great discoverers in the science of chemistry who have flourished during the present reign we had occasion to mention the name of Priestley, to which we shall again advert. No man ever entered upon any business with less apparent means of success than Dr. Priestley when he engaged in chemical experiments. He was unacquainted with the principles of the science, excepting that he had some years before attended to a popular course delivered at Liverpool. He was in possession of no apparatus, nor acquainted with the method of performing chemical experiments; and his circumstances were so narrow, that he could not afford to expend much in obtaining what he wanted. This state of things, which seemed so adverse, was perhaps of considerable benefit to him, and contributed not a little to his success. The branch of chemistry which he selected, viz. that which related to the gases, was new: an apparatus must be invented before any thing of importance could be effected; and as simplicity is essential in every apparatus, he was likely to contrive the best, who was obliged to attend to economical considerations.—Though, as we have observed in the preceding volume, the

investigation of the properties of air had been prosecuted with considerable success by Mr. Boyle; though Hales had demonstrated the possibility of extracting air from a great variety of substances by very simple processes; and though Dr. Black had ascertained that the air which exists in limestone and that which is separated during the fermentation of malt liquors possess properties different from the common air,—it can scarcely be said that pneumatic chemistry was properly begun till Mr. Cavendish published his valuable paper on carbonic acid and hydrogen gas in 1766. He first pointed out the method of examining the properties of gaseous bodies, and invented an apparatus for the purpose. Dr. Priestley was the inventor of the apparatus which is still used, with but small variations, by chemists in their experiments on the different kinds of air; it is admitted to be greatly superior to that of Mr. Cavendish, and is perhaps as convenient as can be expected or even desired. If we were indebted to him for nothing else than this apparatus, it would deservedly raise his name very high.

Of the discoveries of this philosopher we have already given a hasty sketch: we shall now advert to those of sir Humphry Davy.

By far the most important agency of galvanism, is that by which it gives rise to chemical decomposition. Of all the forces which counteract attraction, and of course subvert combination, it is the most energetic; and as by enlarging the apparatus producing it, it may be accumulated to any degree of intensity, there is apparently no limitation to its power. Chemistry has thus been put in possession of an agent more powerful than any it before possessed, and the most splendid discoveries have been already effected by its application. Mr. (now sir Humphry) Davy, led by the knowledge of the law by which the agency of this power in producing decomposition is regulated, submitted to its action a number of substances, the composition of which was, previously to this, entirely unknown. The application was successful. The chemical constitution of the alkalies, the earths, and certain acids, has been established,

established, and a series of substances discovered, before unknown, and possessed of very peculiar properties: new views have been unfolded with regard to the nature of others formerly considered as simple, and relations developed which must have an extensive influence on the theory of science.

It may be observed, that the decomposition of compounds by the action of galvanism is obtained by placing them in connection with metallic wires, proceeding from the two extremities of the galvanic battery. The elements of the compound are separated, and may be obtained in their insulated form. If the wires, for instance, are placed in water, the elements of the water are immediately disjoined, and as they are gaseous bodies they assume the elastic form, and are disengaged. Other compound liquids are decomposed with equal facility, as are likewise many solids. These decompositions presented considerable difficulties with regard to their theory, particularly from the singular phenomenon which had been observed, that the elements of the compound when decomposed are not evolved together, but that one is given out at the wire connected with one extremity of the galvanic battery, and the other at the wire connected with the opposite side; and this even when the wires are placed in separate portions of the compound, provided these are connected by a conductor of galvanism. To account for this, different hypotheses were framed. At length it was perceived that when electricity passes through a liquid, the principles or elements of that liquid separate themselves in such a manner, that some unite around the positive pole, and others around the negative; inflammable bodies, alkalies, and earths, passing to the negative; oxygen, acids, and oxidated bodies passing to the positive. On this same principle, that the one pole of a galvanic series attracts certain elements, while the other pole attracts the others, an explanation was given of the decomposition of water, and of metallic solutions, by galvanism; oxygen being attracted to the positive, hydrogen and metals to the negative side. By the researches of sir H. Davy, this law has been more clearly developed, more fully established, and its agency better traced.

The law is this: that different chemical agents have such a relation to galvanism, that some are attracted forcibly to the positive, others to the negative side of the galvanic battery: oxygen and those compounds in which it is most predominant, particularly the acids, being attracted to the former; while inflammable bodies, metals, metallic oxides, and the earths are attracted to the latter: or, as the law is stated by sir Humphry Davy, galvanism and electricity being considered as identical, certain substances, as those above enumerated, are attracted by positively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by similar surfaces negatively electrified; while other bodies are attracted by negatively electrified metallic surfaces, and repelled by those which are in a positive state. In consequence of this law, if the compound of oxygen and an inflammable body be subjected to the action of galvanism, the oxygen is attracted by the wire in the positive state, while it is repelled by that which is negative; and, on the other hand, the inflammable ingredient is attracted by the negative wire, and repelled by the other.

The experiments by which these results and the law deduced from them have been established are decisive; but into a description of them we cannot enter. It may, however, be observed, that there has not, in the progress of chemical investigation, been a more brilliant series of discoveries than those effected by sir Humphry Davy, by the application of galvanism. They have not only extended the boundaries of chemistry, by the decomposition of a number of substances the analysis of which had not before been effected; and by the introduction of others before unknown, possessed of very peculiar and active powers, but they present views extensively connected with the relations of the science, and which will unquestionably influence its future progress.

Among the classes of chemical agents, the alkalies and earths are strictly connected by their general powers, and they possess, in particular, to the same extent, the most important property by which they are characterized. The leading property distinctive of the alkalies is displayed in their relations to the

the acids: these two classes are in a measure opposed to each other: in entering into combination, the acids always diminish the alkaline properties; the alkalies are equally subversive of the property of acidity; and, when united in a certain proportion, the properties of neither appear in the compound. The same agency is exerted by the earths, and the metallic oxides. Thus, in the most important chemical character of these substances, that displayed in their relation to acids, the alkalies, earths and metallic oxides are strictly connected; and the constitution of the last being known, analogy would have led to the conclusion that the others are of a similar nature, or that the earths and alkalies consist of metallic bases combined with oxygen. At length the discoveries of sir Humphry Davy have fully established the analogy, and have demonstrably proved that they consist of metallic bases combined with oxygen. After these discoveries, ammonia appeared insulated in composition, though in its properties so strictly connected with the alkalies. Sir H. Davy, however, upon submitting it to a new analysis, discovered, what had not before been suspected, viz. that oxygen enters into its composition, and further experiments have shown that its base is of a metallic nature: thus, the analogy which connects all the substances, distinguished by the important chemical property of neutralizing acids, into one series, is extended to their composition; and all the salifiable bases, as they have been named, comprehending the alkalies, earths, and metallic oxides, are shown to be of similar chemical constitution. This must be regarded as a most happy generalization established by the genius and labours of one philosopher.

The experiment which exhibited to this great chemist the decomposition of one of the fixed alkalies is thus described by himself: "A small piece of pure potash, sufficiently moistened by the atmospheric air to give a conducting power to the surface, was placed upon an insulated disk of platina, connected with the negative side of the battery, in a state of intense activity, and a platina wire, communicating with the positive side, was brought in contact with the upper surface of the alkali. Under these circumstances a vivid action was

soon observed to take place. The potash began to fuse at both its points of electrization. There was a violent effervescence at the upper surface; at the lower, or negative surface, there was no liberation of elastic fluid; but small globules having a high metallic lustre, and being precisely similar in visible characters to quicksilver, appeared; some of these burnt with an explosion and bright flame as soon as they were formed, and others remained, were tarnished, and finally covered by a white film which formed on their surfaces."

The platina was found to have no share in the production of this new metallic substance, as it was equally produced when other metals or even charcoal were employed for completing the electrical circuit. By these analytic experiments potash is proved to be a compound of a peculiar substance, highly inflammable and having metallic lustre, and oxygen. This has likewise been confirmed by further experiments: it is found that the pure alkaline substance consists of about 86 parts of metallic base and 14 of oxygen. The metallic base has been named by the discoverer, *Potassium:* this substance at the temperature of 60° of Fahrenheit appears in small globules, very like the globules of quicksilver, and at this temperature it is imperfectly fluid: but at 70° it is more liquid and mobile, and at 100° it is so completely fluid that the different globules easily run into one. At 50° it becomes solid and malleable, and at 32° it is harder and even brittle, displaying when broken a crystallized texture. Though so fusible, it is not very volatile, but requires a temperature approaching to a red heat to convert it into vapour. It is a perfect conductor of electricity, and is a good conductor of heat. In regard to its specific gravity it is lighter than water, or even alkohol, or ether, being in respect to water in the proportion of 6 to 10. In its solid form it is rather heavier.

Potassium, when brought into contact with water, decomposes it with great violence; an explosion is produced with flame, and potash is again formed. Placed on ice, it instantly burns with a bright flame, melting the ice. So strong is the action of this substance on water, that it discovers, by the decomposition

composition which it produces, the smallest quantity of water in other liquids, as in alkohol, or ether.—These are some of the remarkable properties of potassium.

Previously to sir Humphry Davy's discoveries, the nature of SODA, the other fixed alkali, was as completely unknown as that of potash; but when a small portion of this substance was submitted to the action of the galvanic battery, in the same way as the potash had been operated upon, the results were similar, viz. globules of a metallic appearance were produced at the negative surface, which often burnt at the moment of their formation, and sometimes exploded with violence, separating into smaller globules which darted through the air in a state of vivid combustion. When they were produced, an aëriform fluid was disengaged at the positive surface, which proved to be pure oxygen. To effect this decomposition, a greater intensity of galvanic action was required than was necessary to decompose potass. The reproduction of soda from this substance was similar to that of the potass from the metallic base of that alkali. When the base of soda was exposed to the air, a crust of alkali formed on its surface, and oxygen was absorbed. When heated in a portion of oxygen gas a rapid combustion took place, accompanied with a brilliant white flame, and soda was produced in the state of a solid white mass. The philosopher found that 100 parts of soda consist of about 78·5 of base and 21·5 of oxygen; of course the metallic base of soda combines with a larger proportion of oxygen than the base of potass. This base from its analogy to metals was named by the discoverer SODIUM. It is, in appearance, white and opaque, something like silver. It is exceedingly malleable, and much softer than any of the common metallic substances. When pressed upon by a blade of platina with a small force it spreads into thin leaves, and a globule of the $\frac{1}{10}$th or $\frac{1}{12}$th of an inch in diameter is easily spread over a surface of a quarter of an inch. It is a good conductor of heat and electricity. Its specific gravity is less than that of water, or nearly in the proportion of 9 to 10. When sodium is exposed to the atmosphere, it immediately tarnishes, and by degrees becomes covered with a white crust, which deliquesces

much more slowly than the substance which forms on the base of potass. This crust is very pure soda. It combines slowly with oxygen, and without any luminous appearance, at common temperatures; and when heated, this combination becomes more rapid; but no light is emitted till it has acquired a temperature nearly that of ignition. The flame that it produces in oxygen-gas is white, and it sends forth bright sparks; in common air, it burns with light of the colour of that produced during the combustion of charcoal, but brighter. When thrown upon water, it produces a violent effervescence, with a loud hissing noise; it combines with the oxygen of the water and forms soda, which is dissolved, and the hydrogen of the fluid escapes.

Sodium when thrown upon strong acids acts upon them with great energy. It combines with metals; and in the quantity of only the $\frac{1}{100}$th part, it renders mercury a fixed solid of the colour of silver, and the combination is attended with a considerable degree of heat. It makes an alloy with tin, and it acts upon gold and lead when heated.

AMMONIA was regarded as a compound of hydrogen and oxygen; it has been found by sir Humphry Davy to be a compound of oxygen and a metallic base possessing the most curious properties. Among others it combines with mercury and renders that fluid metal solid, though only the twelve-thousandth part of the ammonium be used with the mercury; it not only renders the compound solid, but has the effect of reducing the specific gravity from 13, which is that of pure mercury, to 3. In this discovery he was, in some degree, preceded by the Swedish chemists, who from their experiments, to which they had been led by those of Davy, inferred the metallic nature of the base of ammonia, from which they concluded that of the two gases which constitute that alkali.

The discoveries of our English chemist being announced to the public, the experiments which led to them were soon repeated by the philosophers of other countries, and it was unexpectedly

unexpectedly found by the chemists of France that the decomposition of the alkalies was easier than was at first imagined, and might be effected by other ways than electric agency.

The galvanic battery being applied to lime, strontites, and barytes, in the same manner as it had been to the alkalies, a decomposition was observed to take place. Gas was evolved and metallic globules were produced in contact with the negative wires. But this process could not be completed so as to show the nature of the products in a satisfactory manner. Potassium, being heated in contact with the alkaline earths, seemed to act upon them, but not to effect their decomposition. Mixtures of potash with the earths, acted upon by the galvanic battery, showed signs of decomposition. Metallic bodies were produced less fusible than potassium, burning immediately after their formation, and reproducing the mixture of the alkali and earth employed. While our author was engaged in repeating and varying his attempts to effect the decomposition more readily, he received a letter from Professor Berzelius of Stockholm, stating that he and Dr. Pontin had completed the process with great ease by other means.

By combining the Swedish method with his own, sir H. Davy obtained, in considerable quantities, the amalgams of mercury and the bases of the earths. He placed on platina a mixture of the earth, on which his trials were to be made, and the oxide of mercury; in this mixture he made a cavity, in which he poured a globule of mercury, and then by the action of the battery it was converted into the amalgam required. The metallic bases thus obtained, in general, resemble one another: they are solid, excepting at high temperatures: they are however of a greater specific gravity than water; have a high metallic lustre, resembling that of silver, and require a considerable force to flatten them. When exposed to oxygen, they absorb it greedily and return to their native earths.

With silex, argil, zircon and glucine, the success was much

much less perfect; but when they were submitted to the action of galvanism, combined with potass and soda in fusion, appearances were obtained which indicated their decomposition, and the production of bases of a metallic nature. Hence it is inferred that all the earths are compounds of bases somewhat analogous to those of the fixed alkalies.

We may give the analysis of the earth barytes as an illustration of the methods adopted in the case of the others. Sir H. Davy by placing barytes slightly moistened, either alone, or mixed with potass, in the galvanic circuit, obtained indistinct appearances of metallization; but the complete reduction was best obtained, as has been remarked, in the mode of experiment performed by Berzelius and Pontin, negatively electrifying the earth in contact with quicksilver. On repeating this experiment with a powerful galvanic battery, it was found, that the mercury became less fluid; on exposing this amalgam to the air, it was covered with a film of barytes; and when thrown into water, hydrogen was disengaged, and barytes formed: a similar result was obtained from some of the saline combinations of barytes, as the muriate.

Sir H. Davy, having found that the presence of an oxide of mercury favoured the decomposition of barytes, combined this method with that of the Swedish chemists. The earth slightly moistened, and mixed with one-third of red oxide of mercury, was placed on a plate of platina, having a cavity to receive a globule of mercury; the whole was covered by a film of naphtha, and the plate was made positive, the mercury negative, by communication with a very powerful galvanic battery. An amalgam was thus obtained; and to procure from this the base of the barytes it was distilled in a tube of glass, bent in the middle, and enlarged, and rendered globular at each extremity, so as to form a kind of retort and receiver; a little naphtha too having been introduced into the tube, and boiled, so as to exclude the air. The quicksilver rose pure by distillation; but it was very difficult to obtain a complete decomposition, a red heat being required for this, and at this heat the base of the earth acted on the glass.

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The result therefore was less perfect than those with regard to the bases of the alkalies; and there remained the uncertainty but that the metallic base procured might have retained in combination a little quicksilver. To the metallic matter obtained from barytes, sir H. Davy has given the name of Barium.

Barium, as obtained by the experiment above described, appeared as a white metal of the colour of silver. It was fixed at all common temperatures, but became fluid at a heat below redness, and did not rise in vapour when heated to redness in a tube of glass. It acted, however, violently on the glass, producing a black mass, which seemed to contain barytes and a fixed alkaline base in the first degree of oxygenation. When exposed to air, it rapidly tarnished, and fell into a white powder, which was barytes; and when this process was conducted in a small portion of air, oxygen was absorbed. When the base was dropt into water, it acted on it with great violence, sunk to the bottom, producing barytes, and generating hydrogen gas. It not only sunk in water, but even in sulphuric acid, though surrounded by globules of hydrogen: hence it is concluded that it cannot be less than four or five times heavier than water. Whether it owe this in part to a little mercury combined with it is uncertain. It flattened by pressure, but required for this purpose a considerable force.

Our chemist endeavoured to ascertain the proportions of base and of oxygen in the composition of barytes, but without success. He ascertained, however, that when burned in a small quantity of air, it absorbed oxygen, gained weight in the process, and the earth produced was in the driest state. The conclusion follows, therefore, that barytes is a compound of this base with oxygen.

The decomposition of strontites was effected by the same modes of galvanic analysis, as those applied to the other earths. By negatively electrifying it in contact with mercury, the phenomena denoting the decomposition of the earth and the

the addition of metallic matter to the mercury rapidly took place; and by employing the process which has just been described with respect to barytes, the metallic base of strontites was obtained. Strontium, for so this base was named, has the general characters of the base resulting from barytes, and by exposure to the air it absorbs the oxygen from it, gains weight, and is converted to the original earth. It is of a considerable specific gravity. Without pursuing the analysis of the other earths, which would be but a repetition, or at least with very little variation, of what has already been said, we may conclude our account of the brilliant discoveries of sir Humphry, which do so much honour to the present era, with observing that one object of research was suggested to our author by a very important experiment of the Swedish chemists, already mentioned. "These ingenious philosophers found, that mercury, placed in contact with a solution of ammonia, and negatively electrified, expands in volume, and becomes a soft solid;—that this solid, on exposure to air, absorbs oxygen, and reproduces ammonia and mercury;—that water is decompounded by it, giving out hydrogen gas, and leaving a solution of ammonia and mercury. The conclusion naturally drawn from this curious experiment was, that ammonia is, as sir H. Davy himself had formerly supposed, an oxide with a double basis, composed of hydrogen and nitrogen; but it seems to show also, that this double basis possesses *metallic* properties. So unexpected a light could not fail to attract the quick and discerning eyes of our author; and he lost no time in pursuing the track into which it plainly led him. His first repetition of the Swedish experiment suggested a very material improvement on it—the substitution of neutral salt of ammonia, whereby the deoxygenation and amalgamation are effected in the nascent state of that alkali, and are, consequently, more easily performed. His process was thus the same with that formerly described for deoxygenating the earths; only, that instead of sulphates or muriates of those earths, he exhibited muriate of ammonia. 'The action,' says he, 'of the quicksilver on the salt was immediate. A strong effervescence with much heat took place. The globule in a few minutes had enlarged to five times its former

former dimensions, and had the appearance of an amalgam of zinc; and metallic crystallizations shot from it as a centre, round the body of the salt. They had an arborescent appearance; often became coloured at their points of contact with the muriate; and, when the connexion was broken, rapidly disappeared, emitting ammoniacal fumes, and reproducing quicksilver.' Carbonate of ammonia gave the same result; only that a manifest decomposition of the acid, and production of carbonaceous matter, accompanies the other phenomena in this case. The bases of the alkalis and earths, united with mercury, and exhibited in this state to ammonia, supplied the place of electricity, and formed an amalgam of the bases of ammonia and mercury. A little of the basis here used for the purpose of deoxygenating the ammonia, adhered to it in the amalgam; but, independently of this consideration, our author seems to think, that the experiment in question unites more of the ammoniacal basis to mercury, than the process of deoxygenation by electricity. He does not mention, though we must presume, that, in this ingenious and beautiful experiment, the fixed alkalis or earths are reproduced.

"The singular amalgam discovered by the Swedish chemists may thus be obtained with great ease, either by the agency of electricity, or by double elective affinity. But our author preferred the former method, because it is not attended with the admixture of any third substance, giving the amalgam composed solely of mercury, and the bases of ammonia. Having procured a sufficient quantity of it in this way, he examined it by various simple and satisfactory trials. Its principal properties are the following. At 70° or 80° this body has the consistence of butter;—at the freezing point it hardens and crystallizes;—it is not quite three times heavier than water. In water, it absorbs oxygen, causing hydrogen gas to be evolved. In air, it likewise absorbs oxygen; and, in both cases, ammonia and quicksilver are reproduced. In sulphuric acid, it becomes coated with sulphate of ammonia and sulphur. Sixty grains of mercury are amalgamated by.

by $\frac{1}{100}$ part of a grain of the compound basis, or $\frac{1}{10000}$ of the weight of the mercury *."

This valuable paper our author concludes with some general speculations concerning the theory of alkaline and earthy bodies, as elucidated by the discoveries which we have now considered. "His observations," say the writers in the Edinburgh Review, "are always ingenious; and whatever comes from so great a discoverer, one so strict in his experimental investigations, and so successful in generalizing them, ought to be received with singular respect. Nevertheless, we shall not follow him through the whole of his queries and reflections, highly useful as they are likely to prove. We shall only state what we conceive to be the legitimate inferences from his experiments, and then notice a few of his most prominent observations. It is clearly proved, that the fixed alkalis, and the alkaline earths, are metallic oxides; and the proportion of their bases is nearly as well ascertained as those of several metals known for ages to philosophers, and in common life. That alumin, zircon, glucine, and silex, are also metallic oxides, seems highly probable; but their decomposition has not yet been so completely effected as to render this point altogether certain; and, respecting the metals which seem to constitute their bases, we can scarcely be said to know any thing with precision. It is demonstrated, that ammonia is a compound of oxygen, with hydrogen and nitrogen; and that when the oxygen is removed, the hydrogen and nitrogen are capable of entering into a true chemical union with mercury, forming a substance in all respects similar to the amalgams of that body with other metals. It is highly probable, that the hydrogen and nitrogen are united together as a chemical compound, which thus unites with mercury; and that the same compound unites with oxygen to form ammonia. The appearance of amalgamation, as well as the analogy of the other alkaline bodies, leads us to suspect that this compound basis is truly of a

*See Phil. Trans. Part II. 1808.

metallic

metallic nature, and that the volatile, like the fixed alkalis and the alkaline earths, is a metallic oxide; but this basis has not yet been separately exhibited. Such, in general, is the state of our knowledge upon the constitution of the alkalis and earths, as extended by the late wonderful discoveries; and such is the line to be drawn between what we have strictly learnt as physical truths, and what we have been taught to conjecture upon evidence of a lower nature than that of legitimate induction.

"The last of these wonders, the constitution of ammonia, gives rise to various hypotheses. To account for the phenomena of amalgamation with mercury and the reproduction of the alkali, three different theories have been stated. Mr. Davy himself seems to think it possible, that hydrogen and nitrogen are both metals, aëriform at common temperatures, as zinc and mercury are when ignited. Mr. Berzelius suggests, that they may be simple bodies, not metallic, but forming a metal when united, without oxygen; and an alkali, when united and oxygenated. Mr. Cavendish has submitted a third conjecture, that these gases, in their common form, may be oxides, which, when further oxygenated, become metallic."

The labours of sir Humphry Davy in this department of science have been unwearied, but they have been crowned with a degree of success, and with discoveries of such importance as no one could have anticipated. "Let us," says the writer already referred to, "consider what we should have said, had such a contribution to chemical knowledge (as that in the Phil. Trans. 1809) fallen in our way three years ago—had we for instance heard, that the basis of the boracic acid had been discovered, that hydrogen had been detected in sulphur and phosphorus, and oxygen in azote? The whole world of letters would have been in commotion, and it would have been universally allowed, that, since the establishment of modern chemistry, no such steps had been made towards its perfection. If we now think less of these improvements, or even receive them with coldness,

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it is because we have been spoiled with the abundance of capital discoveries, in which we have been revelling—and it is Davy himself who has spoiled us. His grand and numerous inventions, together with the two unexpected and important steps made by the French and Swedish chemists, have, for a while, so completely satiated the curiosity of the scientific world, that scarcely any new fact would now excite astonishment." *Phil. Trans.—Edin. Review.—Murray's Chemistry.*

BRITISH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1814.

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Summary of the Prince Regent's Speech—Observations—Debates on Motions made in both Houses for Addresses to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent—Motion by Mr. Sergeant Onslow on the Apprentice Laws—Lord Bathurst's Motion for a Vote of Thanks to Lord Wellington—Mr. Sumner's Motion on the Speaker—Debates in the House of Commons on the Services of the Year—on Lord Castlereagh's New Military Plan—on the Loan—Mr. B. Bathurst's Bill to stay the Prosecutions against the Clergy on account of Non-residence—Lord Castlereagh's Motion for foreign Subsidies—on the third Reading of the New Military Plan.

THIS part of our volume, being devoted to an account of the proceedings in the imperial parliament, necessarily commences with the beginning of the session, which in the present case was on the 4th of November 1813. The session was continued, with a considerable interval, to the end of July in the present year.

About two o'clock on Thursday Nov. 4, his royal highness the prince regent went in person to the house of lords, and delivered a speech of considerable length to both houses. Although this will be found at length among the Public Papers, we shall, according to our usual custom, give a summary of it in this place.

After deploring the continuance of his majesty's illness, his royal highness instantly referred to the great and splendid success with which his majesty's arms and those of his allies had been blessed, and which had been productive of the most important consequences to Europe. Having enumerated the great victories that had been achieved in different parts of Europe, he says, "These successes have been followed by a course of operations combined with so much judgement,

and executed with such consummate prudence, vigour, and ability, as to have led in their result, not only to the discomfiture of all those projects which the ruler of France had so presumptuously announced on the renewal of the contest, but to the capture and destruction of the greater part of the army under his immediate command.

"Whilst therefore, (he adds) the perseverance and gallantry displayed by the allied forces of every description, engaged in this conflict, have exalted to the highest pitch of glory their military character, you will, I am persuaded, agree with me in rendering the full tribute of applause to those sovereigns and princes, who, in this sacred cause of national independence, have so eminently distinguished themselves as the leaders of the armies of their respective nations.

"With such a prospect before you, I am satisfied that I may rely, with the fullest confidence, on your disposition to enable me to afford the necessary assistance in support of a system of alliance, which, originating chiefly in the magnanimous and disinterested views of the emperor of Russia, and followed up as it has been with corresponding energy by the other allied powers, has produced a change the most momentous in the affairs of the continent."

With respect to the contest carrying on in America his royal highness says, "The war between this country and the United States of America still continues; but I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the measures adopted by the government of the United States for the conquest of Canada have been frustrated by the valour of his majesty's troops, and by the zeal and loyalty of his American subjects.

"Whilst Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, is exerting her utmost strength against the common enemy of independent nations, it must be matter of deep regret to find an additional enemy in the government of a country whose real interest in the issue of this great contest must be the same as our own.

"It is known to the world, that this country was not the aggressor in this war.

"I have not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the government of the United States to close it, of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of his majesty's subjects.

"I am at all times ready to enter into discussion with that government, for a conciliatory adjustment of the differences between the two countries, upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire."

And he concludes with lamenting the continuance of the war, declaring that "no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation, will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace.

"The restoration of that great blessing, upon principles of justice and equality, has never ceased to be my anxious wish; but I am fully convinced that it can only be obtained by a continuance of those efforts which have already delivered so large a part of Europe from the power of the enemy.

"To the firmness and perseverance of this country these advantages may, in a great degree, be ascribed. Let this consideration animate

animate us to new exertions, and we shall thus, I trust, be enabled to bring this long and arduous contest to a conclusion which will be consistent with the independence of all the nations engaged in it, and with the general security of Europe."

The speech, of which we have just given a summary, had been preceded by a train of events so marked and so uniform in their tendency, that its whole substance had been fully anticipated. It could contain little of novelty in point of information, or of peculiarity with regard to sentiment. The establishment of the allied army, as we have seen in our last volume, on the frontier of France, after a series of brilliant operations, which drove the invaders from Tormes to Bayonne —the accession of Austria and Bavaria to the general confederacy against the emperor of France— the victories in Silesia, in Brandenburgh, on the frontiers of Bohemia, and the then most recent ones achieved in Saxony, were all events too striking not to be noticed, and too gratifying to be noticed in any other way than as topics of common exultation to the sovereign and the people at large. That conventions had been concluded with the northern powers, and a treaty of alliance and concert with Austria, were also circumstances of great importance, and in their tendency, as has since been proved, truly beneficial to the common interests of all the parties concerned. Unanimity in both houses of parliament might naturally be expected, for the country itself was unanimous in their approval of the measures of the existing government. Minor differences of opinion on subordinate points would of course exist; but these, as we shall see, did not prevent members on all sides of each house from joining in the address that was moved to be returned in answer to the prince regent's most gracious speech. After his royal highness had left the house the members separated: but at five o'clock the house of peers resumed; and after the speech had been read first by the lord chancellor, and next by the clerk of the house,

Earl Digby rose to move the address; but the noble lord spoke in so extremely low a tone of voice, that not a single sentence could be heard below the bar. When lord Digby sat down, the address which he had moved, and which was a mere echo of the prince's speech, was read by the lord chancellor; and

The earl of Clare, in a maiden speech, seconded the address. He hailed the prospect of national independence now afforded to Europe, after so many unsuccessful efforts against the encroachments of France. But it was not the continental powers who were to be congratulated, for of all countries it was against this that the tyranny of France had been directed. The perseverance of those who guided our councils had baffled the enemy, who, resolved on a career of endless hostility, had hesitated at no increase of aggression, at the commission of no crime. But now a brighter sun than had for twenty years illumined the cause of liberty shone forth, and cheered countries united in resistance to oppression. His lordship then spoke of the peninsular campaign, where, he said, the ability and greatness of our general were not surpassed by the acknowledged intrepidity of the troops commanded by him. It was the proud consolation of that great general, of whom one of the French marshals

had impudently asserted he would drive him into the sea, that he should have had the task and glory of liberating the Spanish nation. Our arms, thus exerted in the cause of independence, added blessings to other people. By British example, and under the conduct of Wellington, the Spaniards and Portuguese had proved their valour. In the present state of affairs, whether he looked to the north or to the south, there appeared a monument of fame for those who guided the counsels of the cabinet. If, however, there was one dark spot upon the lustre of so large an orb of glory, it was, that amid all our glad tidings we were not yet greeted with the return of health to our beloved sovereign. Would that the king could have participated in the general feelings of joy which filled the bosoms of his people!

Marquis Wellesley gave his most unqualified and cordial support to the address. On the subject and substance of it there could be but one sentiment and one voice. He, for his own part, felt highly gratified, that a declaration of the object for which the contest was to be carried on was contained in the speech. This declaration would be beneficial to the success of the campaign and of the war. The time had arrived when one common interest dictated to the nations of Europe the necessity of union and confederacy. The impulse of Europe was now the impulse of principle; and he believed that the great object which was now the sun of our endeavours, had ever been that which had invigorated the measures of this government. Mr. Pitt had declared, "England has saved herself by her energies, and other nations will be saved by her example." What would be the feelings of that great man, could he now witness the confirmation of that remark! So manifest had national energy now shown its efficacy, that he might say to Britain and to her allies, *Macte virtute!*

The duke of Sussex extolled the conduct of the emperor Alexander, and thought that a confederacy, like that on the continent, arrayed in arms against the enemy of the independence of nations, was entitled to the highest admiration.

Lord Grenville was happy to be able to express his concurrence not only in the general outline of the speech and address, but also in the entire tone and language in which they were expressed. Never were sentiments more properly adapted to the occasion. Never was language more adapted to express its purpose. It would have at any time been highly gratifying to him to be able to say this, but it was more peculiarly satisfactory at the present moment. He felt, in coming here now, that he had to perform no common duty, and in no common mode. That crisis had arisen to which his wishes had always been directed, a real and cordial confederacy of the European powers to protect their own independence. Their lordships would remember the confederacy of Baden, formed for similar objects, and how unhappily it terminated. He was now speaking of events which happened twenty years ago. To the dissolution of that confederacy France was more indebted for her success than to the pre-eminence of her military power, great as that pre-eminence had at times been. He need not remind their lordships of all the artifices that were used to disunite the confederate powers, and with what unhappy success they

they were attended; how, by offering to some of the confederates separate advantage, by bribing them with the spoliations of their neighbours, France had drawn into an acquiescence with her schemes of aggression, and even into giving her assistance to carry them into execution, those whose existence as independent states depended on a steady and cordial opposition to the system. He hoped that they had now been bettered by the lesson which past events had taught them. When all had been menaced, attacked, and oppressed, he trusted that they would now be convinced that this was no separate cause of England; that this was not a war merely for commerce, or for maritime superiority; but that England really fought, as she declared she did fight, to maintain the independence of others, as well as her own. That truth had come upon them, late indeed, but it had come. He did not remind their lordships of past misfortunes, to damp the joy which they must feel at the altered prospect which now presented itself, but only to animate and increase their exultation, by showing that that feeling, that conviction, that spirit, appeared at length to have arisen, in which consisted the only real means of independence and safety. It had, indeed, long been evident, that it was only by joint efforts, cordially and vigorously pursued, that France could be brought to confine herself within such limits as were consistent with the safety and independence of her neighbours. There might be differences of opinion, as to the course which was best to be adopted, in order to prepare for this joint effort; but there could be no doubt as to the conduct to be adopted when the happy moment arrived. Now, then, when the eyes of Europe were turned with anxious expectation to the first deliberations of the British parliament, when the whole of the confederated powers were looking with the deepest interest to the decision to be there come to, and the language to be there spoken, he felt it the duty, not only of those who held prominent situations in the government, but also of all who were accustomed to take a part in the debates, clearly and unequivocally to deliver their opinions. He felt that, however humble the individual who spoke, it was important that, though on some points differences did exist, as they always would in a free country, all Europe should know that in this cause there was none; that here there existed but one sentiment, one determined opinion. As long as the united exertions of the confederates were directed to the grand purpose, as it had been well expressed in the speech, of national independence, it was the duty, and would always be the inclination, of this country to assist them with all its strength. So long the interest as well as the honour of Great Britain called upon her to strain every nerve to assist them in their great object. Let it not be supposed, however, that in saying this he was desirous of throwing any obstacle in the way of the attainment of peace. No man expressed a single sentiment adverse to this grand end of all exertions. Peace was the dearest blessing which any government could confer on a country; internal peace the first blessing, external peace the next. This was not only true at all times, but especially so in the present circumstances of Europe, after such a long series of calamities, inflicted upon it, as the speech had well expressed it, by

the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France. There appeared no views of aggrandisement in any other quarter. None could lay that to the charge of the confederates, whose slowness even in resisting aggression, was now matter of regret to themselves, as well as to this country and to Europe. Even in France there was not more than one individual who did not anxiously desire the restoration of peace. But it ought to be well understood, that when peace came it ought to be a real peace, not the shadow but the substance. Too long had Europe been deceived by those partial hollow truces, which gave the semblance of peace, but not the reality. The moment was now come when that sound, which the overwhelming course of events had almost banished from their debates, that sound with which the idea of true substantial peace had always been connected, might again be heard within the walls of that house; he meant the old-fashioned term of a balance of power: and he offered thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events, that he had been permitted to live long enough to see the period, so constantly the object of his most earnest wishes, when his country could with propriety immediately and directly engage in the pursuit of that which, in her foreign politics, it ought always to be her great object to establish—a balance of power. It was not the interest, nor the object, of this country, to oppose itself particularly to any one nation. Its interest was, that such limits should be put to the power of each separate nation, as that it might not be able to carry into execution schemes of unjust aggression. Great Britain had no interest in the dishonour of any nation, or the reduction of its legitimate power. It wished for nothing that could be really degrading to any independent state; but it ought to think no sacrifice too great to attain that which had been the grand object of our ancestors, in the best times of this country, the preservation of the balance of power. This object it had never relinquished, though the course of events had deprived her of the opportunity of carrying that object into execution. But now, when the day-star of freedom again dawned upon Europe, Great Britain would resume her ancient policy; and endeavour, through the medium of a balance of power, to secure, not a perpetual peace, for that was but a visionary scheme of visionary men, but the existence of such a state of things, as even in war would afford to the weaker powers protection against the strong. This was necessary for our own permanent safety; it was the only way by which the real blessings of peace could be secured to others as well as to ourselves.

He had one thing more to say. He hoped their lordships would not do him the injustice to think, that the opinions which he now expressed, were merely the result of exultation at the intelligence which had lately been received. Glorious as that intelligence had been, and interesting to the feelings of every one who wished for the independence of nations, and the restoration of the balance of power in Europe, these opinions had not been suddenly taken up, nor the result of the events of any particular period, but those which he had always held; and which, he trusted, had been manifested in the whole course of his conduct. Long before this intelligence arrived, it was well known to those with whom

whom he had been in confidential communication, as to the part now to be taken, that his opinion was, that the existence of such a confederacy called upon this country to exert all its force, and bring forth all its resources, to aid the general cause; that Great Britain ought to be prepared against all chances, and to support the confederacy, not only in success, but even in adversity. This was the advice which he now offered; and though their hopes should be damped for a moment, that ought not to damp their ardour. There was for this country no separate peace, no separate safety. It could only have peace and safety, by the union and confederacy of the nations of Europe to reduce the power of France within its proper limits. If this confederacy should fail, far be the omen from us! but, if it should fail, there was no hope of seeing another during any period that perhaps the youngest of their lordships could reasonably expect to see. This, then, was for the present their last hope, and no possible exertion ought to be omitted that could contribute to the great purpose of cementing the union of this confederacy, till the grand object of the whole, the independence of Europe, was firmly established.

The earl of Liverpool remarked, that important and gratifying as were the events of the continent and of Spain, they were not more gratifying to himself than the unanimity which reigned in that house: the world now had proof that the British parliament—the British nation—had the cause of national independence, and of that alone, before them. We had come to a period at which the great political system of the balance of Europe might be restored; that balance which was the only foundation for a secure and honourable peace. To what new impulse, it might be asked, after the failure of so many formidable combinations against France, were the late happy successes to be ascribed? He would answer, To that determination to stand or fall with the independence of their country, which the people of the continent had caught from the example of the Peninsula. In the events of 1808 he saw the first germ of a revolution in the affairs of the continent. A new feeling seemed to have at once started into existence. The war of Europe was no longer a military war, it was no longer a war of governments: no, it was a war of the people! The present confederacy was not a confederacy of the representatives of the state, but of the people. His sanguine hopes had been laid on the principle of national policy, and on that broad principle his most sanguine expectations had not been deceived. His lordship then took an animated view of the contest both in Spain and Germany, and declared his reason for so doing was to show that the policy by which the present government had been actuated, was founded on sentiments of national independence, that independence they had seen grow up in Spain and strengthen in Russia, till, by the coalition of other states, it became irresistible. The vigorous efforts which had been made in this great cause were not to be relaxed. The more vigorous our efforts, the more moderate might our policy be. It was not because the enemy had met with disasters, that he was to be excluded from the advantage of those principles which are consistent with justice. He was not

not to be asked to accept terms, which were we in his situation would seem unjust; but it was manifest that Europe could have no security until his power was reduced to those limits suitable to the preservation of the balance of Europe. Peace would be secure and durable when every power could be left in such a situation as to be able to assert its own independence. Such were the sentiments of the prince regent; and such sentiments, he doubted not, would receive the approbation of parliament and of the country.

The question was put, and unanimously carried.

House of commons.—On the return from the house of lords, the speaker read the speech of the prince regent from the chair.

The earl of Compton then rose to move the address. After some previous observations, his lordship remarked, that the battle of Leipsic was unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern Europe. The effects of it were not to be calculated. The rescue of the continent from slavery, the restoration of commerce, of agriculture, of happiness, of peace, would probably follow it. This might, indeed, be to England a just cause of exultation: it would be owed to that unyielding perseverance with which she had opposed herself to despotism; to that determined perseverance with which his majesty's ministers had pursued the system laid down, and acted upon, by that great statesman Mr. Pitt. He could not withhold his humble applause to the magnanimity of the emperor Alexander, and the bravery and skill of the prince royal of Sweden. Nor would he omit the name of general Moreau; a name rendered illustrious, not only by the rancorous hostility of the ruler of France, but by a life of valour; by his efforts for the good of his country and of Europe. He lived for liberty, and he nobly expired in a struggle to maintain it. The prospect in the Peninsula was equally cheering. The French armies were expelled from Spain, and the territories of the enemy were threatened. The people of France might now see that their boasted chief had neither power nor foresight to prevent their country from being polluted by the foot of the invader. The house must rejoice with him, that the ancient ties between this country and Austria had been renewed. With respect to America, no one could lament the evils which she endured from a war brought upon her by her own misguided councils: she exhibits the strange spectacle of a republic in alliance with the most tyrannical despotism that ever cursed mankind. If America laid the flattering unction to her soul, that she was not in alliance with France, did she not assist the views of the French ruler? Canada was, nevertheless, protected from her attacks by the bravery and vigilance of British troops. The commerce of the United States was destroyed: her ports blocked up, and her boasted navy was awakened from its dream of maritime superiority, by the thunder of the Shannon. In Britain the loom and the shuttle were again in motion: we again possessed commerce abroad, and industry at home. Our fields were blessed with a plentiful harvest, and our towns were full of a busy and contented people. In contemplating these sources of congratulation, he could not but wish the illustrious statesman (Mr. Perceval) had survived to behold the success, the prosperity, and the glory

glory which resulted from that perseverance, and those efforts, in which he had borne so large a share. The noble lord, in concluding, moved an address to the prince regent.

Mr. Charles Grant, in a speech of some length, in which he went over the same topics with the noble mover of the address, seconded the motion.

Mr. Whitbread rose to join in the unanimous sentiment that prevailed in the house; but his approbation of the prince regent's speech was qualified with an exception, which he should mention before he sat down. He was satisfied with the spirit of moderation which reigned in the speech, and with the conduct of government towards the allies: feeling thus, he would not be betrayed into controversy even by the unguarded expressions of the honourable seconder and noble mover of the address. It would not be manly in him, however, if he did not enter his protest against the opinion they had expressed of the system of policy pursued by a celebrated statesman now no more (Mr. Pitt). The noble lord had asserted, that the triumphs which now graced the cause of Europe, sprang from the deep and wise plans laid by the illustrious rival of Mr. Fox, and followed up by his successors. Now he was convinced, that had the opinions of Mr. Fox been adopted, Europe would have been spared those calamities, the expected termination of which excited such just triumph. He had heard it openly asserted that evening, that general Moreau had all his life fought for the liberties of mankind: if so, England must have fought against them; for Moreau had been eminently and successfully employed in many instances against the allies of Great Britain. The same might be said of Bernadotte, to whose recent exertions in the common cause no one was more willing than he to pay an ample tribute of praise, and which, he thought, ministers were entitled to share, for the confidence they had uniformly placed in him even in the most dubious circumstances. The hon. gentleman was also pleased with the confidence placed by ministers in the illustrious commander of our troops in the Peninsula, and lamented that the statesman who had selected him, and of whom they had been deprived by a foul act of assassination, did not live to see realized those expectations he had formed of his genius. With respect to America, he should reserve his sentiments till a future opportunity. He rejoiced to learn from the speech, that in any conditions of peace which might be proposed to France, the honour of that country, as a great nation, would be respected. The present alliance against France had not been brought about as former ones had been; it originated in a sense of common necessity, by the grinding of universal oppression; and this unexpected change of circumstances afforded a most useful lesson to all governments. When France overthrew with such facility all the governments of the continent, the people were disaffected, and labouring under grievances: but the dominion of France proved more intolerable still; and that spirit inherent to mankind—the spirit of resistance to oppression—made the people of those countries rise against their new tyrant, whom they have now reduced to such a situation, that nothing short of madness could prevent him from listening to terms of peace. As to the terms offered to France, previously to the re-commencement

mencement of hostilities, whatever they were, he thought the allies should adhere to them.—(*General murmurs*)—He was not surprised at these murmurs, as he had expressed himself in so general a manner; but his idea was, that there should not be any material alteration in the basis already proposed, otherwise the war offered no prospect of termination. With respect to the assistance to be given to our allies, it should be limited only by the means of this country. On the points of domestic œconomy, he regretted that the speech took no notice of the Roman catholics: he had been informed that the right hon. gentleman in the chair had, in a speech in another place, alluded to that respectable body of our fellow-subjects; and he trusted that, when the circumstance came under the consideration of the house, it would be proved that the right hon. gentleman was (as he certainly had been) the unauthorized and unauthenticated expositor of the feelings of the house, supposing what was reported of him to be true. The hon. gentleman concluded by giving his assent to the address, recommending a perseverance in moderation as the only way to secure peace.

The speaker rose and declared, that whenever the speech alluded to, as delivered by him, should be brought before the consideration of the house, he was confident that he could prove himself justified in the sentiments he had delivered.

After a few observations from Mr. Wynne, the question was put upon the address, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

Nov. 5.—Mr. serjeant Onslow gave notice, that pursuant to an intimation he had given last session, he should on Tuesday the 30th. move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 5th of Elizabeth, as went to impose a penalty on persons exercising any trade without having served a previous apprenticeship of seven years.

Lord Compton brought up the report on the address, which was agreed to, and, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, was ordered to be presented to his royal highness by the whole house; and also, that such members of the house as were of his majesty's privy council should take his royal highness's pleasure when he would receive the same.

House of lords, Nov. 8.—The lord chancellor read, and delivered in, the answer of the prince regent to the address of the house; in which his royal highness thanked their lordships for their dutiful address, and for their assurances of support in those exertions by which, in concert with his allies, the blessings of peace might be attained, and the independence of Europe secured.

Earl Bathurst said, he now rose to call their lordships' attention to the brilliant events of the campaign which had followed the battle of Vittoria,—to the efforts by which the French had been repulsed in every attempt to retain a footing on the frontiers of Spain,—to the reduction of Saint Sebastian,—and to the final establishment of the allied army on the territory of France. No sooner had Bonaparte heard of the discomfiture of his army at Vittoria, than he sent marshal Soult, one of the most skilful of his generals, investing him with extraordinary powers, for the purpose, if possible, of retrieving his affairs in that quarter. Soult, accordingly, having united the divisions of the French army that had been expelled from Spain, and having received considerable reinforcements, on the 25th

25th of July commenced a series of attacks, which it required the greatest valour and firmness to repel. On the 28th Soult attacked with great impetuosity, but was completely repulsed. Early on the 30th lord Wellington determined to attack in his turn; and the effect of his skilful and decisive movement was, that the French army was thrown into greater confusion and dismay than even after the battle of Vittoria. Thus were disappointed the expectations of Soult, who appeared to have flattered himself, not only that he should relieve Pamplona, but also be able to drive the allies beyond the Ebro.

He would next direct their lordships' attention to the siege of St. Sebastian. An attempt was made to relieve that fortress, and with that view the French general directed an attack upon the bridge of Vera, which was held by Spanish troops. On this occasion the enemy was so gallantly repulsed by the Spaniards alone, that though there were two divisions of British troops in their rear, it was unnecessary for them to move to the support of our allies. Never was any assault made with more vigour and heroism than that upon St. Sebastian's; and in it the Portuguese troops had particularly distinguished themselves. The Portuguese had, indeed, been so long acting with our troops, that they were in a manner confounded with them. There had been no desperate undertaking—no daring assault—in the course of the campaign, in which the Portuguese troops had not borne their full share. And here he could not help taking notice of a foul calumny which had been published in a Spanish paper, containing the most unfounded reflections on the conduct of the British troops, and of their officers. Their lordships must be aware, that this calumny must have come from some of those partisans of France who were still to be found in Spain; and who, under the pretence of a patriotic jealousy of foreign influence, had omitted no opportunity of calumniating the allied troops. Their lordships must be aware, that amidst the ungovernable fury attending the assault of a besieged town, irregularities would take place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the general or officers to prevent them: but he utterly denied that there had been any such excesses as those represented. Sir Thomas Graham remained on the spot a full month after the assault, and never received any complaint of excesses, on the part of the civil authorities. He himself was in the town after the assault, till the surrender of the castle; and never had any complaints made to him by individuals. One of the charges, however, showed the falsehood of the whole:—the British troops were accused of robbing the churches. Now certainly all Spain must be aware that the French had hardly ever entered or remained in a town, without sacking the plate of the churches. But the charge was as absurd as it was false: for the churches of St. Sebastian had been wholly converted into barracks or hospitals; and in such a state, it could hardly be supposed that the church plate would be left staring the inmates in the face. The charge of not following up the assault of the castle, because the troops were engaged in plundering the town, was false—doubly false. Our troops, with that heroic ardour which had been still more excited by resistance, followed up the enemy to the very gates of the castle, and suffered severely. They could hardly

ly be withdrawn by their officers; and general Graham himself reprehended the officers for indulging their too great ardour. The charge that our troops set fire to the town, for the purpose of destroying it, was equally false. Nothing could be further from our interest than to do so. It was suggested, indeed, that shells might compel a more speedy surrender, and sixteen howitzers were sent by lord Wellington; but of these, never more than four were made use of.

There was one charge, however, to which the British troops would plead guilty; and that was the charge of having saved the lives of six hundred Frenchmen, when, by the laws of war, they might all have been put to the sword. When the place was stormed, these men threw down their arms, and implored mercy; and the British soldiers, though heated by the ardour of attacks,—smarting as they were under the pain of their wounds,—or scorched with the flames of houses burning around them, did yet spare the lives of those who threw themselves on their mercy. He had heard sir Thomas Graham speak with admiration of the conduct of our troops upon this occasion. This, however, was a charge of which the framers of the calumny would not have been guilty: they would have murdered the whole in cool blood, even though at the expense of their marked predilection for France. He begged their lordships' pardon for this digression; but he could not help stepping aside to notice and refute this calumny on the British army.

The noble lord concluded with moving the thanks of the house to field marshal the marquis of Wellington, for the distinguished skill and valour which he had exhibited in the operations succeeding the battle of Vittoria, by which the French had been expelled from the western frontiers of Spain, and the allied army established on French territory: which being carried,

He next moved the thanks of the house to general Graham, for the skill and gallantry which he had displayed in and subsequent to the battle of Vittoria; and particularly for the ability and skill which he had manifested in the siege and capture of St. Sebastian's. He had been induced to propose a separate motion of thanks to sir T. Graham, on account of the peculiar circumstances under which he had retired, carrying with him the admiration and affection of all those who knew him, or had seen or heard of his conduct as a general, after having in such a distinguished situation led the armies of his country with such splendid ability, gallantry, and success.

The thanks of the house were then moved to sir Rowland Hill, and the other officers, non-commissioned officers, and troops, British and Portuguese: all these were agreed to *nem. diss.*—Adjourned.

Similar motions were made, and passed unanimously, in the house of commons.

House of commons, Nov. 8.—Mr. Holme Sumner rose according to notice he had given, but stated, that he felt very considerable difficulty as to the mode of proceeding, in a matter which so much concerned the character and honour of the right hon. gentleman in the chair. In the present stage of the business, it was his wish to put the house into the possession of some document on which to proceed; otherwise it would be useless to say many words on the subject. Those who

who entertained opinions similar to those of a noble lord, (lord Morpeth, who had given notice of a motion on the subject,) and those who thought very differently, must equally feel how impossible it was to proceed, without the production of such a document. He believed that it was not unusual, in such circumstances, although no official document existed, to move that Mr. Speaker be desired to print the speech which he had delivered. It might be, perhaps, expected, that he (Mr. S.) should state to the house, what were his ulterior views, should such a motion be granted. To do so, however, at that moment, he should be perfectly at a loss: but as he had communicated his intention to the noble lord, he hoped it would not be thought unfair, if he made some inquiries of him respecting the object on which he had founded his notice. He thought that the candour and liberality of that noble lord would allow him to ask, whether his observations would have a tendency to criminate the conduct of Mr. Speaker, by imputing to him conduct which was justified by no precedent; or, while following precedents, the giving an unfaithful exposition of the sentiments of the house of commons? In either case, what was due to the house itself, and to the purity of its proceedings, seemed to render it impossible to refuse entering into the consideration at an early period. If the noble lord intended his motion only as a vehicle for his protest against those principles, as stated by Mr. Speaker, upon which the house rejected the bill in favour of the Roman catholics, it was, so far, a matter of perfect indifference to him, whether it was discussed now, or at some future period. The absence of many of the Irish members had been mentioned by the noble lord, as a reason for delay; but then it should be considered, that it was the duty of those members to be present now in parliament, and not the duty of the house of commons to wait for them. If nothing more was meant than an indirect way of renewing the discussions of the Roman catholic question, he should not object to waiting for the Irish members, who had so great an interest in the subject. Under all the circumstances, he should conclude by moving, that Mr. Speaker be desired to print the speech made by him to the prince regent, in the house of lords, on Tuesday the 22d of July last, on presenting a money bill: which was carried.

Nov. 10.—Mr. W. Dundas, in a committee of supply, observed, that the naval expenses had exceeded in two branches,—victualling, and wear and tear; which last was imputable to the extended nature of the service on which our navy had been engaged.—He moved, that 140,000 seamen be employed for the service of the ensuing year, and 31,000 marines.

Mr. A. Baring was surprised that there should be an increase of expense in this department of service. When the battle of Trafalgar was fought, we had 10,000 seamen less than now. A few years ago, too, we had the Baltic and the ports of Spain to guard.—As for the war on the American coast, the republican frigates went in and out at pleasure; and we kept thirty or forty sail off the Chesapeake, employed in burning houses and sheds, and lowering the British character. We had been driven from Lake Erie, and commodore Yeo was too weak to face the enemy on Lake Ontario.

Lord Castlereagh said, that many difficulties attended the distribution of

of our navy last year. Without the aid of the Russian fleet, we should not have found it effectual for all our purposes. The demand on the American station had been prodigious. When retrenchments were justifiable, ministers would be eager to make them.

Mr. Croker said, that the French fleet in the Scheldt ready for sea amounted to 16 sail of the line—in the Texel there were 5 and sometimes 10—at Toulon there were 50 sail of the line, which surely required watching. He could not tell why sir J. Warren had 30 pendants in the Chesapeake; but the hon. member might be a better admiral than sir John. The naval administration was always ready and able to defend itself.

Mr. Baring observed, that he was very far from supposing that he was a better admiral than sir J. Warren; but he thought it required no great ability to make a better navy secretary. The fact was, that the navy had been very ill employed.

The resolution was then carried.—Adjourned.

Nov. 11.—Lord Castlereagh said, that there were points of the utmost consequence to this country, both in a commercial and a political view, where a corps of 10 or perhaps 20,000 men, co-operating with our maritime strength, might turn the tide of success in our favour, and we might rescue an old and useful ally from the grasp of the enemy. An exertion proportioned to our means was therefore peculiarly desirable at this crisis. He was happy to state, that both the regular and militia force remained at as high a point of numerical strength as ever, notwithstanding the late strenuous exertions abroad. It reflected the highest credit on the illustrious individual at the head of the war department, that, such was the attention paid to the health and discipline of the army, our annual loss did not exceed one-7th or 8th; that is, in 230,000 troops, the general amount of casualties,—deaths, discharges, desertions, &c.—did not exceed 25,000 men. Notwithstanding the sanguinary events of last year, our total loss was not more than 30,000.—The present mode of recruiting would keep our army up at its present number.—Since 1805, the militia had supplied the regulars with 100,000 men; which would never have been the case, had the old prejudices prevailed; and then our military character would not have been what it now is, nor would Spain and Portugal have been redeemed. The militia was now composed of 70,000 men, a large proportion of which, he was sure, was anxious to extend their services. His intention therefore was to bring in a bill, which provided, that in the number of men who might volunteer into the regular army, not more than three-fourths should be taken; and if a certain number of men would go, the officers should be allowed to go with them, up to the rank of a captain, and who should receive half-pay. The officers, after a certain time of service, should be considered as having permanent rank corresponding to that they had in the militia. One hundred men to admit one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign, who at first would be entitled to half-pay, and, after one campaign, to fill every situation in the army.—He had also another plan to propose, which was, that both officers and men, of the militia, should be allowed to volunteer as militia. The officers would be considered as still belonging to the militia, but would return home with

with this advantage, that having gone abroad at a critical moment, they would be entitled to half-pay when disembodied. In all cases, the lieut.-colonel ought to be taken from the militia, that the character of militia regiments might not be lost. All the difficulties which frightened our ancestors ought now to be lost and swallowed up in the necessity for present exertion.—The bounty he should propose, for the transfer from home to European service, should be 10 guineas; and that for going into the regulars, 12 guineas for limited, and 16 for unlimited service. The numbers proposed to be taken should be limited to 26,000 men. If the ordinary recruiting (14,000) did not fall off, this measure would realize 40,000 men, exclusive of recruits for foreign service. Such a supply in our present circumstances was indeed indispensably necessary.—A ballot would not be wanted, if required at all, before the Christmas of 1814. —His lordship concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to accept the services of the militia for the vigorous prosecution of the war. —Leave given.

Mr. Whitbread.—As to the plan in general, this is not the time to stand still; and to make any efficient exertion, a large additional force was necessary, which could be supplied from this source alone. I support therefore the measure which has been proposed, in the just hope that these increased means will only be applied to their legitimate object, and that no new project of ambition on our part, or on the part of our allies, will divert us from it. Such projects may arise; but I support this measure, hoping and trusting that the means it supplies will be applied to this object alone,—the obtainment of a speedy and honourable peace.

Lord Castlereagh accepted the support which the hon. gentleman proffered, and which was not the less valuable for the conditions which were annexed to it.

Nov. 15.—The house went into a committee of ways and means.

Mr. Vansittart then stated the terms on which the loan had been contracted for. He began by mentioning the supplies which had been already voted, or which were likely to be required before the Christmas recess. Of these, eleven millions had been already voted for the naval service, five millions for paying off exchequer bills issued under an act of last session, and another sum of six millions would be requisite for army services; making in the whole 22,000,000*l.* The way in which it had been thought most expedient to meet these supplies, was by loan; and, accordingly, that morning a loan had been contracted for to the amount of 22,000,000*l.*—It was agreed, that for every 100*l.* of this in money, there should be given 110*l.* in the 3 per cents. reduced, and that the bidding should be in the consols. The contractors had accordingly bid 67*l.* in the consols; and this offer had been accepted by government. He trusted that upon the whole the terms would be deemed eminently favourable to the public. The interest to be paid upon it would be considerably less than that of the loan of June last. The interest on that loan was 5*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* per cent. but the interest on the present would be only about 5*l.* 6*s.* The amount of the bonus on the former loan was about 4*l.* per cent. while in this it would amount only to 3*l.* 6*s.*; and yet he had the satisfaction of learning that the loan was

likely to be beneficial to the contractors, as it was already at a premium of 3½ per cent. He certainly had to congratulate the committee and the public on a bargain so advantageous in all respects. Instead of bearing any resemblance to a forced loan, it seemed, from the readiness of the contractors, and the eagerness of many worthy friends, rather a loan forced upon the treasury. Besides the increase of the annual charges, on account of the interest of this loan, it had been settled, in all cases where, in addition to the loan of the year, it should be found necessary to raise a supplemental loan, that a sinking fund should be created at the same time for its redemption, equal to one half of the interest of such loan. —Now, as the annual interest of the present loan would amount to 1,168,200*l.*, there must be a sinking fund added to the amount of one half that sum, which would be 584,100*l.* The charges of management would amount to 11,600*l.* more, which would make the total of the increased annual charge, created by this loan, amount to 1,763,900*l.* Now, as to the ways and means to meet this annual charge, he believed that it would be easy to anticipate, that he meant to conform to the act which he had before alluded to, and throw this charge upon the stock remaining in the hands of the commissioners for the redemption of the national debt. The capital stock which was created by the present loan was 24,200,000*l.* in the reduced 3 per cents, and 14,740,000*l.* in the 3 per cents. consols. He was happy to announce, that the general state of the revenue was better than it had been last year, and that the receipts of the last quarter had exceeded by 1,700,000*l.* the amount of the receipts of the corresponding quarter in the last year.—After a remark by Mr. Whitbread, the different resolutions were agreed to.

Nov. 17.—Mr. B. Bathurst rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the act by which the residence of the clergy was enforced. This act had passed about ten years back, and, while it went to enforce residence in general, had allowed certain exemptions, and had vested a power to grant indulgencies in the hands of the bishops. The principle of the act was, to ensure a regular residence of the clergy, while in certain instances this regular residence might be dispensed with, by a license from the bishop of the diocese. Upon non-residence without such license, the act imposed certain penalties commensurate to the length of time when the non-residence had taken place. The act also contained a clause enabling the bishops to transmit to the privy council an account of the number of non-residents in their respective dioceses, that thus the real number of resident clergy might be ascertained. This, however, was a subordinate consideration. Both branches of the act, the one referring to non-residence in general, and the other admitting, in certain cases, of non-residence upon a notification to the bishop, went to inflict the same penalties; and those who omitted such notification were equally liable to the penalty with non-residents who had no excuse. Both the clauses had been made, by one individual, the means of prosecutions; and penalties had been claimed to the amount of 80,000*l.* The person who originated these prosecutions had been registrar of the dioceses of London,

London, Norwich, and Ely; and in that capacity had the means of learning the names of individuals, and the facts connected with them, and thus of preventing a defence to the actions which he had in contemplation to institute. In such extensive dioceses, many applications must have been made to this man, who had the means of suppressing them wholly in his power; and he (Mr. Bathurst) had been informed by several respectable clergymen, that upon application to their respective bishops, in consequence of being threatened with actions, they had been informed that licenses had been ordered to be issued; but which, however, they had never received. With regard to one class of incumbents, those who were in possession of two livings, it was doubtful how far the actions could be maintained. That class, however, was comparatively but small; and even with respect to them it was desirable the question should be set at rest. The situation of many clergymen was exactly the same at the present time as when the licenses had been first granted, and upon application to the bishop would have been, as a matter of course, renewed. This application had not been made, in some instances, from inadvertence, and in others, in consequence of a personal knowledge of the bishop. Many cases, no doubt, involved much difficulty; but he (Mr. B.) had no intention to interfere with the legal operation of the act, or to protect those who were fairly subject to the penalties it imposed. The act (as he had before stated) had passed ten years ago; and as informations might be laid for non-residence during the whole of that period, he wished to follow the example of a former parliament, when similar prosecutions had been commenced. A bill was then brought in, to suspend all prosecutions then pending, and to give time to the house to take the subject into consideration. He, however, had no intention to alter the act, and only wished that proceedings should be suspended for some time, till the bishops should have the return of non-residents made to them on the 1st of January, who would then be able to judge of the cases that came before them, and why applications for licenses had not been made at an earlier period. It was his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill to suspend proceedings till the month of April. A return in the mean time might be made by the bishops to the privy council; this might be laid before parliament, who would thus be enabled to see if any undue favour had been shown in the granting of licenses, and if the majority of them now threatened with actions would have been entitled to licenses, had they been applied for within the proper time. He should again repeat, that he only wished to relieve those who had incurred the penalties from inadvertence, and not those who came fairly within the operation of the act;—to follow the example of a former parliament, but to leave the law to stand as it was. The motive whence the informations proceeded was sufficiently obvious from this fact, that they were almost exclusively confined to the dioceses of London, Ely, and Norwich, in which the informer had formerly held an official situation. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill, "to stay, for a time to be limited, all actions and prosecutions under the act:" and leave was given accordingly, and the act passed.

The house having gone into a committee,

Lord Castlereagh stated the manner in which government had used the sum which parliament had so liberally placed at its disposal. Considerable aid had been afforded to the united armies in the Peninsula, since they had been so closely acting together, independent of the direct supplies to the Portuguese. In money and stores, the supplies to the Spanish nation he calculated at two millions: the same sum had been advanced to Portugal: 400,000*l.* to Sicily; and one million to Sweden.—The vote of credit was five millions, and it had covered all engagements. In the mere article of muskets and small arms, independent of the waste of half a million for our own army in Spain, 400,000 stand had been sent to the continent. The million of money sent to Sweden covered the supply till October, and a new treaty for this year, to the same effect, had been agreed upon. Sweden had well fulfilled all her stipulations; and with the force provided by this country under gen. Walmoden, she had 50,000 men with the allies. The crown prince had turned his back on the particular interests of Sweden for the present,—had agreed to adopt any plan which might be suggested for the general interest,—had given in three plans of his own,—and had successfully opposed and beaten the veteran troops of France;—and therefore parliament would see the propriety of continuing the supply. With the assistance of that veteran officer Blucher, the crown prince had occasioned a loss to the enemy of 40,000 men previously to crossing the Elbe; and he had only left Hamburgh uncovered, because he had found it necesary to concentrate all his means. With respect to Russia and Prussia, the aid to these powers, he was prepared to admit, was larger than parliament had ever before been called upon to afford; it reached five millions: and the ground on which government had deemed it proper to make so large an advance, was the conviction that upon these two powers the hopes of the cause principally rested. Upon the vigorous employment of their forces the salvation of the continent depended. Only by sustaining their power in its highest energy, was there a reasonable chance of the restoration of public law, public order, and public peace.—Russia had her full complement of men at the opening of the campaign; in addition to which, she had a reserve under gen. Bennigsen, the bringing up of which, at a critical period, had probably turned the cause in favour of the allies; and she had likewise replaced the force on her frontiers. Nor were these the only exertions of the Russian sovereign: he had delivered his own states, and was now assisting in the deliverance of others; and he had honourably placed his generals and his troops under the orders of others, for the general good: some were under prince Schwartzenberg, some under general Blucher, and some under the crown prince. The subsidy to Prussia was of a lower character, as it had at first been thought that she could not furnish the very large force she had since brought into the field: but the mind of the nation had been roused, and its energy had placed their armies on a level with the most powerful nations of Europe, who had equalled their former renown. The armed force of Prussia, garrisons included, reached 200,000 men, a force equal to that

of

of Russia. How they had fought was well known.—To Austria a lower subsidy had been afforded: much as that power had at stake, he (lord C.) was well satisfied, that she would never have joined the coalition, had she not been convinced that it was the fixed purpose of France to hold all the governments of the continent in military subjection, without relaxing one tittle of supremacy The hon. member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) had said, that whatever conditions of peace had on a former occasion been proposed to France, should now be adopted; but in point of fact, no plan had been offered. Austria had only attempted to mediate; which France had evaded. The grounds of her mediation were merely a basis, scarcely affecting the interests of other countries, and did not therefore pledge the allies. There had been therefore no basis of general pacification, and he hoped the house would leave the business in the hands of government, as he trusted there was nothing in its tone, nothing in the speech from the throne, which could induce it to withdraw its confidence, or excite any apprehension that it was intoxicated with success, or at all indisposed to a peace which might truly be called peace. The battle of Leipsic, if followed up with discretion and ability, would produce, he trusted, such results as would show that ministers had not forgotten their duty.—England had before stated, that she entertained no projects inconsistent with the honour and just pretensions of France: she now used the same language. No success had induced her to forget that all war was for peace, that peace was its greatest result. Although the mediation of Austria had at one time been rejected, yet it had subsequently been accepted, though no direct step had been taken: this was immediately after the victory of Vittoria, when France had so far relaxed as to make Spain a question of discussion, which before she had deemed a settled matter. Nothing, therefore, had occurred, or would occur, to thwart discussions for peace. The subsidy to Austria was one million, and we were to supply also one hundred thousand stand of arms, with military stores; and if the war should last beyond March, a new arrangement was to take place. It appeared, then, that the subsidies amounted to the sum of 10,000,000*l.* four of which were devoted to the Peninsula, the rest to the continental system. It was now necessary for him to say, that he must call upon the house to vote a provision on account, and to enable his majesty's ministers to make good their engagements. He should move, therefore, first, that a provision of three millions should be voted to his majesty on account; and secondly, that leave be given to bring in a bill to recognise the engagements of two millions and a half already entered into in the subsidiary treaties. His lordship then moved the first resolution.

Mr. Canning congratulated the house on the gratifying results of the system so long pursued by parliament. The French continental system had been overthrown never again to rise; the gigantic plans of the enemy to ruin this nation had completely failed; if France should ever again conquer the countries she had just lost, she could never again unite them to her empire. Confidence could never again exist between them, nor between France and Austria. This was the glorious fruit of our perseverance in Spain.

Some persons disapproved of the advance into France; but he did not regret that an army was now employed to beleaguer the foul ramparts of that place (Bayonne) where all the plans of the subjugation of Spain were decided upon and settled, where the glory of their crown was tarnished, and their diadem stolen from their lawful owner, and pocketed by an usurper. He did not regret that, after all the threats of invasion on the part of France, with which the war began, France now found herself invaded by a British army. He did not regret to find that

"——— ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes
Dardanus, et versis lugeret Græcia fatis."

He knew there were many who considered such feelings as mere delusions; but he should request them to leave him his delusions, and keep their philosophy to themselves. There was one power in the world (America) with whom he wished for reconciliation as much as any man. If that power could look with calmness at the conduct of our enemy, (now that the spell of his invincibility was broken,) she would perceive that wherever he went, his career was attended by the destruction of ancient nations as well as dynasties; that his conduct had been in uniform hostility to commerce, to literature, to the light of truth, to honour, and to all the feelings and sentiments which ennobled men and nations; and that the course of his exertions was in the attempt to roll back the tide of civilization, and barbarize all the nations of the world.—The hopes of Europe were now placed on a high situation. He sincerely trusted that no want of cordiality would again occur, to open views to the artifices of the enemy. Next to the feeling with which he was impressed by the vote he should give, to make Great Britain the very soul and pride of this great alliance against the common enemy of Europe; next to that would be, not merely the regret, but the indignation which he should feel at any one member of the confederacy, who should, before this great struggle for the independence of Europe and the world was brought to an end, desert its legitimate objects, by the conclusion of a separate peace. But he believed and trusted there was no such danger. When he mentioned it, he did so without surmise, and without suspicion. When we looked at what the enemy was doing, we found him not only calling on the people of France for the means necessary for their own preservation, but for the means necessary for the continuance of his usurpations and conquests over mankind. He even laid it down, as one ground on which to call forth the resources of France, that he should be perplexed and agitated to be left sitting on a degraded throne, and under a crown void of glory. He had even ventured to state that, as a motive why the people of France should continue to shed their blood. The language of poetry had been considered the language of nature. The empress of France most probably was not conscious, when she delivered the speech of Bonaparte from his throne, of the sentiments of that speech which our great epic poet had put into the mouth of the first rebel and usurper. Satan said, speaking of those who suffered from his ambition and his promises,

"Ah, me! they little know
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
When they adore me on the throne of hell."

But the personal glory, as it was called, of Bonaparte, and the maintenance

nance of his usurpations, formed the policy on which it was thought fit to call on France to make her sacrifices of treasure and of blood. 'Great Britain ought to conduct herself as the provident guardian of the liberty of Europe, and the disinterested spectatress of the blessings she had been, under Providence, the instrument of restoring.

Sir G. Heathcote said, that the continent had never made such exertions as during the last two years, when she was without large aids from this country; and for this plain reason, that they smarted under oppression and tyranny, which had provoked general resistance without British gold. If that spirit continued, it would do more than hundreds of millions of subsidies. Surely the Peninsula offered an ample field for our own exertions, or for an example to others. Some thought that from the sinking fund and the paper system we might make loans to any extent, while we reserved a part, or took from some other fund to supply deficiencies; but this was fallacious. The present measure came from the recommendations in the regent's speech, which he praised for its moderation and liberality, and which, he hoped, would be acted upon without insincerity. He hoped that ministers would caution their subordinate agents in the public prints, lest their violent language should lead to the suspicion that they privately discouraged what they publicly avowed. Recollect former campaigns. In 1799, Austria and Russia were successful every where, except under Korsakow in Switzerland. Italy, and Germany to the Rhine, were freed; but what followed? The victories of Hohenlinden and Marengo reversed the whole, and laid Austria prostrate. There could be no faith in the small states, who must go alternately with the conquering parties. Some thought France done for; but if, on every success, demands were raised, there seemed no end to the war. We were now on a proud eminence, and ought to make up our minds, in conjunction with our allies, on proper terms of peace, and abide by them. He was surprised to see in a recent publication a proclamation from Louis XVIII., which, on its former publication, was not avowed by government. If peace were to rest on the question of the restoration of the Bourbons, it would be impossible to foresee the period of its return.

Mr. Whitbread intended to say but a few words. The declamatory harangue of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Canning) should not induce him to touch on many topics. The policy recommended by Mr. Fox would have prevented many of the dreadful evils which had occurred, and which still existed; and he believed that, had it been pursued, we should not now have had such large subsidies to grant, to create a great effort for terminating the war. There was something rather overweening in the hon. gentleman's talking of the wisdom of our councils, and the splendour of our exertions, having produced these great events. He should recollect, and ministers should recollect, and the allied governments should recollect, and it would serve somewhat to moderate the exulting tones of triumph, that Bonaparte's extravagant ambition, pushed almost to madness, had been the great cause of the destruction of the enemy's forces. The government of Great Britain, by its errors, made Bonaparte. Bonaparte, by ambition, had undone himself. By his eager pursuit of his anti-com-

mercial system, he had pushed his objects to so dangerous an extent as to involve the ruin of his armies. In his wild schemes, in one instance, it had been by the more direct agency of Heaven that he had reduced himself, happily for other nations, to the situation in which he now stood. When the hon. gentleman talked so pompously of coalitions in a general way, he should look at former ones, and compare their origin with the present, and mark their distinctions. Formerly coalitions were commenced by our offers of great subsidies. Now the three great powers had coalesced first, and we were called on subsequently to aid them by grants; which, as he thought, were prudently supplied by ministers, in the view, he believed, of the legitimate purpose of war, an honourable and secure peace. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had alluded to his mentioning the words "basis of peace" on a former night. Perhaps he might have been more correct, had he spoken of the principle of a treaty of peace being the same as during the armistice; and he hoped now, that there was some well-known and understood principle of this nature among all the allies. He did not mean to ask for it; but he hoped it was well understood: for, if it was not so, he should apprehend some new disaster. Some power might make, as formerly, a separate peace, on favourable terms being offered her by France. Now it was of importance to remark why the allied powers had beaten Bonaparte. It was because the people had suffered severely under the oppressive rule of Bonaparte; hence they had urged on their governments to the war against him: we should take warning by that. If the attempt were made even to push Bonaparte too far, they might find the question so placed as to revive the energies of 1792 in France, which might ultimately lead to the overthrow of what the allies had done, and to the renewal of his conquests. To the particular sums to be voted, he had no objection to make. Differing as he did fundamentally from the government on many important subjects; yet believing them willing to preserve the honour of all the belligerents, he would agree to giving them all the men and money that were necessary for their object. He retained his former opinions respecting the views upon Norway; they always excited in him horror and disgust: but that matter was now past and gone. We knew now what Sweden had done, and what Austria and Prussia had done, and we knew what might yet be done, if the allies acted in unison with us. He thought that the vote of that night would give the means of producing that great and desirable event, which, whether it might have been attainable earlier or not, seemed now practicable of attainment.

Mr. Baring considered that any arrangement which should leave Germany towards the Rhine split into petty states under nominal sovereigns, would never leave that country safe against French invasion.—The resolutions were carried.

Nov. 18.—The militia volunteering bill was read a third time, when Sir W. Curtis moved for a clause by way of rider, "saving the rights and privileges of the city of London." The city of London had, however, as much zeal and wish to support the exertions of government as any other part of his majesty's dominions; and as a proof of it, he was happy to state that the common council had agreed to propose a bill

a bill for allowing the London regiments of militia to go to any part of the kingdom. This bill he supposed would be ready on Monday or Tuesday next.

Lord Castlereagh was very happy to accept their services in the way that was most agreeable to themselves.

The clause was added to the bill by way of rider.

On the question being put upon the preamble,

Mr. Whitbread rose to move the amendment of which he had given notice. In his view of the subject, while he wished to give every support to the measure proposed, he thought it still necessary to guard himself from any improper interpretations of the motives upon which he gave his support, by having them recorded on the journals of the house. His motives for giving his support were the confidence and expectation which he had, that those exertions which he was ready to support would conduce to the restoration of the blessings of peace to this country and to Europe. He was not insensible of the burdens which those measures would necessarily impose upon the people of this country, or of the great pressure which they now sustained. He did not feel those considerations less acutely now than he had at former periods. He was not insensible of the great injustice which many meritorious officers of the line would conceive there was in placing officers of the militia over their heads. He was not less convinced than he had been on former occasions, that instead of resorting to perpetual expedients of this nature, it would be well to have a great principle established, which might at all times be looked to for the supply of our armies. Other measures had been carried this session without observation, which, at other times, might have called for animadversions from him. The local token bill, and the duration to which it was limited, appeared to him a confession on the part of the chancellor of the exchequer, of his opinion of the present state of our currency. Indeed, it was well known, that the price of the precious metals was increasing, and had now arrived at a height at which it was never known. Notwithstanding these considerations, he wished to support the measure now proposed by ministers, leaving upon them the responsibility of directing the great means confided to them to that important end, which they themselves allowed to be the only legitimate object of all war. From many parts of the speech of the noble lord (Castlereagh) last night, he had felt the greatest satisfaction, and entertained stronger hopes than he had before, of the sincere disposition of ministers for peace. He was therefore willing to forgo, for the present, calling for inquiry on many parts of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, and particularly on the conduct of the war with America. He would, however, now put in his claim to discuss those subjects at some future time, if he should think proper; but, for the present, he was content to let all those matters pass. As he sincerely wished to support ministers in their present measures, he would not encumber them with questions of that sort, at a time when all their energies should be directed to secure an honourable and a lasting peace. He should, however, for the reasons he had before stated, propose his amendment to the preamble of this bill. Before he put his motion into the hands of the speaker, he must state,

state, that there were some expressions in the speech of the noble lord from which he derived a most favourable omen. The noble lord had stated, that it was immediately after the battle of Vittoria that ministers accepted the mediation of the emperor of Austria. This was, indeed, a happy moment to select for proving their pacific disposition. If a sincere disposition existed in the administration, or in any part of the administration, for peace, that administration, or that part of it, should have his support in the measures likely to conduce to that great object. He thought, that in former administrations, the great powers which had been confided to ministers by parliament had not always been directed to that object. The conduct, therefore, of those administrations he had conceived it his duty to watch with more jealousy than he now felt. He concluded by moving, as an amendment in the preamble, the insertion of the following words:—

"For the purpose of bringing the present war to a speedy and happy termination, and obtaining the blessings of peace, with reciprocity, security, and honour, to all the belligerent powers."

Lord Castlereagh conceived that it would be a dereliction of his duty not to make some observations on the statement which had been made, and the motion which had been submitted to them: he trusted that neither the house nor the country would be led into a persuasion that peace was entirely in the hands of the ministers. They knew the formidable enemy that we were now contending with in war; and they should also consider the formidable enemy with whom a negotiation for peace must be conducted. The sort of peace which was now to be desired, was not only an honourable peace, but a peace that would hold out some reasonable prospect of lasting repose to this country, and to Europe. The country could not wish for such a peace as would in its effects disarm them, and leave them at the mercy of their enemy, to renew his attack upon them whenever he should judge it to be a more convenient season. We should not disguise either from ourselves, or the country, that there might be dangers in peace as well as dangers in war. He coincided in the spirit and the language of the manifesto of the emperor of Austria, who "thought it better to incur all the risks and danger of immediate war, than to live in daily dread of those attacks which might be prepared against his dominions, during a state of things to which the name of peace might be given." He hoped that neither the house nor the country would be misled by the name of peace without the substance. If his majesty's ministers had accepted the mediation of Austria, after the battle of Vittoria, it was because Austria had then taken a different attitude, and because France had somewhat relaxed from her former tone with respect to Spain. If, however, a peace had been negotiated, the fundamental basis of it must have been, that this country would preserve inviolably its good faith to its allies, and the engagements it had entered into with them. No gentleman in that house could feel a more anxious wish than he had for an honourable and secure peace; but it would be necessary always to bear in mind the enemy with whom we were contending, and the enemy with whom we should have to negotiate a peace.

Mr. W. Smith was desirous to second

second the amendment proposed by his honourable friend, because he thought that the words proposed by him, being introduced into the preamble of the bill, would render the measure more popular, and operate as a greater inducement to the militia to enter into the line.

Mr. Whitbread, in explanation, said, that the words proposed to be added, viz. "on terms of reciprocity, security, and honour," showed that his views of the peace that ought to be obtained, were now, and always had been, similar to those at present avowed by his majesty's ministers; and he had proved it, by agreeing to all the measures they had proposed, in the confident hope they would be conducive to that desirable end.

Mr. Wynne objected to the amendment, because he had never seen in his majesty's present ministers, nor in any former ones, any indisposition to accede to terms of peace founded on the basis held out by the words of the amendment.

The amendment was then put, and negatived, and the bill passed.

CHAPTER II.

Helston Election Bill—Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Whitbread on the Militia Bill—Hearing in the House of Lords on the Game of Golf—Debates on the Mutiny Bill—East India Sugars—On the Insolvent Debtors Bill—Lace-frame Bill—East India Trade—Mutiny Bill—House of Commons—Mr. Lockhar ton the Insolvent Debtor's Bill—Lord Holland's Observations on the Slave Trade; and on the Mutiny Bill—Mr. Eden's Motion on the State of Newgate—Mr. Sergeant Best on the Insolvent Bill—Mr. Grant on the East India Trade Bill—Mr. Horner on the Poor Laws—Sir J. Mackintosh on the new Government in Holland—Lord Holland on the Declaration of the Allied Powers—Debates in both Houses on the Adjournment.

IN the course of the last session a bill had been brought in to disfranchise certain electors of the borough of Helston for gross and notorious bribery, and for, in some measure, laying open the borough; which was abandoned for want of time, but was renewed in the present session; and on the second reading of the bill, Nov. 22, in the house of commons,

Mr. Horne, as representative of that borough, felt it his duty firmly to protest against the principle of this bill. If it was a case which the ordinary course of justice was sufficient to meet, he thought the extraordinary interference of parliament unnecessary. He then dwelt for some time on the argument, that as the corporation were, in fact, only trustees for the people of Helston, the act of even the majority of the corporation should not be visited on the whole borough.

Mr. serjeant Onslow could not agree with the arguments used. It had been the custom at Helston to return such members as were recommended to them by the noble person whom they called the patron of the borough, upon his paying certain rates to which they were liable. Once, when the family of the

the noble duke resolved only to pay half the rates, they allowed him but half the patronage, and gave the other half of it to the person who paid the remainder. This was most undoubtedly a corrupt consideration for the return of members in parliament. The corporation were not trustees for the people of Helston, to make the election a source of profit and emolument to them: but they were trustees for the people of England, to return proper members to parliament. As far as rested in them and in the people of Helston, the corruption was complete.

The bill was then read a second time.

Lord Palmerston in a committee of supply, after shortly stating that the increase of the army in the present year had been 9,000 men, and that the expense to be provided for would be about 8,640,000*l.*, said, that there were many details that he did not wish to go into before the annual mutiny bill was passed. At present, all that was wanting was six millions, on account of the expenses which had been stated. He concluded by moving, first, that the number of troops, exclusive of garrisons and the troops employed in India, should be 236,697. His second resolution was, that six millions should be granted on account of the expense of our troops at home and abroad.—Agreed to. —Adjourned.

Nov. 23.—Lord Castlereagh proposed some further arrangements of the domestic military force, the principal feature of which was to enable the crown to accept the service of the local militia out of their counties, in order to supply the place of the large portion of regular militia which is allowed to serve abroad. The utmost time during which they are to be on service out of their counties is six weeks; besides which, there are to be some restrictions as to place. The militias of England and Ireland are also to be allowed to be interchanged, with less limitation than at present. Provision is also to be made for pensions to non-commissioned officers of militia, and for an addition of pay to the surgeons of this species of force. An addition is also proposed to be made to the 60th regiment, which being composed of foreigners, is now restricted by law to a limited number.

Mr. Whitbread said, never was there a more favourable opportunity for the employment of the whole military force of the country —never, most happily, was there more internal peace and tranquillity. The abundant harvest with which we had been favoured, had caused that cheapness which, co-operating with returning employment to our manufacturers, had dried up all the sources of discontent. The discontents thus appeased, proved satisfactorily that those disturbances had arisen in necessity alone. One voice, from the centre to the circumference of the empire, called on them to exert all their force in the assistance of the Dutch. The war was now their own—a war of the people—no longer a war of sovereigns. It was because *that* was not a war of the Prussian people, that the Prussian monarchy was overturned at Jena. It was that *this* was a war of the Prussian people, that the Prussian monarchy now existed. It was that the Russian people would not suffer (as it is said) their government to accept terms of peace, that the mighty army which entered the Russian territory never returned. It was that the people of Sweden got rid of

of a government which was unfit to rule them, by a bloodless revolution, and elected from the French armies that great captain, who was enabled to contend with him by whom he had formerly been commanded, that they saw the glorious results of the battles which had been fought. It was that the energies of the people of France were called forth by the revolution, that the French ruler had possessed the power which he so lately wielded. It was, that these energies were spent under his despotism—that, with the aid of his inordinate ambition, this mighty power crumbled to dust in his hands. The people of England, he doubted not, would give to the crown any power which might be directed to so holy a cause. But in assisting others we should not forget ourselves. We should recollect, that however necessary events might have rendered these measures, they put in the power of the crown more influence than was possessed by it at any former period of our history. This he said only as a monitory reflection to the house: but he gave his consent to the measure; and if the consent of an individual was valuable, it was the more valuable because he gave it with his eyes open to its inconveniences.

Leave was then given to bring in four bills, for the purposes enumerated in the speech of the noble lord.—Adjourned.

Nov. 24. The speaker informed the house, that the royal assent had been given by commission to the militia volunteering bill.

Mr. Bankes proposed, that the blank in the Helston election bill respecting the amount of freehold, which would give a qualification to vote, should be filled up by inserting "ten pounds." He argued at some length on the great depreciation of money since forty shillings was the qualification.

Mr. Swan contended, that the effect of such an alteration would be to disqualify the many who were the furthest removed from corruption, and give the elective franchise to those who were the most corrupt. It was notorious, that in Cornwall it was among the most opulent that corruption had taken the deepest root, and established itself into a system. He believed that there was not a peer in Cornwall who did not hold his rank from corruption of this sort.

A long conversation took place. It appeared to be the general sense of the house, that it was better to retain the common qualification; and Mr. Bankes's amendment was negatived, and the bill after going through both houses was passed into a law.

House of lords, Nov. 26.—In the cause Dempster and others against the magistrates and inhabitants of St. Andrew's, in behalf of themselves and all those who chose to play at the game of golf on St. Andrew's links, sir S. Romilly and Mr. Brougham were heard for the appellants, and Mr. Adam and Mr. Horner for the respondents. The object of the original action was to prevent St. Andrew's links from being converted into a rabbit-warren; the apprehension of which had (as Mr. Brougham stated it) thrown the whole civilized world into the utmost alarm; and subscriptions had even been entered into at Calcutta to maintain the action. Golf was described to be a national Scotch game, upon which the lord chancellor expressed his satisfaction, that there was no ground in England, south of Northumberland, where the soil was so bad,

and

and the grass so thin, that it could be played. It was stated at the bar, that the game was often played on Blackheath. The complaint being, that rabbits injured the golf course by scraping and scratching it, his lordship asked, whether it was not the nature of Scotch rabbits to *scratch* better than the English rabbits? Further proceedings in the cause postponed.

The royal assent was given by commission to the malt duty, loan, and local token bills.

House of commons, Nov. 26.—On the question for the second reading of the marine mutiny bill,

Mr. Bennett expressed some surprise at this bill being hurried through at such an early period in the session.

Sir George Warrender said, that it was necessary that the marines, when serving on shore, should be subject to regulations similar to those of the land forces. The objection in point of time would have been better when his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) moved the annual mutiny bill.

Mr. Manners Sutton observed, that when the house had come to the resolution of the number of men to be voted for the service of the year, it appeared almost a matter of course, that the mutiny bill should be brought in for their regulation.

Mr. Whitbread admitted the necessity of presenting the army estimates at an earlier period this year than what was usual, but he could see no necessity for passing a mutiny bill now, when there was one existing which would continue in force to the 25th of March. The mutiny bill was one which parliament always looked to with the greatest vigilance; and it was from its great importance that it was voted annually, and, in general, but a short time before the expiration of the existing act. If, however, the noble lord (Castlereagh) would say, that in the particular circumstances of the present times, it would be much more convenient for the government to have the mutiny bill for 16 months instead of 12, he should not object to it. It had been hinted, that the adjournment would probably be so long as not to leave sufficient time to pass the mutiny bill after the recess. If the noble lord did for that, or other reasons, conceive it would be particularly expedient for the public service that the bill should be now passed, he had no objection.

Lord Castlereagh admitted that the bill was brought forward much earlier in the session than was usual, and that this circumstance was a fair subject of parliamentary observation. In the present circumstances however, and considering the state of public business, he would say that it was in the contemplation of the ministers of the crown to adjourn to a period so near the beginning of March, as to make it inconvenient to have the mutiny bill then to pass before the 25th. It certainly had been usual for parliament to keep this great measure of control over the army in their own hands, and to postpone the bill until a very short time before the expiration of the last act. There had been cases where this had been run so close, that there were doubts in Ireland, and the more distant parts of the united kingdom, whether the mutiny act were in existence or not.

Mr. Whitbread was satisfied with the reasons of the noble lord; but if it was to be an adjournment, and not a prorogation, he thought the intention of the ministers of the crown

crown had better not have been so expressly stated.

Lord Castlereagh said, that as the crown had certainly the power of proroguing parliament for what time it judged expedient, he believed it was by no means unusual for it to signify its wish as to the period of an adjournment. There was no reason to apprehend that the house would refuse to accede to that wish, or drive the crown to the necessity of a prorogation.

The bill was then read a second time.

The 10½ millions of exchequer bills bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose for the purpose of proposing an additional duty of 6*s*. 6*d*. per hundred weight on East India sugar imported into this country, so as to make a difference of ten shillings a hundred weight, as a protecting duty in favour of the West India interests. On the other hand a much greater facility would be given to them to re-export their sugar from this county. This advantage, as well as the decrease of freight, by throwing open the trade, would probably balance the duty now laid on. He, however, wished to propose, that whenever the market-price of sugar appeared in the Gazette above 60*s*. per hundred weight, the duty should be taken off as it exceeded that price, so that if sugar should exceed 70*s*., the whole 10*s*. laid on East India sugar should be taken off. This would be making it act strictly as a protecting duty, without injuring the supply. He concluded by moving his resolution, which was agreed to.

House of lords, Nov. 29.—Lord Redesdale presented a bill for the amendment of the bill of last session for the relief of insolvent debtors.

Lord Ellenborough moved the second reading of his temporary bill for the relief of insolvent debtors.

Lord Holland expressed his hope that the second reading of this bill would not be pressed. It went to repeal the permanent bill of last session; and when another bill for the amendment of that bill was in progress, he did not think the house ought to entertain the temporary bill, as, by agreeing to the principle of that bill, they would in some measure pledge themselves to repeal the bill of last session.

Lord Ellenborough only wished to forward his bill, with a view to have it in such a state that it might pass this session, in case the explanatory and amending bill should not be found sufficient for that purpose.

Lord Redesdale stated, that his amended bill contained clauses for removing the difficulties in regard to the assignees, for enabling the quarter sessions to discharge debtors in the distant counties by order of the commissioners, which latter provision would in a great measure obviate the objection in regard to the expense of bringing up debtors from the different gaols to town. The expenses of the execution of the whole of this bill would soon be brought under the review of the legislature, and the expense of removing debtors from the distant gaols would then be provided for. The objection to the bill of the noble and learned lord was, that the house, by reading it a second time, assented to the principle, which went to the repeal of the permanent insolvent debtors' bill. There appeared an indisposition to carry

carry the permanent bill into execution in some quarters.

Lord Ellenborough had never felt any indisposition to carry the bill into execution.

Lord Redesdale did not mean to say that his noble and learned friend had felt any indisposition to carry it into execution. He alluded to some of the inferior officers.

Lord Ellenborough was only anxious that his little bark should sail alongside his noble and learned friend's vessel, that, in case the latter could not conveniently get into port, the other might accomplish the object.

Lord Holland said, that this little bark was ready to sink her attendant ship, and not only her, but the whole fleet which she was sent out to assist. If the temporary bill were passed, there was no hope of having the permanent bill carried into immediate execution. The objections to the amended bill were molehills that might easily be removed, and removed in as short a time as that which might be necessary for the passing of this temporary bill. When various substitutes for bread were proposed by parliament, in a season of scarcity, about twelve years ago, Horne Tooke used to say to his poor neighbours, "Do not touch a morsel of black barley bread, otherwise you will never eat wheaten bread again." On this principle he was hostile to these temporary bills; because, if another of that description were passed, he should almost despair of seeing the permanent bill carried into execution.

The lord chancellor admitted that there was an irregularity in agreeing to the second reading of the temporary bill while the amending bill was in progress: but still it was necessary that the temporary bill should be in such a state of forwardness as to render it possible to have it passed before the recess, in case the other should be found incapable of execution; and therefore the irregularity must be submitted to.

The temporary bill of lord Ellenborough was then read a second time, with an understanding that it should be committed on Thursday.

Lord Redesdale's bill, it was understood, was to be read a second time tomorrow, if then printed.

House of commons, Nov. 29.—On the order of the day being read for the second reading of the lace-frame continuance bill,

Mr. J. Smith said, he was happy to state to the house, that the town of Nottingham had long been, and was at present, in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. He had no objection to a bill to protect lace-frames, because they had not been protected by any former statute; but he wished the penalty of death was omitted. He thought they might be protected in the same way that stocking-frames were; the punishment for breaking of which was transportation for fourteen years. The extreme severity of the present law had undoubtedly prevented prosecutions.

Mr. H. Addington said, that if he had not found such an act on the statute-books, he would have been the last man in the world to propose it; but as there was an act on that subject, which would expire on the first of March, and there was a remote possibility that disturbances might be renewed, he thought it his duty to propose its continuance for one year more, and he hoped the house would agree to the second reading of the bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly said, the right

right honourable gentleman had not mentioned any ground, or furnished the house with any reason, why they should agree to this bill, continuing a bill which contained the penalty of death for an offence which, in many instances, might be in itself trifling. The act meant to be continued was not an act of this parliament; and when it was passed by the last parliament, Nottingham was in a dreadful state of disturbance; and it was alleged that a conspiracy existed in the country to overturn the government. However, the then chancellor of the exchequer and the noble secretary of state both allowed that the necessity of the case alone had induced them to propose a bill of such severity, which they only meant to be temporary, and which would expire on the first of March. The cause for passing that act had long been done away. The town of Nottingham was in perfect peace; our manufactures were flourishing and prosperous, and the whole country was in a state of tranquillity. In fact, the disturbances had ceased very soon after the passing the act in 1812; and if two years perfect tranquillity was not sufficient security, this act might be continued interminably. The punishment of death was much too severe: stocking frames were protected by the 28th of the king, which made the penalty of breaking them transportation for fourteen years; and as no reasons had been given by the right honourable gentleman for continuing this very severe penalty of death, but a remote possibility, and his having found it on the statute-book, he must oppose the further progress of it.

Mr. Bathurst thought the house would only be acting with prudent precaution to continue this bill for the short time proposed of one year. The act was certainly necessary at the time it passed, and had been the means of restoring peace and tranquillity to that part of the country. The peace of the country ought not to depend merely on the continuance of the prosperous state of our manufactures. There was certainly every reason to hope they would continue to flourish; but he thought it would be but prudent to continue the act for one year longer, and it therefore had his support.

Mr. Horner opposed the second reading. He said, that at the time of passing the act, it was agreed on both sides of the house, that nothing could justify so severe a measure, but the actual necessity arising from the very disturbed state of that part of the country. He was then one of those who thought it too severe; and without some better reasons than any he had yet heard given, he could not agree to continue it. This act made it a capital felony for any one, without combination or confederacy with others, wilfully and maliciously to injure any manufactured goods, or the frames used in making them; and if an unthinking boy or apprentice was to cut or injure the frame or goods of his master, he must, if prosecuted, suffer death. Such severity was a disgrace to our code of laws, and such sanguinary punishments ought not to disfigure the statute-book; for the severity of them prevented their execution, and the judges were often forced to use their ingenuity to save the lives of those who fell under the weight of such cruel punishment for offences so little deserving it. In the last parliament, it was allowed that nothing but the neces-

sity could justify the measure, and therefore it was made a temporary act; and he could not agree to continue it because the right honourable gentleman supposed there was a remote possibility. The 28th of the king, for protecting stocking frames, made the penalty transportation; and that was reckoned so severe, that few persons could be found to prosecute on it, and it defeated itself.

Mr. Courtenay lamented the discussion that had taken place, in consequence of the predilection of the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. H. Addington) for a former measure. The arguments used were all of them conclusive against the bill, which now would become an instrument of cruelty against many who might be brought within its operation, though originally directed against a very different description of persons, those engaged in illegal combinations. Nothing but necessity could justify such a measure as the present; and the necessity having ceased, the measure of course ought not to be revived. It was now unnecessary with respect to those against whom it had been generally directed, and would be cruel and oppressive to others.

Mr. H. Addington admitted, that there no longer existed a necessity for the measure. The office with which he was connected carried on a correspondence with most parts of the kingdom; and in that correspondence nothing had appeared that called imperiously for the present bill: but from the recent date of the disorders for the suppression of which the bill had been enacted, he was led to infer, that it still ought to be continued, as a measure of precaution and prevention, which had originally been productive of the most beneficial effects.

Mr. Lockhart said, that the present time was very different from that when the bill had been introduced into the house. Conspiracy and murder, with crimes approaching to high treason, then prevailed in the districts assigned for its operation, and the penalty of death which it imposed served as a warning to the country at large. The crimes, however, which he mentioned were now all done away, and not a loom was now unemployed, unless from want of hands to work it. He should vote now against the bill, for the same reason that he had formerly voted in favour of it.

A division now took place.

For the second reading, 37; against it 15; majority 22.

Upon re-admission into the gallery we found lord Castlereagh addressing the house on the subject of the trade to India. His lordship stated, that it was essential to carrying into effect the act of last session, that bullion should be found to carry on the trade with India, and that therefore a trade must be carried on with Asia and Africa, under certain limitations, particularly respecting the trade to the Mediterranean. At present he should steer clear of the question about India-built shipping, reserving that as a subject for future and distinct consideration. The noble lord concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the trade of the subjects of this kingdom to and from any of the countries within the charter of the East-India company, and also to other countries not comprehended within the limits of that charter.

Mr. alderman Atkins thought, that while the navigation act subsisted,

sisted, the commerce of this country had nothing to fear from foreign competition. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mutiny bill.—In the committee on this bill, Mr. Bennett wished to know if the act, as it at present stood, authorised solitary imprisonment. He knew that this mode of punishment had been resorted to, and was inclined to believe it had been abused.

Mr. M. Sutton stated, that very few instances had occurred of solitary imprisonment. If, by the act as now worded, courts martial had not that power, they ought to have it; but he was inclined to think that the term imprisonment included all kinds of confinement whatever.

Mr. Bennett moved, that no officer, under pain of being cashiered, should bring out a soldier to be flogged a second time, he having been unable to receive the first time the number of lashes to which he had been sentenced.

Sir S. Romilly thought that such a practice, if illegal, should be put a stop to, and, if legal, that the law ought to be repealed. It had been alleged, that the soldier might counterfeit illness to avoid receiving the whole number of lashes; but as a professional gentleman always attended, he thought of that there could be but little danger. There was little doubt, that the terror of being brought up a second time to punishment, had been made use of to induce soldiers to enter upon a service (for example, volunteering into what was called a condemned regiment) from which otherwise they were averse. The house certainly had a right to be informed whether the punishment was or was not legal.

Lord Palmerston said, that impositions had been often practised on the part of soldiers, and that there did not exist sufficient ground for laying the practice aside.

Mr. M. Sutton thought it was certainly cruel to bring up to punishment a second time, a man who had suffered once as much as he was able to bear. But he thought it desirable that no new matter should be introduced into the present bill, for the same reason that had occasioned the bill itself to be brought in at this unusual period of the session. He must, therefore, oppose the clause of the honourable gentleman. The clause was negatived accordingly.

Mr. Bennett thought that a desirable object might be attained, by a letter being written by the commander-in-chief to the officers commanding regiments, which had been done on a former occasion.

Sir S. Romilly said, that he understood it to be frequently the case, when more lashes were ordered than it was in the power of the criminal to suffer in one day, to threaten him with the remaining number, unless he entered on some particular service. The passing of the bill at so early a period of the session could be no reason for excluding discussion. Every member ought to have an opportunity of making the bill as perfect as possible, and benefiting the service.

Mr. Manners Sutton observed, that nothing had been introduced into the bill from his side of the house that was new, or could bear the appearance of taking any advantage. It was not proposed to extend the ordinary duration of the mutiny bill, since it would only operate for twelve months after the expiration of the existing act, which terminated on the 25th of March. Political reasons had rendered it probable that the adjournment might be longer than usual, which

might make the passing of the bill after the recess an inconvenient and hurried measure.

After a few words from Mr. Bennett, the clause was negatived. The report of the committee was ordered to be received.

House of commons, Nov. 29.—Mr. Rose presented a petition, signed by six or seven thousand manufacturers and artisans in the county of Angus, praying for such alterations in the act of 5th of Elizabeth as to the wisdom of parliament might seem fit. The enforcement of the act would be very disadvantageous to manufacturers, and the courts of law had generally, as far as they could, set their faces against its strict execution: yet a total repeal would also be very inconvenient, particularly as it affected apothecaries and attorneys. All he should then propose was, merely that the petition be received. Ordered to lie on the table.

The house went into a committee to take into consideration the act of 49 of the king, relative to the duties on brandy.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that, from the state of warfare in which we had so long been engaged, it had been found necessary not to allow the importation of brandy, except for exportation, and liberty was given to our merchants to bond and warehouse these brandies till such time as they could in that way be disposed of. This was principally done for the purpose of encouraging our own colonial produce, particularly rum. The course of the war had, however, of late, taken a turn much more favourable to this country than it had ever before been; a market for our colonial produce was now opened; and there was no necessity to keep the brandies that had been imported for exportation, expressly tied up as they now were by the said act. By suffering the brandies imported for exportation, and now bonded and warehoused, to be used for home consumption, on the payment of two shillings a gallon additional duty, great conveniences would accrue to the merchants, and a very considerable advantage to the revenue. He wished, therefore, to propose a regulation to enable those who had imported brandy for exportation, to dispose of the same for home consumption, on the payment of two shillings a gallon additional duty; and he concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.

Mr. Brown said, he had long understood it to be a leading principle of policy in the government of this country, to give every degree of encouragement to the produce of our own colonies, by excluding, as far as possible, the produce of the enemy. By laying heavy duties, which amounted almost to a prohibition, on brandies, we encouraged rum, the produce of our West-India planters and merchants, who had suffered very severely for many years past. For his own part, his individual objection might not have impelled him to say a word on the subject; but he could not so easily pass over the leading interests of such a body of men as the West India merchants. This was the foundation of his objection to the proposition, and he must protest against any deviation from the principle of the policy he had alluded to.

Mr. Rose said, he never understood there was any such principle of policy laid down or adopted by this government as that mentioned by the honourable gentleman who had just sat down. During the time

time these brandies were imported, the West India planters were unquestionably labouring under great distress; and therefore the brandies were only allowed to be imported for exportation: but now, when circumstances were so much changed for the better, and when the markets were opening every day for the disposal of every species of our colonial produce, he could not conceive that the West India merchants had any claim or right to prevent government from obtaining a large addition to the revenue by the additional duties proposed.

House of lords, Dec. 1.—The insolvent debtors' act amendment bill was committed, and reported.

Lord Redesdale proposed some verbal amendments on the report, which were agreed to. He stated, that he could not be altogether confident that he had introduced all the amendments that might be found necessary. A measure of this importance was never rendered complete till it had been for some time in practice, when the various inconveniencies were felt, and remedied as they arose. The bankrupt law formed a proof of this, which had been in a course of amendment from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of George II. inclusive. Upon considering the irritation that prevailed owing to the delay in the execution of the permanent act, an inclination had arisen which created an indisposition to carry it into execution at all. An apology, he found, had been sent to the commissioner by the marshal of the king's bench, for not complying with the order of the insolvent debtors' court. Whether the apology was such as ought to have been sent, it was not necessary to state. He was glad that any apology had been sent. Under all the circumstances, he was rather inclined not to oppose the temporary bill proposed by the noble earl opposite. It might perhaps be useful that it should pass, in order to allay the existing irritation, provided it was understood that in future no such bills should be passed. There were cases where the permanent bill did not apply, and where it was not meant to apply. Many, in the hopes of too easy a liberation, got themselves nominally imprisoned, but remaining in prison, or coming out, as they found it most convenient. The permanent bill was not intended to apply to such cases. With such alterations as might make the temporary bill consistent with the present, he should not object to its passing.

Lord Ellenborough did not mean to excuse disobedience to an act of parliament; but there was reason for caution in the gaoler: and he mentioned a case in which a gaoler had paid a heavy sum for an escape, for having brought up a prisoner under a misapprehension as to the meaning of an act of parliament. Thus much was to be said for the marshal of the king's bench: but if there was any thing improper in the manner in which he had conducted himself, that admitted of no excuse, he should be very happy to find the amendments suggested in this amended bill such as would remove most of the defects of the measure; and he hoped the noble and learned lord would not abandon it till he had amended it as much as possible. As to the temporary bill, he was ready to proceed with that in the manner most convenient to all parties.

The lord chancellor stated, that he had never doubted but a gaoler would be justified in bringing up

his imprisoned debtors under this act, though, if he had been a gaoler, he did not say that he would have acted on that opinion. He should suggest such amendments as would be necessary to render the two bills consistent, by leaving out the repeal of the permanent bill, and enabling the debtors in custody to take the benefit of either at their option. He should also move the suspension of the standing order for tomorrow or next day, to enable them to proceed two steps in one day with these bills.

Lord Holland was happy that the noble lord on the wool-sack had no doubt but gaolers had authority to bring up prisoners under the act. With the amendments suggested by the noble and learned lord, he should not press his objections to the passing of this temporary bill.

House of commons.—Lord Stanley brought up a petition from several inhabitants of Liverpool, against the proposed bill for repealing the 5th Elizabeth respecting apprentices.

Mr. sergeant Onslow said, he by no means rose to object to the petition being brought up, but merely to observe, that he thought much misapprehension had gone abroad respecting the bill which he had given notice it was his intention to bring in on this subject. If he should receive permission of the house to bring in his bill, he could assure the house and the public, that it had never been within his contemplation to interfere in the smallest degree with chartered rights, nor would it affect those descriptions of persons who appeared to have taken alarm on the subject. As to attorneys, he believed they did not come within the limits of the 5th Elizabeth; for by an act of Geo. II. serving a clerkship of five years to any attorney regularly admitted by the courts in Westminster-hall, entitled any person to practise the profession; and he had always thought apothecaries were exempted from the act of Elizabeth. His only aim in bringing in a bill on the subject, if he should be permitted to do so, was to remove a great number of difficulties and inconveniencies to which many trades were liable from the provisions of that act.

On the order of the day being read for the second reading of the East India circuitous trade bill,

Mr. Finlay said, it was not his intention to oppose the progress of the bill, but merely to make a few observations on it. He thought it did not go far enough; for it left foreigners in possession of more extensive privileges with respect to the trade with India, than it gave to the subjects of this country, who were bound to bring their India cargoes to the port of London; whereas foreigners might carry theirs direct to America, or to any part of the continent of Europe, without this restriction; which would, in his opinion, give them a decided advantage over British merchants. It was therefore his wish, that the noble lord who had brought forward the question of the trade to India in the last session, and to whom they were all so much indebted for his exertions, would, in some future stage, make this bill more consonant to the principles he had then laid down.

Lord Castlereagh said, he agreed with the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, that in opening the trade to India in the way that had been done last session, the British merchants ought to be put on such a footing as to enable them to compete

compete with foreigners, both in America and on the continent of Europe, and indeed every where except with our own colonies, who had particular regulations of their own. When he first introduced the present bill, he had particularly mentioned, that it was only one branch of a plan for the regulation of the trade to India; and that by obliging the merchant ships to come to the ports in England, it was thought there would be an advantage accrue therefrom, by making it a more regular and important system: but if it should appear hereafter, that any considerable disadvantages or inconveniences should be found to arise, so as to affect the interests of those to whom the trade to India was thrown open, then it would be necessary and right that they should have a free and unrestricted trade to all foreign markets, whether in America or Europe, without touching at this country. The second branch of this business was the most extensive and important; and he was therefore of opinion that the discussion should not be brought forward till after the recess. When that should come on, he believed the honourable member would find that care would be taken to secure the interests of the British merchants, and to place them in a state of advantage paramount to those of all foreigners whatever.

Mr. Protheroe said, that his sentiments had been the same with those of the honourable member, and it was his intention to have said a few words on the subject; but he was happy to confess that he was highly gratified and satisfied with the explanation of the noble lord: he did not think it necessary to detain the house any longer.

The bill was then read a second time, ordered to be committed, and was finally passed.

House of commons, Dec. 3.—On the order of the day being read, for the second reading of the insolvent debtors' bill,

Mr. Lockhart said, that as the original bill, to amend which this was passed by the other house, had, in the last session, been suffered to go through this house without any discussion, or even comment, for the purpose of liberating a large body of unfortunate persons confined for debt, he thought it necessary now to call the attention of the house to a few observations which he wished to make on the principle of the original bill. That principle went to operate an extensive alteration in the established law of the land, as it related to debtor and creditor; and it would be necessary to consider what would be the effect of the bill. The crowded state of our gaols had, from time to time, for many years past, made it necessary to pass temporary insolvent bills, for the purpose of clearing them, though the legislature were always convinced of the evil tendency of them. The principle of the original bill, which was to continue for four years, was to provide a permanent law for the liberation of persons confined for debt: that act had been found defective; but the amendments had removed all the objections to it. He thought the legislature ought to modify the law as it now stands on this subject; but it became them to consider how far they would do so. The crowded state of our gaols had been frequently attributed to the obduracy of creditors; but he could not believe that to be the case. He thought it was more owing to the extravagance and profligacy of debtors.

If the legislature relaxed too much, it would give encouragement to the thoughtless, the extravagant, and profligate, to the great injury of the fair creditor, and to the morals of the country. By this bill debtors were to be liberated after three months' confinement. He thought the term not long enough. It would hold out a temptation to the young and inexperienced, and much more to those of bad principle, to obtain as much property as possible by running in debt, and then free themselves by an imprisonment of such short duration. Another objection was, that the creditor had now power to come before a commissioner and give up all his property, as was the case of the *cessio bonorum* in Scotland, on the principle of which this bill was said to be founded. The debtor had the power of liberating himself at the end of three months if he chose; but if he possessed a freehold or leasehold landed estate, an annuity, and various other kinds of property, he might stay in a jail, and live upon it as he thought fit, whilst the creditor was left to console himself with the addition of heavy costs to the loss of his original debt. He thought also there should be a difference in the period of confinement, between those who immediately suffered judgement, and those who, by every species of delay which the law allowed, put their creditors to all possible expense, and frequently made the costs rise to five times the amount of the debt. Another objection was, that the bill was too great a deviation from the law at present established, and would, he feared, be productive of the curtailment of credit, which, to persons carrying on various small branches of trade, would be a serious grievance. Another objection was,—there was a clause in the bill, which said, that no person confined for damages in cases of *crim. con.* or other malicious injury, should have the benefit of the act, unless confined five months. What was the construction to be put on the expression *malicious* injury? It might, perhaps, be extended to all kinds of fraud; and if that should be the construction, persons might commit all those with impunity, except imprisonment for five months. After mentioning several other cases of hardship, he said the bill, in his opinion, went too far; but as he did not mean to oppose its progress, he hoped the subject would be debated in future sessions of the present parliament. It was only by frequent discussions, and by gentlemen of ability lending their aid, that this bill could be made a valuable permanent part of our code of laws, and productive of real benefit to the community.

Sir S. Romilly said, that great part of what had fallen from the honourable and learned gentleman did not apply to this bill, which had been passed for a particular purpose of humanity, and which it was desirable should be passed as soon as possible. There was no doubt but some further provisions would be made. Many points mentioned by the honourable gentleman certainly deserved the attention of the house, and he hoped a bill or bills would hereafter be brought forward to correct and amend those defects in the law. He alluded particularly to the delay which was suffered to take place, to the great injury of the creditor, by the allowance of writs of error where no error lay, but which caused many months delay, merely to obtain so much money in the shape of fees. That part of the law

law ought unquestionably to be amended; and he saw no reason why real and other species of landed estates should not be made liable to the payment of debts. So convinced was he of the propriety and justice of this, that he was determined, soon after the recess, to move for leave to bring in a bill to that effect.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the estimates on the table be referred to a committee. Ordered.

The house then went into the committee, in which

Lord Palmerston said, that as he meant only to move for sums on account, he should postpone troubling the house with any detail till after the recess.

He then moved the several items which make up the 6,000,000*l.* already agreed to by the committee, on account, for the ordinary service for the year 1814; which were severally read and agreed to.

He then moved, that a sum not exceeding 3,000,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, on account, for the extraordinary service for the same year; which was agreed to.

On the order of the day being read for the house to go into a committee on the lace-frame bill,

The attorney-general rose to state to the house, previously to the speaker's leaving the chair, the outline of what was proposed by the alterations intended to be made in the committee. He then recapitulated the reasons which weighed with the legislature to pass the original bill, and the good effects it had produced, viz. the entire quelling of the disturbances. If, by the terror of the law, men could be made to keep the peace, it might be desirable to continue so harmless an experiment for a short time. Great objections, however, having been made to continue the penalty of death, by an honourable and learned friend of his (sir S. Romilly), and several others, whose opinions were deserving of every attention, he meant, when the house was in the committee, to propose that the punishment of death should cease, and that it should be transportation for life, instead of fourteen years at the most, or seven years at the least, as in the 28th of the king; and further, that a power should be given to the judge to lessen the punishment according to his discretion. He should also propose a clause to put prosecutors in the same state as in all other cases for felony. He concluded by moving, that it be an instruction to the said committee to alter and amend the said act.—Ordered.

House of lords, Dec. 6.—Lord Holland, after requesting the indulgence of the house for introducing the subject of the slave trade without a question before the house, expressed his regret that so little progress had been made in the attempt to prevent the practice of carrying on the slave trade under foreign flags. As he hoped that the result of the late operations on the continent would be the re-establishment of peace, he could not help calling the attention of ministers to this subject. The trade had been once carried on to a very great extent under the Dutch flag; and in any treaty with Holland, it would be the duty of ministers to insert a clause for the prevention of carrying on the traffic in question under the flag of that country. He did not, however, expect that ministers would give any particular explanation

explanation of what was to be done in the event of a treaty with that power. In the present circumstances it would be improper to do so. He only wished that their attention should be called to the subject. He did not, however, mean to say that ministers had been negligent in this respect. He gave them credit for every desire to carry into complete effect the wishes of the legislature, and of the country; but it was a matter of much regret, that so little progress had hitherto been made. He was sorry that an article of the description which he had mentioned, had not been introduced into the treaty with Spain. He regretted his being obliged to say, with all his admiration of the Spanish nation, and of the admirable struggle which they had made for their independence, that the slave traffic was carried on under their flag to a very considerable extent. He again however must repeat his hopes, that no exertions would be neglected, on the part of ministers, to put a final stop, if possible, to the slave trade, among all the powers with whom they had any influence.

Lord Liverpool repeated, what he had often stated before, that every principle which had induced the legislature to pass the slave trade abolition act, operated with ministers to use every endeavour to accomplish the abolition of the traffic among foreign powers. The very principles on which the abolition had been opposed, led them, since it was abolished here, to endeavour to render that abolition universal. It would, of course, be improper to enter into any particulars at present; but in the event contemplated by the noble lord opposite, he believed there could be no difficulty in making a suitable arrangement for this desirable object, with the nation to which the noble lord specifically alluded.

On the motion for the second reading of the mutiny bill,

Lord Holland had no positive objection to state to the progress of the bill, far less did he intend, under the present circumstances of the country, to vote against it: but at the same time he could not help now observing, that this most important measure was one which the legislature had formerly regarded with peculiar jealousy, although it was now become old-fashioned to attend much to the annual progress of the mutiny bill. Nothing, however, but the peculiar circumstances of the country could excuse the second reading of the bill, without having even summoned the house in order to call their attention to what they were doing. It was proper to observe upon this remarkable proceeding, that it might not be drawn into a precedent. There was hardly a precedent for such a mode of proceeding in modern times, or for the long adjournment for which the passing of the mutiny bill at this early period of the session was a preparatory step. If such long adjournments were to become frequent, it would go near virtually to deprive one part of the united kingdom of its representation. He was aware, however, that the very peculiar circumstances of the world at this critical period, did afford something like a justification of this extraordinary proceeding. He was aware that it was important, that in a case of a long adjournment it was most proper, to have the mutiny bill passed, in order to prevent the confusion that might otherwise ensue; and, wishing to interpose no difficulties in the way of ministers at a moment

ment when so many important particulars required their utmost attention, he did not absolutely object to the progress of the bill; nor, when the adjournment came to be proposed, did he say that he should oppose that: but he again solicited the attention of the house to this fact, that nothing could justify this mode of proceeding, except the very peculiar circumstances in which the country was at this period placed, and the very important duties which devolved upon those who conducted the government.

Lord Liverpool did not consider it old-fashioned to pay particular attention to the progress and provisions of the annual mutiny bill. On the contrary, he considered the annual passing of that bill, and the attention which the legislature was by that means enabled to pay it—the army being by this means, as it were, kept constantly under the control of parliament—he looked upon this as one of the best securities of the constitution. But the noble lord would observe, that the object of this bill was not to extend the provisions or the operation of the mutiny act. The object was merely to pass it before the recess, that there might be no danger of that important act being allowed to expire. He admitted, however, that it was unusual to press forward this bill at so early a period of the session, though the noble lord was mistaken in supposing it to be without a precedent in modern times; and he mentioned as an instance the precedent of the year 1795. It was, however, unusual; and he was perfectly willing to rest its justification on the extraordinary circumstances of the times, which rendered it certainly desirable that this bill should be passed now, rather than in February, or the beginning of March. With regard to the not summoning the house, he acknowledged that it would have been more proper and decorous to have called the attention of their lordships to it in that way. The neglect arose merely from inadvertence, and he was ready to admit that some blame attached to him on that account.

Lord Holland had nothing more to say, after the candid manner in which the noble earl had admitted that it would have been proper to have summoned the house, for the purpose of calling its attention to a measure of this consequence. His object merely was to prevent this mode of proceeding being drawn into a precedent. The noble earl had said, that there was a precedent in modern times for this. He (Holland) had not said that there was no precedent; he had only said that there was hardly a precedent; and when he talked of a precedent, he meant a precedent in good times; and no impartial man would say that the period of 1795 was of that description.

The bill was then read a second time.

House of commons, Dec. 6.—On the further consideration of the report of the framework bill, sir S. Romilly repeated the objection which he had before stated. He thought that the penalties inflicted by the bill merited a more serious consideration, and moved the postponement of the second reading for six months.

Sir William Garrow opposed the motion, and defended the bill as a fair and proper measure for the protection of machinery against those who were disposed to become turbulent and riotous. There was no reason for fear respecting the acts of idle apprentices, since it was necessary

necessary that the mischief done should be done maliciously. The bill would be wholesome and salutary in its consequences, as it would show deluded people what they were to expect, if they pursued a disorderly and dangerous conduct. He had no objection whatever to giving the judge the power of mitigating the punishment, as to the term of transportation.

Mr. Horner made various objections to the bill; but more particularly to the proposition of the attorney-general, for giving a discretionary power to the judges respecting the term of transportation. Mercy was a prerogative of the crown, to be exercised in rare occurrences. It was not rightly used, when a punishment was enacted of a high degree, which was to be softened down at the discretion of the judge, however respectable he might be.

Mr. B. Bathurst observed, that there was no adequate punishment for the offences in question, save that which was enacted by this bill. Should the spirit of turbulence again arise, the penalties provided by this measure were light, when compared with the dangerous nature and effects of the evil which it was intended to guard against. He thought it much better to leave the power of mitigation to the judge, as in other cases. He could not agree with the alterations, unless the gentlemen on the other side would take upon themselves to say that no cases could arise under the act to call for the larger punishment.

Mr. John Smith approved of the alteration in the bill which substituted transportation for life to capital punishment. In fact, the severity of capital punishment prevented many prosecutions under this act. The offences in contemplation were committed by mobs principally consisting of very young persons of both sexes. No person could avoid feeling great repugnance to bring such persons to capital punishment. He must say, however, that the manufacturing districts were in such an alarming state of riot at the time of the passing of the law, that some very severe punishment was absolutely necessary.

Mr. Abercromby was against the clause of transportation for life, and thought the attorney-general had passed rather a sweeping censure upon the criminal laws of the country as they now exist, in saying that, in the contemplation of the law, transportation was always considered for life, although it was often mitigated.

Mr. serjeant Best was surprised to find how much his honourable and learned friend (the attorney-general) had been misunderstood. He certainly never had said that transportation ought always to be for life, nor had he said any thing like it. He entirely concurred with him, however, in thinking that it was best to make the offence liable to transportation for life, which sentence might be mitigated by the judges when favourable circumstances appeared. For putting down or preventing the offence, it was necessary that the terror of the greater punishment should be held over the heads of the offenders. It was not cruelty, it was mercy to hold out this terror: and it was impossible to say that cases might not occur which would demand the whole punishment of transportation for life.

Mr. Addington said, that he should have had great reluctance to propose the renewal of the bill,

if

if transportation had not been substituted for capital punishment.

The house then proceeded in the consideration of the report; and after some further conversation, the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Wednesday next:—and it was finally passed.

House of commons, Dec. 7.—The honourable Mr. Eden rose, pursuant to his notice, to state his object as concisely as possible. It was not a duty imposed by law, but it was a practice generally acted upon by grand juries at assizes, to visit the public jails, and to report the result of their examinations to the judge, stating what appeared to them as faults in the administration of the prison. The grand jury of the city of London had last week visited the prison of Newgate, and had made a representation of its present state, for a copy of which he should move. It stated briefly, that in that part of the prison which should contain 60 women, there were now confined 120; that in another part, which was intended to contain 100 persons, there were at present 340 debtors: that the prisoners were in a deplorable state, from want of clothing and of bedding, and were exposed to the severity of the season, the rain beating in upon them through neglect of the building. He needed hardly add a comment upon such a statement, but he wished to bring the matter home to the feelings of the house. He then referred to Mr. Newman the keeper's statements before the committee of the house of commons. He had said that the place of confinement for women was destined to receive only 57; but that, by appropriating the infirmary and other apartments to the same object, room might be found for 190: yet now their number was 120. The principal room for the women was only 36 feet by 15 feet. It was intended that each woman should have a space of three feet six inches: whereas, now, one foot nine inches in breadth was the whole that could be allotted to each unfortunate woman. Many of these women had with them two or three children. Such was the calamity of their situation. Many of them were convicts: but the law never contemplated such an aggravation of their sufferings under punishment. Some prisoners were awaiting the first opportunity for their transportation; others were not convicted criminals, but were confined on suspicion, and, though yet to be tried, were mingled with the basest and most abandoned characters. Could it be supposed that any one confined with such depraved companions could leave such society without being corrupted? As far as the report of the grand jury related to the situation of the debtors he should say little, trusting that the new bill would operate in that respect as a permanent remedy. All the debtors in Newgate he should presume to be insolvent, or they would not remain in such a prison as that; but go to the Bench or the Fleet. To ensure the redress of a great evil, it was useful to make the facts public; therefore he should move for the production of this paper. After the recess he should propose a committee to inquire into the subject, and also to ascertain whether the intended new prison would be adequate to the desired relief. He then moved for a copy of the report of the grand jury of the city of London, presented by them to the judges at the Old Bailey session, containing an account of the state of the prison of Newgate.

Sir

Sir W. Curtis seconded the motion; but was convinced, that a great part of what had fallen from the honourable member would, upon examination, be confuted.

Sir James Shaw said, that it would appear that the magistrates had done every thing in their power for the required relief. There were 350 debtors in Newgate. One object was nearly realised for the relief of Newgate, by the construction of a new prison for the debtors, and which would be capacious enough for 300 persons. The Newgate criminals were 417, of which 202 were convicted and sentenced to transportation. Three weeks ago the sheriffs, with the attention which they always paid to these subjects, made a representation to the secretary of state for the home department, requesting shipping to be provided early to carry out the convicts, or some other means to be adopted. Lord Sidmouth had promised to do every thing that was possible. When the debtors should be removed from Newgate, and the 200 convicts sent off, there would be only three hundred left in Newgate, which had a capacity to hold a greater number.

Mr. alderman Atkins commended the general care and good conduct of the jail. The women prisoners required much more trouble to preserve order among them than the others; and it was very difficult to enforce the necessary cleanliness.

Mr. Abercromby supported the motion, but imputed no inattention to any person. He was happy that the motion was so cheerfully met, and that an examination was to follow. As a member of parliament, he had had occasion for visiting Newgate: and he thought Mr. Newman, the keeper, entitled to every possible praise for an anxious desire to discharge the duties of his station. Yet he must say that the sight of Newgate was a disgrace to the metropolis, particularly as it regarded the places of confinement for the women. Those depraved females might be more difficult to govern than any other persons: still the average room was far too small for them. Unless some provision was made for classing the different kinds of criminals, all efforts at order would be found ineffectual.

Mr. Lockhart hoped the new bill would prove a permanent remedy for one cause of the evil. The other cause, from the pressure of convicts, was temporary. It seemed desirable that a more convenient and nearer spot than Botany Bay should be selected, that convicts might be removed more frequently.

The motion was agreed to.

On the question for the third reading of the new insolvent bill, Mr. serjeant Best contended that the bill never could be acted upon, if passed in its present state. It was quite inadequate to its proposed functions. By one clause, the debtor's concealment of 20*l.* was made a capital offence. But as the law required the deliberations of two juries, a grand and petty one, for the conviction of individuals, would it be right in this case to proceed against persons on information, and without those provisions? The amended bill provided, that notices to creditors should be given in the London Gazette, or some newspaper or newspapers. A newspaper might be chosen, which the creditors might never read. There was also a contradiction in the clauses respecting the bringing up the prisoners before the justices. It would be impossible to execute the

act.

act. Prisoners under particular judgements for malicious injuries, &c. or being fraudulent debtors, were entitled to no benefit. But how was the court to be regularly put into possession of these facts? How could it enforce the clauses under this act? Prisoners might be in the King's Bench, or Fleet, for debts incurred in Cornwall or Northumberland. How were their creditors to oppose fraudulent debtors? Must they come up to London with their witnesses? Some debtors' frauds were of such an extent and consequence, as even to take from the injured creditors the ability of objecting to their liberation. The defects in the bill ought to be remedied, or it would be better not to pass the bill. As to the debtors in Cornwall, and the distant parts of the kingdom, he did not think it proper that they and their creditors should be brought up to London; but he thought the bill should have allowed those creditors who had legal and valid objections to the discharge of their debtors, under this act, to substantiate those objections in the country. He was not averse to the general principle of discharging from imprisonment on the *cessio bonorum*; but he thought that it would be possible to discriminate between those who had become insolvent from mere misfortune, and those who were fraudulent debtors, or whose circumstances were reduced by idleness, extravagance, and gaming. To those who were merely unfortunate, he should wish that there was no imprisonment necessary in order to take the benefit of the act, as he was convinced that even passing the threshold of a prison was sufficient to degrade and destroy the future comforts of an innocent but unfortunate man. To those, however, whose debts and embarrassments were owing to their own faults; to those who had dissipated their means by extravagance and gaming; and to those who inflicted on their creditors the additional wrong of driving them to the expense of an action at law, when they had no just defence, —to such persons he thought that the three months' imprisonment required by this act was not sufficient punishment. He should propose a clause, that they should be imprisoned for twelve months within the walls of a jail, before they could claim the benefit of this act. To the unfortunate, however, he wished that the benefits of this act might be extended without any imprisonment at all. He wished to hold out a temptation to them, when they knew themselves in a state of insolvency, to come forward to their creditors, and on the *cessio bonorum* to obtain the benefit of this act, instead of holding their creditors at arm's length, and driving them to the expense and delay of a law-suit, by sham pleadings, and other modes which were often taken to delay the recovery of a just debt. He thought that the principle of the bankrupt law might well be applied to them, when they should prove satisfactorily that their insolvency proceeded from misfortune, and that they had fairly surrendered their property. In fact, the imprisonment of those persons was an injury to the creditors, as part of their means was then necessarily divided among gaolers and other officers. He was then proceeding to offer his clauses; when

The speaker informed him, that this was not the proper stage to offer clauses; but that it would be competent to him, if the bill should

be

be read a third time, to offer any clauses or amendments he might think proper.

The bill was then read a third time.

Mr. serjeant Best then proposed his first clause, which went to extend the benefits of the bill to debtors not actually imprisoned.

Mr. Horner was glad to hear the honourable and learned gentleman avow himself a friend to the principle of the *cessio bonorum*, and he therefore hoped that he would not do any thing to delay or obstruct the passing of the present bill, although he might have some objection to its details. There was no doubt that many improvements might be suggested in this bill, and that there would be various opportunities, not only in the course of this session but in subsequent sessions, to suggest those improvements. He therefore wished that the honourable and learned gentleman would defer, to some future opportunity, the consideration of those ideas which he had now for the first time thrown out. The suggestions of the honourable and learned gentleman were novel, and would (if adopted) form the greatest innovation in the existing law that had ever been attempted or proposed. What could be a greater innovation, than to extend the provisions of the bankrupt laws to persons who were not traders? Another of his clauses went to create a new species of crime, and to punish with twelve months imprisonment in a jail, persons who were now not subject to such severity of punishment. He was not prepared to say that those propositions were not wise or expedient; but he was perfectly prepared to say, that it was impossible that the house could adopt such a great innovation on our laws, without the most mature deliberation, and the fullest time being allowed for the consideration of those propositions. It appeared to him impossible that any court of justice, or any tribunal whatever, could enter so completely into the motives of the debtor, or the history of his whole life, as to pronounce whether his debts had been contracted from extravagance or idleness, or whether his insolvency was not the result of misfortune. He thought it much better that those questions should be left, as they were at present, to the judgement of those who had had dealings with them, and had chosen to give them credit. The honourable and learned gentleman appeared to have read the act with very little attention, since he had commented at some length on a clause respecting capital punishment, which was not to be found in the bill: he had also mistaken that clause which allowed the justices at quarter sessions not only to take the examination of the prisoners, but to certify their opinion to the judge of the insolvent court, whether the prisoner ought to be discharged or not.

The first clause, proposed by Mr. serjeant Best, was then put and negatived, and the second clause was withdrawn. The bill was afterwards passed.

Dec. 9.—On the order of the day for going into the committee on the East India circuitous trade bill,

Mr. Grant rose, to state his apprehensions of the consequences likely to result from the proposed change of system in carrying on an East India trade, upon which it had been the settled opinion and practice that it should centre in the mother country. On the opening of the discussions respecting the company's

pany's charter, he had, as far as his abilities permitted, expressed his objections to the intended deviation from the established system. The principle of this bill went to break down the ancient policy.' In his apprehension it would diminish the intercourse of this country with the East Indies, while, at the same time, it would increase the intercourse of the East India merchants with the other parts of the world. He could not see that the bill prevented ships, after clearing out in this country for India, from carrying on trade in other countries to a great extent: at any rate, they might return home in ballast. There was no probability that the manufactures or trade of Great Britain could be promoted by this measure; but, he feared, that the trade of other countries would be benefited. Our manufacturers could hope for no extension by it, since North and South America, and particularly the Brazils, received British goods already by other means. Under this new system, might not ships go out to India merely in ballast? This might enrich persons in India; but how could it advance the interests of Great Britain? The profits would rest with the India merchants. He could not see how the carrying trade was to be secured to us: nor what was to prevent the Spanish merchants from coming over here from South America, settling here with a view to the East India trade, and carrying away many of its advantages. We should enjoy less of the trade in East India products to America and other parts, while the American traders would embrace the opportunity of trading in Indian imports with the North of America and the West Indies: a trade which should always be supplied from Great Britain alone. It was a proper provision to prevent ships from touching at the islands, &c. on their return to England: since, otherwise, they might make their depots at those places. The tendency of the bill, he repeated, was to take away the trade from the mother country. It should be recollected that it was by a course of this sort, that our American colonies were in a great degree enabled to shake off their dependence upon Great Britain; and the effect would be, to render the India merchants less dependent. Some persons, he feared, were at once for a direct commerce between the East Indies and foreign Europe. After having succeeded in overturning a system which had lasted two centuries, with great advantage to the country, they were now proceeding to take off all remaining restrictions and limitations, and to alter the ancient policy and practice more and more. This would certainly be dangerous. The only foreigners, of late, who traded with India, were the Americans and the Portuguese; but America was strictly entitled to trade for no more than for her own consumption, and not circuitously to any foreign ports whatever. As for the Portuguese, they had possessed establishments in India antecedent to our own, and were entitled to their privileges. He understood they had made Goa a sort of free port. The original grants from the natives of India to the Europeans for their settlements in India, were only for their own particular trade, such as those, for instance, to France: but they were not authorised to admit other nations to trade in the ports assigned to them; and they ought to be placed again on the same footing, if permitted to resume their settlements in the East. If we admitted

the Americans to trade there, where they had no ports of their own, we should restrict them in the exercise of that trade. Foreigners should be so regulated as not to do harm to our interests on the return of peace. The advantage enjoyed by America had arisen from her neutral character during war, and her access, in consequence, to foreign ports, which were shut against us. He was sure that our old system possessed advantages for this country much superior to any that was proposed in its stead. The neutrality of America was the chief cause of her extensive trade. If any scheme was adopted for laying open the trade, as some persons wished, the mother-country would suffer seriously by it: and he forsaw no possible case, in which manufactures or commerce would be increased by it. If the old system remained, we should, on the contrary, find ourselves, on the return of peace, possessed of all our advantages, from the variety and excellence of our assortments, which attracted numbers of buyers to this country from foreign Europe. In India goods could be carried to the north and the south, without being brought here first, we could not expect the foreign dealers to come here. There were many incidental advantages to our manufactures, generally arising from these foreign buyers coming here for India goods, as it induced them to purchase a variety of English products. The noble lord would probably endeavour to shew that he had adopted the true medium between the disadvantages of either extreme: but he (Mr. G.) viewed the bill as tending to diminish our commerce.

Lord Castlereagh intended to propose some alterations in the bill, which would considerably narrow the present question. Although the hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant) had laid down some general principles against what he apprehended might be proposed in future, yet he did not understand him to feel any alarm about the present measure. He had already stated, that at some future time it was probable that a more extended measure would be submitted to the consideration of the house; but in the present state of the session, he should not think it quite fair to bring forward a question about which there must naturally be a great diversity of opinions. He should therefore at present propose, that the Canaries, the Cape de Verd Islands, and the Island of Madeira, should be excepted from this bill, and that those words should be struck out of it. He, however, himself entertained no fear that any depots could have been established in those islands sufficient to compete with the great emporium of the trade which it was wished to confine to this country. Having consented to this alteration, he thought that this bill could not be rejected, unless it was thought wise to undo all that the legislature had thought proper to enact last session, with respect to the trade to India. As to the general principles laid down by the honourable gentleman, he could not entirely agree with him. The honourable gentleman had argued the question of the trade with India as if it were a colony. The principles, however, of colonial policy had never been extended to our empire in the East, nor had it been considered in the light of a colony. We had allowed foreigners the liberty of trading with our subjects in the East, and we had allowed them the privilege of commerce to a greater extent than ever was granted to a colony. In speaking on the general

general policy, the honourable gentleman seemed to consider it a great evil for British merchants to be allowed to trade from one foreign state to another, or for foreign merchants to settle in this country under the protection of our laws, for the purpose of carrying on a general commerce, which might ultimately centre in a foreign state. He, however, totally differed from this opinion, and thought that it would be most for the advantage of British commerce, that the British merchants should have equal advantages to any foreigners in carrying on their general trade in the manner that appeared to them the most profitable. It was natural for the honourable gentleman to feel strongly for the interest of that company of which he had been one of the most able servants. He should, however, look at the question in a national, and not a corporate point of view. The corporate body had been treated most liberally by the legislature, in being allowed the exclusive commerce with China; and it certainly was the intention of the legislature, that as to the trade with India, the merchants of this country should have a full participation and equal facilities for carrying it on. The trade to India had not been particularly profitable to the company; and he thought they should readily agree to a fair participation of it. The question was not so much about the emporium of the trade, as it was that the British merchants at home and abroad should have equal facilities in carrying on their trade as foreign merchants were actually possessed of. He did not wish to make those facilities greater, as he was convinced that the true spirit of commerce was to be found only in fair competition; and that whatever was serviceable to the general interests of commerce, would also be found to be most conducive to the interests of the British merchants. He did not wish, at the present period of the session, to propose a measure which extended as far as his own impressions went of what ought ultimately to be done. If, therefore, there was no serious objection to what was now proposed, he thought it better to allow the present bill to pass, without fighting by anticipation those battles which might be produced by measures to be proposed in future.

After a few observations from Mr. Fawcett, and some other gentlemen, the bill went into the committee, where some alterations were made in it, and the report was ordered to be brought up tomorrow.

Dec. 13.—Mr. Horner called the attention of the house to the practice, which had been too frequent, of introducing into local poor bills, clauses which were quite inconsistent with the general law of the land, respecting the settlement and regulation of the poor. He, therefore, moved, that it should be a standing order of the house for the present session, that in no local bill, for the regulation of the poor, there should be introduced any clauses which went to alter the general principles of the settlement of the poor, or to give the power of corporal punishment over them to any person.

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed his entire concurrence in the sentiments of the honourable and learned gentleman. It was undoubtedly proper to prevent the introduction of clauses which would cause so great a disparity in the condition of the poor in different parts of the kingdom, and place them under such very different treatment.

Sir S. Romilly suggested that the measure ought to be carried still further. There was another description of clauses as exceptionable as those which had been stated by his hon. and learned friend, and to which he had himself sometimes called the attention of the house. He meant those clauses which empowered the trustees to employ the poor in a manner not authorised by law; such as farming them out at their pleasure, or disposing of them to those who wished to hire them by the day, or such other term as was agreed on.

The resolutions moved by Mr. Horner were unanimously agreed to.

Dec. 14.—Sir James Macintosh rose to put some questions to the noble lord (lord Castlereagh), in consequence of his having seen it announced in the London Gazette, that an ambassador had been appointed for Holland, under a new stile and designation. He was aware that it was contrary to parliamentary usage to preface questions by any observations, and he should have abstained from so doing at present, even if the usage had not been so well established. The questions that he had to propose to the noble lord were,—whether it was known to his majesty's ministers, before his serene highness the prince of Orange left this country, that it was his intention to exercise powers, or assume a stile and title, unknown to the ancient laws of the United Provinces; and whether he had assumed those titles and authorities with the privity and consent of his majesty's government?

Lord Castlereagh replied, that he was not privy to any intention of the prince of Orange, before he left this country, to take any new titles, or exercise any new authority. His serene highness had been invited to Holland by a provisional government there established, and his majesty's ministers did not know what functions of that government he would be called upon to exercise, or what titles would be conferred upon him by the people of that country. He was happy, however, to state, that to the authority he now exercised, and to his present title, he had been called by the spontaneous and unanimous voice of the whole nation. It was not merely the former friends of the house of Orange, but those, also, who had, in other times, been most adverse to the power of that family, were now united in opinion that a higher rank should be given to him in the state than was held by his ancestors. His majesty's ministers, however, cautiously abstained from making out the credentials to the ambassador at the Hague, until a formal notification had been received from Holland, of the stile and title conferred upon his serene highness the prince of Orange.

Sir James Macintosh said, that in consequence of what had fallen from the noble lord, he felt it to be his duty to state, under the present circumstances, that if the noble lord or any of his majesty's ministers should propose an adjournment of the house for a much longer period than was usual, he should oppose the adjournment, unless ministers made out a strong case to shew the necessity of it.

Lord Castlereagh said, that it was his intention to move that the house should, at its rising, adjourn to Friday next. It was probable that on Monday the ulterior adjournment would take place. The hon. and learned gentleman might therefore take that opportunity of expressing

pressing his sentiments in opposition to the adjournment.

Dec. 17.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house, on its rising, should adjourn to Monday next, on which day it was the intention of his noble friend to move an adjournment till the 1st of March.

The chancellor of the exchequer hoped to be indulged in saying a few words relative to certain misapprehensions which had gone abroad with respect to what had fallen from him on a preceding evening. He was informed, however, that such an alarm was excited, that many persons had determined to refuse, to a certain degree, all the copper currency of the realm. Certainly nothing which had fallen from him could at all justify such a proceeding; but, as it had taken place, he now wished to be distinctly understood as declaring, that (unless he had been totally misinformed on the subject) the refusal of what were called the Tower halfpence was illegal, they being declared current by his majesty's proclamation, and that, consequently, persons were bound to receive them as such. He hoped, therefore, such practices would cease; but he would further state, for the satisfaction of those who might happen to hold large quantities of that coin, that it was the intention of government to receive them, when called in, at their full current value. The house was aware that it would require some time and attention before every thing could be duly arranged for such a measure; but he hoped that till that time, no needless alarm would exist in the public mind, nor any obstruction take place in the free circulation of the current copper coin of the realm.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of supply, when a variety of miscellaneous estimates for the ensuing year were voted.—Adjourned.

House of lords.—Dec. 20.—The royal assent was given by commission to several public and private bills.

Lord Holland adverted to a paper stated to be a declaration of the allied powers; and wished to know, whether the paper in question was or was not authentic? If it was authentic, whether the government of this country was a party to it? The declaration contained these words: "The first use which their imperial and royal majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his majesty the emperor of the French." He need not read the rest of the wise and magnanimous language of that declaration. But another question arose out of the words which he had read, Whether or no the offer had been rejected, or whether a negociation was actually going on?

Lord Liverpool replied, that the paper was, he believed, authentic; this was the answer to the first question. To the second, he answered, that the declaration was framed and issued at Frankfort, without any previous communication, as to this particular act, with the government of this country. But at the same time he thought it right to observe, that the other allied powers were fully in possession of the general sentiments of the British government on this subject. As to the other question of the noble lord, relative to an offer of peace, and the rejection of it, or any thing relative to negociation, whether going on or not, he felt it his duty to abstain from giving any answer whatever.

Lord Liverpool, in rising to move a longer adjournment than ordinary, was desirous of stating briefly the reasons on which the motion was founded. It was known to their lordships, that parliament had met at a period unusually early; that it therefore had sat, and would on the whole sit, as many or more days than usual; and that it had done much more public and private business than was usual at so early a period. This was one reason for a longer adjournment than usual. Another reason was, a shorter adjournment would not serve in the least to facilitate the object of public business, or to render the period of prorogation more early. Without saying what further pecuniary arrangements were to be made, or whether any further arrangements would be necessary, yet if any such should be found necessary, it would be inconvenient that they should take place before the month of May. An adjournment, therefore, only till the middle of January, or till the beginning of February, would make no difference as to the duration of the session. As to the private or judicial business, the house, as he had already stated, would, upon the whole, sit as many days as usual, so that no extraordinary inconvenience need be apprehended on that score. He concluded by moving, that the house adjourn till the 1st of March.

Lord Darnley opposed the motion, and moved, as an amendment, that the "1st of February" should be substituted. His lordship made various observations in support of his amendment, in which he alluded to the bad state of affairs in America, where, on one of the lakes, our fleet had been annihilated,—on another, sir J. Yeo was hardly able to maintain the struggle,—and on land, it was probable that the enemy had already obtained possession of Upper Canada.—His lordship noticed also the overthrow of the old constitution of the United Provinces, where the prince of Orange had assumed the government under the new title of sovereign prince of the Netherlands. While these and other important matters were taking place, his lordship thought that so long an adjournment was altogether improper.

Lord Holland followed on the same side. He said that the greatest confidence had been reposed in parliament, and most important measures carried without opposition, and now ministers said, "You have done our jobs, and now you may adjourn."—This, he thought, not very becoming conduct. No man rejoiced at the late events of the war more than he did, and he attributed them to the total change of measures which had taken place. The war was now carried on by nations struggling for independence. Some praise was certainly due to ministers, particularly for their persevering conduct in Spain, who had afforded a grand example to the rest of Europe. He was ready also to do justice to the moderation of ministers, which had secured the important aid of Austria to the general cause. The enemy last year possessed Moscow, and was besieging Cadiz: now he was pressed on the north of the Pyrenees, and was almost driven out of Holland,—the effect of inordinate ambition on one part, and moderation with firmness on the other.—He was happy to see, that in Spain they were disposed rather to widen than to narrow the basis of their government; while in Holland the opposite course had been adopted. He hoped it would always be recollected, that

government

governments were not to be made for governments, but for the governed; and that God and Nature had given each nation a right to choose its own government, without any interference on the part of neighbours.—The first prince of Orange had been too wise to deprive the people of their ancient institutions, and he hoped that the present prince would act with similar wisdom.—He did not yet sufficiently understand the measures adopted in Holland; but true policy required that the foundations on which the government rested should be widened rather than narrowed.—He approved the moderation of the language delivered from the throne; but he had seen in certain publications language of a far different sort; and he could not help feeling the utmost disgust at hearing the war hoop sounded, even to the encouragement of assassination—borrowing the most violent jacobinical language—and holding up a great military chief as a fit object for personal vengeance: for what else could be the meaning of the often-repeated assertion, that no peace could be made with the person at the head of the French government?—If this meant any thing, it must mean that the Bourbons should be restored.—Ministers, he trusted, had a better policy; for such an endeavour would be the very way to defeat its object. A peace which left France a considerable addition of territory, while it kept up the spirit of union in the present confederacy, would be the best way of preserving the balance of power.—Returning to the question of adjournment, he thought it might be injurious for so long a time; and it would compel parliament to sit till a late period in summer, when a thin attendance would be the natural result.

Lord Liverpool's motion was however carried, and the house adjourned till March 1.

House of commons, Dec. 20.—Mr. Horner put questions to ministers relative to the declaration of the allies and the prospect of peace; and they were answered by lord Castlereagh, in the same guarded manner as that adopted by lord Liverpool in the other house.

Lord Castlereagh moved, in the same way, that the house should adjourn till the 1st of March.

Sir J. Macintosh opposed the motion. The house, he said, had other duties to perform than to grant money when called upon by the crown: its duty was to assist the crown with advice on important matters; and this was a period pregnant with them; for we were now in a great crisis; events of a most stupendous nature were every day expected, which might decide the fate of Europe. It was therefore precisely the moment when a short rather than a long adjournment should take place. Sir James then alluded to the recent events in Holland. On the arrival of the prince of Orange in that country, he had accepted, against his own judgement, as he stated, a higher title than that of his ancestors. He regretted the levity with which the ancient and renowned constitution of Holland had thus been subverted; a constitution which England had guaranteed by the treaty of 1788. Yet this had been overthrown by a few private gentlemen, and by popular acclamation, in the presence of a foreign force! If the transaction was really that of the people of Holland, certainly we had nothing to do with it; but he could

not help feeling sorrow, that a commonwealth which had so long flourished, should be overthrown in such a manner—a commonwealth which had so nobly resisted the tyranny of Philip, and the ambition of Louis XIV. and XV. He wanted to see governments amended not overturned. A former prince of Orange had declined a similar dignity, observing, "He had a strong ambition to grow great by the service, but not by the servitude, of his country." He was glad, however, to see that the prince of Orange had promised to undertake the government under a wise constitution only, which should secure the liberties of the Dutch people: but he could have wished that the people of Holland had expressed their opinion by their legal or actual representatives. Sir James then adverted to Switzerland, and said, that he hoped the neutrality of that republic would not be violated by the allies. Switzerland, as he understood, was bound to France by a treaty only, and was to furnish that power with a contingent of 16,000 men. The public law of nations allowed of such practices; and to violate the neutrality of Switzerland would, in his opinion, be to violate the law of nations. Her neutrality being injurious to the allies was no reason whatever for destroying it: and it would have an alarming appearance to see those, who professed to have no other object than to restore the independence of Europe, begin with violating the independence of Switzerland. Till the disgraceful partition of Poland, the balance of power had been well preserved. That event would most likely have taken place, had England and France not deserted the cause of Europe. To recreate this balance, the smaller powers must be protected in their rights. Sir J. Macintosh concluded by moving as an amendment, that the house do adjourn till January 24.

Colonel saint Paul, in a brief maiden speech, opposed this motion, declaring that he approved most heartily of all the measures of ministers, and that he was quite surprised to hear the honourable gentleman's feeble and finical objections!

Mr. Whitbread could not tell what the honourable gentleman meant by calling his honourable friend's speech finical. Perhaps he would be good enough to explain himself. For his own part, he congratulated the country on the accession to the house of his learned friend, than whom there was no person better qualified to explain and apply the principles of public law, and to judge of the propriety of great state measures. As to the adjournment, he was not disposed to vote against it. He had supported ministers, because he saw that the conduct pursued by them and the allies was directly the reverse of that which had been adopted at the beginning of the unhappy contest. He was glad that the allies had published their declaration, because it must put a stop to those wild, mischievous, and wicked notions, which had been entertained of devastating and dismembering France, by way of punishment! The allies had proceeded well, and he confidently hoped that peace would be the consequence; but if not, and they continued to act with the like moderation, he thought there was not a person in Europe who would not concur with them in the prosecution of the war.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Miscellaneous Business—Motion by Sir Samuel Romilly—Thanks to Lord Wellington—Debate on the Speaker's Speech—on Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to make Freehold Property liable to the Payment of Debts—Lord Liverpool on the Rupture of the Negotiation—The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the same Subject—Debate on the Colonial Residence Bill—Debate on Lord Liverpool's Message respecting the late Negotiation—Catholic Petition—on the Princess Charlotte's Marriage—Debate on Lord Morpeth's Motion—Sir S. Romilly's Bill to take away Corruption of Blood in Treason, &c.—Mr. Grenfell on the Sinking Fund—Mr. Sergeant Onslow's Bill on Apprentice Laws—Lord Holland on Norway—Dulwich College—Simple Contract Bill.

ALTHOUGH the parliament had adjourned its meetings to the 1st of March, yet it was not assembled for business till the 21st of that month; and on this day no business of importance was transacted. In the house of lords, lord Lauderdale moved for a return of the promissory notes stamped between the 10th of October 1812, and the 10th of October 1813, which was ordered. Some desultory conversation ensued respecting the hour at which the house should meet; which was fixed by lord Liverpool for five o'clock, and the house adjourned.

In the house of commons, Mr. Arbuthnot brought up some army estimates, at which Mr. Whitbread expressed his surprise, since it was understood to be improper to enter into any discussions relative to the great question of war.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed that this was not the time for great political discussions, but some vote was absolutely necessary for current services.

Mr. Whitbread desired to know whether it was true that sums of money had been sent to foreign powers, without the sanction of parliament, or any communication made to parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the house by votes of credit had placed certain sums at the disposal of government (by the last vote, three millions,) and he believed that there had not been more sent.

Lord Ossulston observed that at a time when it was known that peace was a word unpleasing to many ears, care ought to he taken that the country should not be reproached with having deserted the interests of those who were entitled to protection. After a speech of some length, he concluded by moving, "that an humble address should be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would direct an instruction to be given to the negociators at Chatillon, not to conclude any treaty with France, which should not contain a provision, that a general amnesty should be given to the subjects of a nation, on account of offences merely of a political nature."

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the common feelings of the house would be best consulted on the present occasion by moving the previous question.

This was accordingly put, and carried without a division.

Mr. Ponsonby stated that his noble

noble friend (lord Morpeth) intended to take the first open day after the Easter recess, to call the attention of the house to the speech delivered by the speaker in the house of lords at the conclusion of last session.

On the 22nd, as soon as the speaker had taken the chair,

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone rose and spoke in the following terms: —"Sir, from a sense of what is due to my own character, especially as a member of this house, I am induced to trouble the house with this solemn declaration, that all the accounts which have appeared in the public prints, implicating my character, are totally unfounded. I had no hand in the contrivance, nor any previous knowledge of the fraud, practised upon the Stock Exchange. For the present, I content myself with saying, that in a few days I shall publish a statement, which will confirm the declaration which I have now made to this honourable house."

The chancellor of the exchequer gave notice, that on Thursday he would move, that the thanks of the house should be given to the marquis of Wellington and his brave associates, for the late brilliant victories which they had achieved.

Sir S. Romilly gave notice, that to-morrow he intended to move for leave to bring in a bill to remove corruption of blood in cases of high treason; at the same time he would also move for leave to alter the punishment in cases of this kind.

The chancellor of the exchequer having stated that owing to Mr. Charles Grant, jun. having neglected to take certain oaths prescribed by form on his entrance into his office as one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, it was necessary *pro forma*, that his seat should be vacated. He therefore moved, "that the speaker should issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown to make out a new writ for the election of a commissioner to serve in the present parliament for the borough of Inverness, in the room of Charles Grant, jun. esq." which was ordered accordingly.

The chancellor of the exchequer then having obtained leave, brought in a bill, which was passed, to indemnify Charles Grant, jun. esq. for the penalties incurred by the accidental omission which had occasioned the preceding motion.

Mr. Wynne was sure that no one could have the most distant objection to either of the two last motions. For himself, he only regretted the occasion. It was an additional argument in favour of the motion which had been made by him last year, to take away the necessity of repealing those oaths which, as the forms at present prescribed, must be twice taken. The only objection which had been made to his motion was, that if it was agreed to, a Roman catholic might (if he could manage to be elected) find his way into the house, and vote for the election of a speaker, before he could be expelled.

On the twenty-third sir Samuel Romilly rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to remove, in certain cases, what was called in law, the corruption of blood. Although the bill which he had now to propose, was precisely the same as he had submitted to them last session, he hoped that he should not be charged with improper perseverance, when it was recollected in what manner his bill had been disposed of last year. He thought that it was probably his fault in not having sufficiently explained himself last year, as many

of

of those who spoke, and probably many who voted against him, seemed to consider that his object was to do away the forfeiture of estates in cases of treason. This was however not his object. As the law now stands, a person convicted of treason forfeits his lands, as well as his personal property altogether; whereas a person convicted of felony, forfeits his personal property and his lands for one year. In both cases, however, the conviction produced corruption of blood. He should not now discuss either the opinions of those who thought, that when the law took a man away from society, it was too hard to visit his offence on his innocent children; or the contrary opinion, that it was right to deter men from the commission of crimes, by the consideration of the misery that they would bring upon their families. He was content to let the forfeiture remain as it does at present; but what he wished to remove, was that which was peculiar to the laws of England, the corruption of blood. By this doctrine, a man that was convicted of either felony or treason, became incapable of ever being a link in the pedigree through which one innocent person might otherwise inherit property from another innocent person. Suppose that a man had a son and a grandson, and the son should be convicted of felony, in such case the grandson could, at no distance of time, inherit the estate of his grandfather, although it might have been acquired after the conviction. The estate of the grandfather would go to the crown, rather than to the grandson, who had the misfortune of having a guilty father. A distant relation would also be prevented from inheriting, if he should, in tracing his relationship, derive it from a man who had been so convicted. The property would escheat either to the crown or the lord of the manor, instead of going to the natural heirs. In fact, the reason of the law, if there was any reason in it, depended on feudal principles. This corruption of blood, which operated so extensively in the case of freehold and copyhold estates, did not act at all on personal or leasehold property. At the time that he brought forward this bill last year, many gentlemen were of opinion that the crown would never claim the forfeiture in such cases; and yet it happened immediately after, that in a case in which he was counsel, the crown did put in a claim, which he thought a very harsh one. The case was this: a murder had been committed by a woman in Oxfordshire, about fifty years ago; since that time her property had been transmitted to various persons for valuable consideration; and yet the crown, having lately received information of the original forfeiture by the conviction, asserted its claim. There had been an inquisition upon it; and as the present occupier of the lands could not disprove the conviction, which took place fifty years ago, the finding was for the crown. The occupier of the lands had, however, applied to chancery, and had got leave to traverse the inquisition, on the ground that the escheat belonged to the lord of the manor, and not the crown; and this question would be tried during the present session. After a variety of other observations, he concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to remove the corruption of blood in the cases of persons convicted of treason or felony.

Mr.

Mr. Yorke was surprised that the honourable and learned gentleman had brought in precisely the same bill which was rejected last session. If the bill had been only to remove corruption of blood, in the case of persons convicted of ordinary felonies, he should, perhaps, have had no great objections to it. He was not, however, ready to agree to any diminution of the punishment in the cases of treason and murder. He considered treason as by far the greatest crime which could be committed; and the laws of treason must necessarily be severe in every country, but more particularly in a free country. In a free country, where traitors find protections and defences in the law which they have not elsewhere, it is necessary, that when those defences fall, and their guilt is clearly proved, that the punishment should be severe and exemplary. As to the hardships that the honourable and learned gentleman had stated in the descent of property, there were other peculiarities in our law which appeared equally hard. It might as well be called a hardship, that an estate should escheat to the crown, instead of descending to a brother by the half blood. He wished, however, to make no innovations on our laws, unless some great and striking necessity appeared for the change. He wished that the honourable and learned gentleman would bring in one view before the house the alterations he wished to make in the laws, instead of introducing them separately. He hoped, however, that if leave was given to bring in this bill, the second reading of it would not be pressed before that time, when the attendance of lawyers might be expected, who would probably wish to deliver their sentiments on any material change in our laws. Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was passed.

House of lords, March 24th.—Earl Bathurst moved the thanks of the house to the marquis of Wellington, for the victory of Orthes. The passage of the Adour presented the most arduous obstacles. Above Bayonne it would be necessary to pass several waters at that period of the year unfordable, and the difficulty below Bayonne was fully as great: it was therefore necessary to construct a bridge of boats for 400 yards, where the crossing would be opposed by the army of the garrison. Lord Wellington determined to cross below Bayonne. The heavy rains had impeded the movements of the army; but at the first interval of fair weather, the enemy was driven from his positions, and twenty-five vessels were fastened together by cables of extraordinary size, in order for the passage of the army. The French garrison however impeded these works by precipitating timbers into the river, and lord Wellington was obliged to return to his former position, leaving the passage of the river under the charge of sir John Hope. He determined to give the enemy battle. Sir William Beresford by a ford passed to the right of the enemy, whom he drove from the village of St. Bois. General Hill moved higher up the river. Sir Thomas Picton attacked the left, while another division attacked the centre. The enemy began a retreat, but in excellent order, until Sir Rowland Hill came down upon their right. They were then put to a complete rout. The numbers on each side were about 40,000; and it was not to be supposed that a victory over such numbers could be gained without considerable loss.

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Three general officers had been wounded, and there was another general wounded, whose wound, had it been attended with serious consequences, would have rendered the victory, upon the whole, a doubtful good. Sir John Hope crossed the Adour in a flotilla, below Bayonne, on the 23d February, and overthrew a garrison of 2,000 men that were drawn out to meet him. The flotilla met with the severest difficulties in crossing the Adour, where there is always a surf: at length however the bridge was established, that the whole body passed, to the amazement of the inhabitants, who flocked to see what they could not otherwise believe. This placed Soult in such a situation that he was obliged to recede from the road to Bourdeaux, and a detachment was sent to take possession of that city. By the possession of this city, not only were supplies obtained for the comforts of the army, but it would afford a much more convenient intercourse between the army and this country. His lordship concluded with moving—"That the thanks of the house be given to field-marshal Arthur marquis of Wellington, and the army under his command, for the consummate ability, experience, skill, and valour displayed by them in the victory of Orthes, terminating in the signal defeat of the enemy, and leading to the occupation of Bourdeaux."

Earl Grey said it gave him the greatest pleasure to hear the noble lord's speech, not only on account of those topics to which he had adverted, but on account of those also from which he had abstained. Every man was satisfied that the tribute of applause and gratitude was justly due to lord Wellington, for this last of a great series of splendid successes. He termed this the last, and God grand it might be the last! that it might be the last blood shed for the accomplishment of the great, genuine, and only proper object of victory—peace.

Motions of thanks to lord Wellington, to his officers, and the army, were put in the usual form, and carried without any opposition.

The same kind of motions were carried unanimously in the house of commons.

March 25.—The chancellor of the exchequer rose to propose that there should be granted an additional two millions, on account of the army extraordinaries, making, with three millions formerly granted, in all, the sum of five millions. This sum was much beneath the sum which would be required for the service of the current year. The sums voted for the service of the last year amounted to nine millions; and the sums required this year would not certainly be less. This grant, he hoped, would not now be opposed, as opportunities would afterwards arise for discussion, when ministers should find it necessary to come again before parliament.

The question was then put, that two millions should be granted for the extraordinary services of the army for 1814.—Agreed to.

March 28.—The chancellor of the exchequer, pursuant to the resolution of the house to form a sinking fund for the sums raised by exchequer bills, stated the amount of the exchequer bills outstanding January 5th, 1814, to be 27,300,000*l.* To this various sums were to be added, making the whole twenty-nine millions. The interest of this, added to that on the vote of credit

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for 5,000,000*l.* made it necessary to call for the sum of 1,900,000*l.* For the exchequer bill sinking fund he proposed to take 300,000*l.* He then moved two resolutions, the first for a grant of 1,900,000*l.* to discharge the interest on the outstanding exchequer bills: the second for 300,000*l.* for the sinking fund.

March 30.—On Mr. Ponsonby's mentioning that the 22d of April had been chosen for bringing forward lord Morpeth's motion respecting the speech of the speaker, Mr. Cartwright moved that the house should be called over on that day.—A warm debate ensued on its being intimated that the shape in which this important question was intended to be brought forward, ought to be laid before the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, "The house should recollect, that the character of an individual occupying the most distinguished place in this house, is involved in the motion proposed to be made on a future day. No doubt the noble lord and his friends have, before this time, made their determination upon the form of the motion they will adopt. This, I apprehend, is the first time that any member has been allowed to bring forward a personal charge."—(The word "allowed" was echoed from many parts of the house, and considerable confusion was created by the employment of it by the chancellor of the exchequer.)

Mr. Wynne.—Mr. speaker, I rise to order. Surely this house will not endure to be told that a member is not to be allowed to make any motion at any time he thinks proper. It is the right, the undoubted right of every member, and I call the right honourable gentleman to order.

The chancellor of the exchequer.—If it be the right of any member the house will take care that no motion is brought forward and decided without due deliberation. It is true, that the house has the remedy in its own hands, by adjourning the subject, but it may not be prudent to compel the house to exert its right in this respect.

Mr. Whitbread.—When the right honourable gentleman talks of allowing members to bring forward motions, he seems to forget that it is the undisputed right of any member even to bring forward an impeachment, and to lay it upon the table without notice. If any thing could deter my noble friend from doing that which courtesy requires, it would be the employment of such a term as *allowed*. Were I placed in the situation of the noble lord, it would operate strongly upon my mind not to give even the courtesy of communicating my motion, lest it should in future be construed into a duty. Even with regard to the very individual now in the chair, it is not unprecedented to make a motion without the notice of a moment, at the conclusion of a debate. It will be in the recollection of the house, that only a few sessions ago, when an imputation was supposed to have been cast upon the speaker, an honourable gentleman, than secretary of state, without notice, on the very evening that the imputation was cast, submitted to the house a complimentary proposition on the subject. It is true, that the motion of my noble friend will be rather of an opposite nature, but the same reasoning applies, and it might have been argued then, with as much reason as the contrary is contended now, that the house should be put in possession of the precise words

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in which the vote of commendation of the chair was couched. I protest against any such practice, and were I the noble lord, I would not communicate any motion even to the speaker, one day earlier, but perhaps some days later, in consequence of this attempt to draw out the very terms of the motion. When the honourable gentleman (Mr. Cartwright) talked of previous adjournments, did he mean to say that they were made merely for the convenience of the Irish members? It is impossible. A noble viscount (Castlereagh) now absent, took part in the discussions on those occasions: his manner was not very similar to the tone employed by his representatives today, and I lament that they have not now the benefit of his assistance; if they had, they would never have been so unwise as to take the high ground they have assumed on this occasion, "from which they have been tumbled partly by their own weakness and incapacity to maintain themselves any where, and partly by the slippery and untenable nature of the ground on which they ventured to tread."

March 31.—Sir Samuel Romilly said, that agreeably to a notice he had given, he now rose to move for leave to bring in a bill, to enact that the freehold property of persons who die intestate be subjected to the payment of their real debts. He did not anticipate any opposition at present to his motion, and he should therefore confine himself to shortly stating the grounds of the measure. By the law, as it now stands, any person to whom a debt is owing, has the power to arrest his debtor and keep him in prison till the debt be paid. To be sure, some little relaxation of this severity had been produced by the act of last session; but still, whether the debtor got into his dilemma from profligacy or misfortune, the creditor could keep him for a time in durance: and if he did not make a full disclosure of his property in certain cases, the offence might be considered capital. A bankrupt, for instance, might suffer death for keeping back any of his property from his creditors; but there were others who might withhold their property with impunity. While the law was thus severe to one class of society and favourable to another; while it sends one man out of the world for secreting, perhaps a small portion of property, and allows another, who has ample means to pay his just debts, to escape without any sort of punishment, it must be admitted that some alteration is just and necessary. What he intended was, that the bill should apply only to men who, having freehold property at the time of their death, and being then in other respects insolvent, leave it to descend to their heirs, and suffer their debts to remain unpaid. The law now permits the heir to live in all the comfort and splendour of life, while the honest tradesmen, who have contributed to that splendour, are at last ruined, and sent to take refuge in a workhouse, because the principal property of the heir cannot be made responsible. The principal part of his bill would therefore be, to render the freehold property of any man who dies in debt, responsible to his creditors. It was stated that the measure would lead to incessant litigation. The same and many other objections were raised against the insolvent act of last year; but now it was in full execution; not the smallest difficulty was found in it; and cases have occurred, where 100,000*l.* have been paid over to the

the creditors without the least difficulty. Sir Samuel then alluded to the case of sir Roger Kerrison, of Norwich, who left estates worth 500,000*l.* and but for the operation of that act, every one of the creditors might have been kept from every farthing. He knew it had been said that the bill would tend much to weaken the aristocracy of the kingdom, and do away the distinctions of rank; but the diminution of rank was already seen amongst those who were enabled to commit injustice, by living in splendour on the property of other people. The principal consequence of this bill would be, that if the real estates of men of property were made subject to the payment of their debts, the credit of heirs would be facilitated on coming into life, and the tradesman would have a greater security for the obtainment of his rights. Sir Samuel concluded with saying, that he flattered himself the bill would be allowed to pass through all its stages without opposition.

The question for leave to bring in the bill was then put and carried.

House of lords, April 4.—

The earl of Liverpool. Before he moved, as he meant to do, that the house should now adjourn, he had to state to their lordships, that he was commanded by the prince regent to inform them, that the negotiations, which had been lately carried on for the conclusion of peace with France, were now at an end. While his majesty's confidential servants deeply regretted that failure of their efforts for peace which had led to this communication, it must at least be satisfactory to all to know, that both in the principle on which that negotiation was broken off, and in the particular circumstances and causes which immediately produced the rupture, there was the most complete agreement and concurrence amongst the whole of the allies. Their lordships and the country would expect full information on this subject; and he had to state, in regard to that point, that it was the intention of the allies to publish a declaration, setting forth the whole of the circumstances and causes which led to the rupture of the negotiation. It would be the duty of his majesty's servants to lay that declaration, together with such other information as might be necessary, before their lordships, and this would be done with every possible expedition. In the mean time it would be premature to enter further into the subject, and he therefore now moved that the house do adjourn.

Earl Grey.—It was with the deepest regret that he heard the statement of the noble earl, that the negotiations for peace were now at an end. It was undoubtedly a consolation, in the midst of that regret, to hear it stated that both in the principle upon which they were broken off, and in the particular circumstances and causes which produced that termination, there was the most complete agreement and concurrence among the whole of the allied powers. To that consolation, when the proper information should be laid before the house, he trusted would be added the further satisfaction to know, that not only had this complete agreement and concurrence existed among the allied powers on the grounds which led to the rupture, but that these grounds were such as would prove that the termination was owing to the ambition and injustice of the enemy, and that

that on our side, and that of our allies, there was nothing but justice and moderation.

The noble earl had further stated, that it was the intention of the allies to publish a declaration on the subject, and that this declaration, together with such further information as might be necessary, would be as soon as possible laid before their lordships for their examination and discussion. He wished to know from the noble earl, whether it was likely that this declaration and information could be laid before the house before they adjourned for the Easter holidays, so that they might be ready to proceed to the discussion immediately after parliament should meet at the termination of the recess.

The earl of Liverpool said, he had no objection whatever to give the noble earl the information which he desired. It certainly was not expected that ministers would be in a situation to lay these documents before their lordships before the adjournment for the Easter holidays. But in a day or two after the meeting of parliament, subsequent to the adjournment, it was expected they might be able to lay the documents on their lordships' table. To avoid delay, the papers would, if possible, be printed in the interim, that they might proceed to the discussion with all the dispatch consistent with a due examination of the subject and the convenience of their lordships.

Earl Grey said, the statement of the noble earl on this point was perfectly satisfactory, but he trusted that the discussion of the subject would not be pressed forward with any undue degree of haste. Though there ought to be no unnecessary delay in coming to that discussion, the matter ought not to be hurried on before sufficient time had been given for due consideration.

The earl of Liverpool said, there would be no attempt to hurry on the discussion. Ministers were only desirous of consulting their lordships' convenience on that head, though it was desirable certainly that there should be no unnecessary delay.

On the two following days there was no business of importance, and an adjournment till Monday sennight was moved and carried.

April 18.—The chancellor of the exchequer thought it proper to call the attention of the house to a subject of great interest. Before the recess, he had stated it to be the intention of ministers to submit to them certain papers respecting the late negotiations at Chatillon, and the rupture of those negotiations. At that time, and in the then situation of things, it appeared to be the duty of government to take the earliest opportunity of showing the house what were the grounds on which the negotiations were broken off. Circumstances, however, were now so changed, that the course which it was the duty of government to pursue in this respect, was no longer the same. The parties with whom we had to treat were changed. The events which had caused that to which he referred, were too notorious to make it necessary for him to dilate on them, though at the same time they were so gratifying, that every one could dwell on them with delight. A new negotiation had commenced, which, as far as ministers could at present judge, was likely to produce the happiest results. In this state of things, and with such prospects as they now had, he thought it would be felt, that to produce the papers

in question might be inexpedient, and productive of public inconvenience.

Mr. Whitbread said, when the house last separated, they were in daily expectation of hearing of great events, and greater had never occurred in the history of any nation than those which had since taken place. No man could contemplate these with greater delight—no man could participate more largely in the general joy than he did; but he could not help feeling, nevertheless, that the house would be guilty of a dereliction of its duty, if they neglected to call for the papers respecting the negotiations at Chatillon. They (the house of commons) were not absolved from their duty, by the prosperity which had opened on Europe and the world. They ought at such a time to be more vigilant than ever. It was their duty carefully to trace what had been the conduct of ministers before the rupture of the negotiations. When he said this, it was not because he thought there was any reason to arraign the conduct of ministers; on the contrary, he thought he should be one to applaud their conduct throughout, and that the rupture of the negotiations would have his unqualified sanction. He, however, thought, after the confidence that house had reposed in them, by adjourning itself from time to time in order to give them every opportunity of prosecuting the negotiations without interruption, it was too much to say to them, those papers ought not to be produced which they had promised should be laid before them. When that house was the only body in England unofficially acquainted with what had taken place, he could not help thinking they ought not to suffer themselves to be treated thus, at a time when they stood so high in the eyes of the world as they did at present. If the right honourable gentleman thought it was inexpedient to produce them *now*, he would concur with him, and be content to wait that prosperous issue which all fondly anticipated: but if he meant, that it was *now*, and would be *ever* inexpedient to lay them before the house, he for one would enter his protest against this doctrine. He would call for them, and he thought discredit would be thrown on the house if they were not obtained. He thought, as negotiations were at the present moment going on, that it might be improper to produce them *now*. A member opposite said "Hear, hear!" Did that honourable member hear the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) say he would be willing to give the papers at any future time? If the honourable member heard him say so, he heard what had escaped him (Mr. Whitbread). If he had said so, he (Mr. W.) was content to wait; but if he had not said so, he was not content to agree that it would be for ever inexpedient to produce them. Though from the information he had received as a private individual, he thought the negotiations had broken off on just grounds, still, as a member of parliament, he must call for the papers which had been promised, that he might know what had caused the rupture.

A bill having been brought in and passed through some of its stages, on colonial residence, Mr. Creevey, on the question being put for going into a committee on this bill, opposed any further progress of it, which had been miscalled a bill of reform. It was true, that

that in the enacting part of the bill those offices only were mentioned that were held by patent: but the reason of this was, that it was in the power of the crown to compel those who held by commission, to reside without the interference of the legislature. Notwithstanding this law, sir E. Nepean, who was governor of Bombay, held an office in Jamaica by patent; and Mr. King, who held an office by the same species of authority, held an office, in England, equally incompatible with his residence in the West Indies. There was, it was true, a provision in the act, by which a leave of absence could be granted by the governor and council of the island in which the office was holden. He was curious to see in the case of sir E. Nepean and Mr. King, what sort of thing perpetual leaves of absence could be. Mr. Creevey thought an attention to this subject was particularly called for at the present time, from the near prospect we now had of peace, when a number of most meritorious persons would be reduced to a scanty half-pay. It was not surely at such a time as this, that those places, which might be conferred as an honourable reward on the services of our gallant countrymen, should be disposed of to increase ministerial patronage. The honourable member concluded with moving, as an amendment, instead of the words "that the speaker do leave the chair," the following resolution: "That it appears to this house, that by the 22d of the king, no persons holding colonial appointments are permitted to reside in this country; that nevertheless many persons holding such appointments by patent, do reside in this country, contrary to the express letter of the act; and many others, not holding them by patent, contrary to its evident meaning and spirit; that this is an abuse and violation of the law, calling loudly for inquiry and correction."

Mr. Goulburn stated, that the bill was not meant to sanction abuses, but to be beneficial to the colonies.

Sir James Mackintosh thought the regulations relating to leave of absence wise and salutary. He could not, however, approve the present bill, as certainly the appointments since 1782 were a series of abuses and of evasions of the law; and to throw a large mass of patronage into the hands of ministers, which would be the effect of the present bill, would be to reward them for the delinquencies of their predecessors.

Mr. Stephen observed, that to put down existing rights would be to convert public-spirited rational reform into jacobinical reform. The perils of the climate of the West Indies ought to be considered by the house upon this occasion; and he asked, whether those who had been rewarded for great public services, by appointments in that climate, should be compelled uniformly to reside there—should be prohibited from occasionally returning to Europe to recruit their health—to purge off the dross of inferior society, and, Antæus-like, to profit by retouching their native earth.

Mr. Whitbread reviewed the circumstances of sir E. Nepean's appointment, who was pledged by the words of the act to have personally performed the duties of it. Such was the condition, and it appeared that so sir Evan understood it himself: for, if he (Mr. W.) were rightly informed, sir E. Nepean actually went to Jamaica in order to obtain

leave of absence from the office, and in Jamaica he remained two days; when no doubt he felt the peril of the climate, and returned to purge off the dross of West India society, to retouch, Antæus-like, his native earth, and become a giant, like the learned gentleman! Was, he would ask, such a palpable fraud and abuse of the law to be overlooked? Yet such evasion might go on under the saving clause in this bill. But a warm climate had not, it seemed, such terrors for sir Evan; for, leaving the West India office, which he obtained in 1809, he in 1812 accepted the office of governor of Bombay, where he now was performing his official duty. Was this, he would appeal to common sense and justice, consistent with law or propriety?

The house, however, went into a committee, in which Mr. A. Browne proposed several clauses, all of which were rejected, and the bill was eventually carried.

House of lords, April 19.—The earl of Liverpool had formerly stated, that it had been thought proper by the prince regent, to order certain documents relative to the late negotiations to be laid on their lordships' table, with a view to some parliamentary proceeding on the subject. The events which had since taken place, however, had, in the judgement of the prince regent's ministers, rendered it unnecessary to produce these papers at present, especially as a new negotiation had actually commenced, which was fully expected to lead to a favourable termination.

Earl Grey confessed he heard the noble earl with considerable surprise, as he could not conceive why the papers in question should not be produced even now. The declaration of the allies had been already published. It stated the grounds on which the negotiation had broken off, though not altogether in such explicit terms as he could have wished. The documents which were to have been produced along with it were not papers containing information on any new points: they were merely intended to prove what the declaration stated, to confirm the allegations made in that document, and to show that the negotiations had in fact broken off, not through any want of justice or moderation on their part, but from the unprincipled ambition of the ruler of France. He felt the greatest satisfaction at the events which had taken place. The whole had had that termination which was best for the peace and liberty of the world, and for the future repose and security of this country; with this exception, that it would have been better if that had been done by the French themselves, without the presence of the allied forces, which had been done by them while these forces were at Paris. He rejoiced, however, at the event.

The earl of Carlisle said, that it ought to be remembered, that we were only one of five powers that were contending for the great objects which the allies had in view in the present contest. Possibly the production of these papers, the exposure of private communications, and other circumstances attending the exposition, might occasion distress among the parties who had brought about those glorious events, which were so far beyond the hope of the most sanguine but a short time ago. He thought, that at the period when the thanks of that house had been so properly moved to lord Wellington, some one on that

that side of the house ought to have said, that, so far as these transactions were concerned, the ministers had deserved well of their country. It had been his lot, generally, to hold the language of opposition with respect to their measures. But he thought it the more incumbent upon him on that account, when he really approved of their measures, to declare that approbation.

Earl Grey observed, that his belief was, that the conduct of ministers had throughout the whole of this transaction been highly meritorious; but he could not say positively that it was so, until the documents were produced to prove it. He certainly, however, did believe that their conduct had been highly meritorious—meritorious, too, in those points on which, perhaps, it was least to be expected that it should have been so—meritorious in the offer of peace which had been made before the passage of the Rhine—meritorious in having again on the 18th of March offered peace to that deluded man, on terms which would have left with him the government of the French empire. He highly approved of all this, not because he was desirous that this man should have remained at the head of the French government, but because he considered these indications of just and moderate views, as having most materially contributed to the present bringing about the happy result of peace. He believed that, if the impression had not prevailed in France, that the obstacle to an honourable peace was to be found solely in the mad and unprincipled ambition and obstinacy of that man, we should not now have arrived at a state of repose, which, he hoped, would be lasting. Had the ministers given way to those rash counsels which had urged them to declare at once for the Bourbons, he believed that instead of peace we should now have had a most unfortunate continuance of the war. He joined with his noble friend in feeling the highest admiration at the conduct of the allies, particularly that of the emperor of Russia. In return for the horrible devastation committed in his dominions, in return for the destruction of his ancient capital, he had taken indeed glorious vengeance, by a noble and generous forbearance in the moment of victory, and by stretching out his protecting hand to the people of that nation, the sovereign of which had so deeply injured him and his country. This had, indeed, placed him on an eminence of glory. It was his praise to have abstained, even at the head of a conquering army, from exercising any influence over the people of France in regard to the choice of their government or their governor; and such was the principle which he (lord Grey) had been contending for these 20 years, the indefeasible right of every nation to regulate its own government without any interference from abroad. Seeing his principles, then, acted upon and completed, and only regretting that the French themselves had not done what had now been effected, without the presence of the allied troops, which might, perhaps, have a tendency to cause the character of these transactions to be regarded as something equivocal; it was impossible for him not to approve a line of conduct founded upon those views and principles which he had invariably entertained and inculcated. He

was sensible of what this country and the world owed to the allies, and more especially to the emperor of Russia. In leaving France, and looking back to his own states, it was gratifying to indulge the expectation that he might follow the same generous policy, and restore freedom to Poland.

House of commons, April 21.—General Matthew presented petitions from the catholics of Tipperary and Clonmell, claiming complete emancipation. He had always professed his readiness, should the eloquent member for Dublin not bring this question forward on the general petitions, to bring it forward himself on these particular ones. From the great change in the state of affairs, he now thought it improper to bring the catholic question forward this session: he nevertheless remained a warm friend to full and free emancipation. His holiness the pope surrounded by his reverend cardinals was restored to the former splendour of his throne, and his majesty's ministers ought to lose no time in opening a communication with the holy see. He understood that his holiness was willing to take any steps that might bring the differences between the government and the catholics to an amicable adjustment. He thought the communication might be made through lord Wellington, whom he wished to see lord lieutenant of Ireland. It was strange that this country, once deemed the most liberal, was now the only one where civil disabilities on account of religion existed. The once bigoted protestant state of Holland, by an article in its recent constitution, had determined that all existing religions should be equally protected, and that the members of all had an equal right to hold offices. In another constitution—the most superb monument of human foresight which had ever been erected, drawn up by the greatest statesman perhaps that had ever existed, the prince of Benevento, he met with an article declaring, that all religions, with the fullest freedom of worship, were guarantied: that the ministers of all were to be treated alike, and were alike admissible into all offices. After such examples, were any in this country so bigoted as to refuse emancipation to five millions of good and loyal catholic subjects? He had changed his opinion of his majesty's ministers, and he rejoiced that his efforts to assist their downfall, and accelerate their overthrow, had been unsuccessful. There was no man who would not acknowledge that they had saved civilized Europe from bondage; exalted the country; and brought the world from a state of universal war, to a state of universal peace. If it came to his vote, he should be glad if they were to remain ministers for ever; yet until the long-wished emancipation was obtained he should continue to watch their conduct, though not with a prejudiced, yet with a jealous eye.

The petitions were then read, and ordered to lie on the table.

A member observed, that as there had reports been spread respecting the intended marriage of the princess Charlotte of Wales, he wished to know whether the chancellor of the exchequer had any communication to make to the house on this most important subject.

Mr. Vansittart said, that it would be improper for him to say any thing on this delicate subject, as he had no com-

commands to make any communication respecting it. The communication would of course be made without delay, as soon as such a step became proper.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that it was extraordinary that the important step which had been determined on, should first have been communicated by a foreign prince to his subjects, before it had been noticed to the house of commons. In this, as on other occasions, they had been treated with great disrespect. Taking it for granted that the sovereign prince of the Netherlands had not told an untruth, he hoped that when the communication was made (which of course must be made, with a view to the necessary pecuniary arrangements), it would be accompanied with a recommendation to adopt such legislative provisions as might secure her royal highness from being taken out of the kingdom and detained from it, in a manner which might be extremely detrimental to the interests of the kingdom, and which might occur without such enactment.

April 22.—Lord Morpeth moved that the speech of the speaker, addressed to the regent at the close of the last session of parliament, be now read. This having been done, his lordship observed, that in making a proposition respecting a part of that speech he felt the difficulties he had to contend against, and that he should appear presumptuous: these arose partly from the regard naturally felt for the high station which the right honourable gentleman held, and still more for the assiduity and ability with which the duties of that station had been discharged. "But these combined (said his lordship, addressing himself to the speaker,) to give additional importance to every thing that fell from your lips, and afforded additional motives for entering into a protest of this sort, that a dangerous precedent might not be fortified by the influence of so powerful an example." He begged leave to premise, however, that, high and important as was the situation of the speaker, it was a situation and office completely within the jurisdiction of the house. He referred to two cases in which the speakers had incurred the displeasure of the house,—in 1647 and 1667,—and in the latter case sir Edward Seymour was speaker.

Some parts of the speech on which he was about to express his sentiments were highly laudable. The congratulations on the prospect which the events of the campaign afforded, were now more than realized—the united efforts and moderation of this country and its allies had stamped the independence of nations, and given the prospect of lengthened peace to the civilized world. He was far also from objecting to the energetic language in which the splendid triumphs of lord Wellington were extolled. He meant to animadvert on that which related to the most important topic of domestic policy, the claims of the catholics, and the proceedings of the house on what was called the catholic bill. On the motion of his lordship, the proceedings on this subject were read from the journals, and in particular the resolution, "That it was adviseable to provide for the removal of the disabilities under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects labour, providing at the same time all due securities for the establishments of the country, both in church and state." Notwithstanding this resolution, which had been embodied in the

preamble of a bill which went through a second reading, the speaker in addressing the prince regent had held the following language on this measure:

"But, sir, these are not the only subjects to which our attention has been called; other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country are made fundamentally protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration."

It was to this part of the speech that his lordship meant to call the attention of the house. It was contrary to parliamentary usage for the speaker to acquaint the king at the close of the session with any proceeding which had taken place in that house, before such proceedings had received their natural termination. In support of this doctrine his lordship referred to the speeches of sir Spencer Compton, Mr. speaker Onslow, and others. Sir Fletcher Norton had been thought to have outstepped his province, but still that speech referred to a measure which terminated in that house. Sir Edward Turner in the days of Charles II. had indeed taken a very extensive view of the political conduct of government; but neither that, nor the addresses of speakers during the reigns of the Tudor family, could be regarded as safe precedents. Of these it might be said, that whatever meanness could conceive or flattery suggest, was to be found in them abundantly. In one, Henry the Eighth was compared for wisdom to Solomon, for beauty to Absalom, for strength to Sampson; and, in fine, that he could only be likened to that glorious luminary the sun. But though these speeches abounded with flattery and pedantry, they did not communicate the result of debates in that house which led to no specific measure. There was one speaker who had a just idea of his office, who, when Charles I. entered the long parliament to demand the five members obnoxious to him, said, that "he had neither eyes to see, ears to hear, nor tongue to speak, but as the house directed him."

Having thus stated what he conceived to be the duty of the speaker, he should apply his observations to what took place relative to the catholic bill. That bill had only gone through its second reading; yet the speech of the speaker intimated that the house had come to a complete decision. In what condition would be the privileges of the house, if the speaker had it in his power thus to pronounce with regard to their opinions? After alluding to several branches of domestic policy, it is observed in the speech, that other momentous changes have been proposed. But by whom were they proposed? Not by the crown, in which it might be right to inform the crown of their fate; but by a member, of the highest talents certainly, but still only a private member; and their failure ought not to have been promulgated to the crown by any self-constituted authority. With regard to the catholics of Ireland, it might have been hoped, that the refusal of full compliance with their wishes would not have been aggravated by any gratuitous comments in an unauthorised communication. The next words to be noticed were,

were, "We continue to adhere to the fundamental laws." Where, however, was the correctness of this statement, or what alteration in the fundamental laws would be caused by admitting catholics into parliament? That constitution which was framed by catholic parliaments, would still surely have existed even in such an event. The catholics were also described as "acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction." Would it not have been well to have abstained from any implied suspicion of the loyalty of men suffering under disappointment? Future speakers, on such a precedent, might make the failure of a bill the vehicle of serious imputation. It was his object to substantiate the principle, that the speaker ought not to make any communication to the crown, of measures which had occupied the attention of parliament, but had not been consented to.—In the time of Henry IV. this principle was clearly recognised. His lordship then professed that his object was to keep the sources of our freedom unimpaired; to keep alive the sacred fire of constitutional jealousy, and the purity of that constitution which had long been the envy of the world, the theme of the eloquent, the study of the philosopher, and which other nations had assumed as their model. These were the views with which he moved "that a special entry should be made on the journals, that it ought not to be drawn into a precedent for the speaker to communicate to the throne any thing which had engaged the attention of the house, but had not been consented to."

The Speaker, having read this resolution, said, that after a motion implying a serious charge of misconduct, the house would not be surprised that he should be desirous of offering himself to its attention. The mode of proceeding that had been adopted was in itself injurious to the character of the house: he had expected a distinct and open charge from the noble lord. Nevertheless, as the resolution was founded on a presumption of misconduct, he hoped he might be permitted to show that such accusation is wholly groundless. He humbly submitted to the house, that all or any of the matters that might have occupied the attention of the house during its session, may be noticed in the speaker's speech on the occasion. In the journals of the house of lords, such speeches are uniformly entered, and in Hatsell's Reports it is thus laid down—"It has been customary, on the speaker presenting the bills of supply on the last day of session, for the speaker to make a speech at the bar of the lords, either immediately arising out of the subject matter of the bill itself, or, when at the close of the session, recapitulating the principal objects which have employed the attention of the commons during their sitting." The right honourable gentleman then referred to numerous speeches of this kind from the time of Henry VIII. and proved from them that it was usual in such speeches to touch upon various subjects, and upon questions agitated within the walls of that house, and concerning its privileges. He referred also to a speech on the records of the parliament of Ireland, when, in 1792, a bill was brought in allowing catholics to intermarry with protestants, which was rejected while it was in committee. Mr. speaker Foster thought it his duty to refer to this important bill in his speech, and for that speech he received the thanks

of

of the house.—From these instances he concluded that on such occasions the speaker is at liberty to refer to measures that have been discussed, unlimited by any consideration as to their progress or failure.—In the second place, with respect to the question, whether the proceedings of the house on the claims of the Roman catholics were noticed in a proper manner, he submitted to the house that its proceedings were stated with truth and correctness. He had distinctly said that the house did not think proper to admit Roman catholics to participate in the legislature. Could less have been said? The bill contained a clause for granting to the catholics political power, and this was negatived in the committee. He had said nothing of what the house might do at another time and under different circumstances. As he had conceived it to be the duty of the speaker to state as nearly as possible the motive by which the house was actuated in such a case, he had mentioned those reasons in pointing out that the laws require the throne, the legislature, and the government to be protestant; and that the catholics admit a foreign jurisdiction. The right honourable gentleman then contended against the position that the speaker can have no knowledge of what is done by the house when in a committee, and concluded with observing that great authorities had made the path of his duty plain, and on those authorities he hoped to establish his vindication: in his own conscience he stood acquitted in what he had done, not only as a servant of the house, but as a representative of the people.

Mr. Whitbread said, that with all the respect he felt for the right honourable gentleman's functions as a speaker—with all the esteem that he felt for him individually as a man, he still remained of opinion that he had no authority, indirectly from precedent, or directly from that house, to make the communication to the throne (being, as he had himself stated, the servant of the house,) which he had done at the close of the last session. After a long and able speech, in which Mr. Whitbread showed that the precedents produced by the right honourable the speaker did not give him the authority he had pretended to derive from them, he concluded with moving "That all the words after the word 'That' be omitted, for the purpose of introducing—"it appears to this house, that Mr. speaker did, at the close of the last session, at the bar of the house of lords, communicate to his royal highness the prince regent certain proceedings of this house, had in a committee of the whole house, relative to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, which did not terminate in any act done by the house; and did inform his royal highness of the motives and reasons which he presumed actuated the members in the proceedings they took; whereby he was guilty of a violation of the trust reposed in him, and a breach of the privileges of this house, of which he is the chosen guardian and protector."

Mr. Creevey seconded the amendment.

Mr. Bankes defended the precedents urged by the speaker.

Mr. Wynne took a long and able review of the history of parliamentary precedents, and contended against the discretionary power which the speaker appeared to him to have assumed unwarrantably.

Sir John Newport said, that if the exercise of such a privilege as that assumed by the speaker were allowed

lowed to pass with impunity, the next step would be to point out particular individuals for the animadversion of the crown: and if this was done, it was clear that the sovereign would soon be introduced to the house to overawe their discussions, and put an end to that liberty of debate which had hitherto formed a leading feature of the constitution.

Mr. Plunkett considered the speech of the speaker as one of the most formidable attacks that had been made upon the freedom of parliament since the revolution. It fell upon the house with peculiar severity, as they could not in this case assert their rights without, in the person of their speaker, impairing their dignity. The honourable gentleman then commented on that part of the speaker's speech which formed the principal subject of animadversion. Supposing the speaker to have been at liberty to make his general remarks, yet he must conceive that his speech was not certainly a wilful misrepresentation, but yet absolutely a misrepresentation of the sentiments even of the committee. All that passed in the committee was, that a specific measure was rejected on the specific securities. The other important parts of the bill were never pressed for further discussion: yet the speaker indulged, in an address to the throne, in his surmises and suggestions and opinions of the prevailing sense of the house. The circumstances were clear, that those who opposed a part of the measure in the committee were actuated by various and different reasons. Then how could the speaker venture to state what was the feeling or the opinion that swayed the majority? Not ten members perhaps agreed, and yet he took upon himself to assign motives to the whole. Two hundred and forty-seven members had declared the catholics admissible on the specific securities of the bill. Would any man put his hand on his heart, and say, upon his honour, that he believed the majority of four would put the question finally to rest? Evidently it must come back again; the measure was unfinished. But how was it to be pursued, if opposed by royal artillery on its march? If the speaker were justifiable, so might the throne be, in its remarks. When the speaker dwelt on the services of our great commander, on the hard fought battle of the Douro, on the victory of Vimiera, and so forth, who did not echo back his sentiments with joy and pride?—Every Irish heart exulted with peculiar rapture in recollecting that his country gave birth to that illustrious man!—But was that exactly the moment to be selected for pronouncing at the bar of the house of lords, and before the throne, the doom of those catholics, the sluices of whose hearts' blood had been opened to pour it forth for the gaining of those splendid victories? It had been a Roman custom to introduce a slave in a triumphant procession. Here, while the speaker was enwreathing the head of the conqueror with merited laurels, those who shed their blood in achieving conquests were to be the only persons who were not to share by the profits of success in the rights of citizens. It had been much better had the topic been entirely omitted.

Mr. B. Bathurt vindicated the conduct of the speaker, as being fully warranted by the general usage, many speakers having gone greatly further than he had done. He should propose in the first place to negative Mr. Whitbread's amendment,

ment, and then to negative the original motion also.

Lord Morpeth declared that he had meant nothing ambiguous in the use of the words "or elsewhere."

Mr. Whitbread stated it to be his determination not to withdraw his amendment, so that it might appear on the journals. He should not, however, press it to a division.

The house then divided on the original motion:

Ayes . . .	106
Noes . . .	274
Majority against the motion	168

April 25.—On the second reading of sir Samuel Romilly's bill on the corruption of blood, the right hon. C. Yorke said, that the alteration of an ancient law of the land, as old as the laws of landed property, since the Norman conquest, ought not to be adopted without the strongest grounds, either on account of its disadvantages, or of the advantages likely to accrue from such a change. His objections were not so strong against some parts of the bill, as against others; yet the least objectionable part was, in his mind, disadvantageous to landed property, and involved the escheat to the lord of the manor. But the main part was what related to high treason, and the higher felonies. Corruption of blood was of as much antiquity as the succession of the eldest son, and the non-succession of the brother by the half blood. The alteration was therefore of a serious nature. Lord Coke had stated, that if the wife of the attainted person lost her dower, and their children their honours and inheritance, it was because it was necessary to increase the fear of committing crimes that brought such fatal consequences on those who were the most dear to them. Why, then, should the principles of the old law be now altered or departed from? Was there any particular grievance now to complain of? It must appear to every man of candid mind, as a slur cast upon the long and benevolent reign of our present sovereign, to say that there was now any particular occasion to introduce such an alteration. After the revolutions in America and France, and the rebellion in Ireland, had set the minds of many men adrift, he did not think it a proper time to relax the severity of the law in cases of high treason. He concluded by moving an amendment to the first clause, which went to prevent the operation of the bill extending to cases of high treason, petty treason, and murder.

Sir James Mackintosh agreed that this doctrine was almost as ancient as any other part of our law, and yet the mere antiquity of it did not appear to him a sufficient ground for retaining it. Many of our ancient laws had taken the hint of the barbarous times in which they had their origin, and had therefore been properly repealed. The torture of the *peine forte et dure*, the burning women in cases of petty treason, and the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, were all of as great antiquity as this outline of corruption of blood; and yet they had, in enlightened times, been all of them done away. He should perhaps have contented himself with giving a silent vote upon this subject, if he had not been a native of Scotland, and a representative of a great body of landed proprietors in that country. Corruption of blood, in cases of treason, never was part of the old law of Scotland; nor, as he believed, of any country but this. It was first extended to Scotland by the act of the

the 7th of queen Anne, and with the express proviso that it should expire at the death of the Pretender. It was on this ground alone that the members for North Britain did not oppose its introduction, and it might be considered as in some degree a supplementary article of the union. Bishop Burnet states expressly, that in the discussions upon it, he was told that it would be just and reasonable to have this law repealed in good times. By whom was he so told? Doubtless by those great men, lords Somers and Cowper, who had so great an influence in these times. The whole course of the argument then was, that it must be considered merely as a temporary measure, and it was not at all defended on any general principle. In 1743, this act was again extended during the lives of the sons of the Pretender; and it was not until 1799 that it was made perpetual. He therefore considered that this act, passed only fifteen years ago, was an innovation on the principles declared by all the great statesmen and legislators for the last century. This doctrine of corruption of blood appeared to him the most exquisite and unmeaning injustice that could well be conceived. If any man had been devising an anti-Utopian government, where every principle contrary to right should be adopted, he thought that it would hardly be possible to invent a doctrine which would affect the guilty less, or transfer the punishment more upon the innocent, than this doctrine of corruption of blood.

The solicitor general thought the antiquity of a law was a strong argument why any proposed alteration of it should be well and maturely considered. The general law of corruption of blood had been recognised time after time by a variety of acts of parliament, wherein new felonies had been created, and from which the penalty of corruption of blood had been expressly excepted, thus confirming it as effectually and almost with equal force, as if re-enacted. He hoped the house would pause, therefore, before they consented to any alteration of a punishment which was founded in the principle of common law, was recognised by Magna Charta, and over and over again by repeated acts of parliament. Corruption of blood, as far as it related to treason, he was most decidedly of opinion ought not to be taken away, because its operation upon the affections and sympathies of men was such as might have the effect of deterring them from the commission of enormous and desperate crimes; and though he should prefer that the obligations of moral duty might be alone sufficient to curb the licentiousness of vice, yet, as they well knew that such obligations were not always effective, he, for one, felt no objection in making the best affections of our nature control its worst passions. With regard to felonies, corruption of blood, as far as it reached them, might be taken into consideration.

Sir S. Romilly replied, and on a division the second reading was carried by a majority of one.

April 26.—Mr, Pascoe Grenfell rose to make a motion respecting the sinking fund; not so much for the purpose of stating his own opinions, as for that of obtaining those of the house. He wished to consider that clause of the sinking fund act which allowed the application of part of that fund to the service of the year. It was the act of the 26th of the king that laid the foundation of the sinking fund: it was a system simple in its principles, powerfully efficacious

efficacious in its operations, and better than any that had ever been devised for the benefit of our finances. By it, considerable sums were taken from the consolidated fund, and vested in the hands of the commissioners, for keeping down the national debt. The adherence to this and other acts had been long and uninterrupted; and vast sums had been accumulated for salutary purposes. This was a subject on which a man that had never seen the Stock-market might form as good a judgement as any other. The price must necessarily depend, in a great measure, on the supply that was thrown into the market. The present mode was a very circuitous one, and he thought that it was easy to prove that it was not the best. He would suppose the case of a gentleman really wanting to borrow 10,000*l.* on a large estate; what would be thought of the person who would advise him to get one broker to bring bills of his into the market to the amount of 22,000*l.* and then send another broker to buy up 12,000*l.* of those bills? And yet that was precisely the manner in which the nation was advised to act. If a sum of 10 millions was really wanting, the course taken was to raise a loan of 22 millions, and let the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt buy up to the amount of 12 millions. He had heard many speak of the great advantages to the money market from the steady purchases of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; he believed, however, that if another system was adopted by which the loans were smaller, the funds would be higher. While the commissioners were coming into the market with their bank-notes to buy up a part of the old debt, the contractors for the new loan were coming in also with their *omnium* and *scrip* to the same amount, which must tend as much to depress the funds as the buying up of an equal quantity of the debt by the commissioners would go to raise them. As fast then as the commissioners poured their money into the market, the contractors for the new loan got it out. If he were then asked what advantage the public would gain by changing the mode of raising the money, he should answer, that they would gain the advantages which now go to the subscribers for the loan. If the commissioners, for example, had their share of the profits for the last loan, there would have been a gain to the public of above a million, from the premiums the shares sold at. It would be the same in all those cases where the loans are profitable, as the profit would then go to the public, instead of the contractors. He believed, also, that if the loans were smaller, there would be much more competition, and consequently better terms gained for the public. His object was only that the subject should have a full consideration. He should at present only move for "An account of the money expended by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, as also of the average price at which the debt was redeemed, without distinguishing the funds in which the stock was redeemed."

The chancellor of the exchequer saw nothing objectionable in the motion, and thought the house was much indebted to the hon. gentleman for the ideas he had thrown out. He had very candidly stated, that as to the increase of the debt within the year, it would be nearly the same whether the money was raised in the present mode by a larger loan, and the commissioners redeeming part of the old debt, or whether

whether the loans were smaller, and the commissioners were to contract for the remainder. Although it might be nearly the same as to the amount of debt, yet it was not supposed that it would be the same as to its effect on the money market. It was generally supposed by those most conversant with the money market, that the steady purchases of the commissioners prevented the great fluctuation that otherwise would take place. He was far, however, from saying that cases might not occur, in which it might be proper to follow the course suggested by the hon. gentleman: for example, if there was any improper combination among the bidders to obtain an unfair advantage from the public. He would also allow that, in cases of very favourable loans, it would be desirable that the commissioners should have a share in the advantage. It must, however, be recollected, that the loan of the last year had been peculiarly favourable to the contractors, but that some loans had been losing bargains, and that then the public would have loss instead of profit. It would be a great object indeed to increase the competition for the loans; but from all the inquiries he had made upon the subject, he was induced to believe that more persons would bid for a loan of twenty-two millions, if the commissioners continued their present system of purchasing, than would bid for a loan of ten millions, if they were to discontinue it. He could also see another case in which it might perhaps be right to follow the course suggested by the hon. gentleman; and that was in the case of so small a loan being wanted, as the commissioners might take themselves without assistance from any body else.

Mr. S. Thornton thought that it would have been impossible to have raised the national debt from the amount of 268 millions to 900 millions, if it had not been for the operation of the sinking fund in the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the debt. He thought that, after the considerable sum diverted from the sinking fund last year, it would be highly impolitic to interfere with it at present. There was always at the market a quantity of floating stock, which must necessarily be sold; and if it were not for the steady purchases made by the commissioners, there must necessarily be great fluctuations which would be highly inconvenient. He was afraid that even the agitation of the present question would have a serious effect in depressing the funds, which were now (whether from the apprehension of a very large loan, or some other cause) at least seven per cent. lower than they were before the abdication of Bonaparte had been known.

The account was then ordered.

April 27.—Mr. sergeant Onslow rose to bring in a bill for the repeal of a part of the statute of the 5th of Elizabeth. Almost from the passing of that act, every intelligent writer had considered it as unjust, injurious, impolitic, and even disgraceful to our statute books. No good author had written in its favour: it had been frittered away in courts of justice, and was looked at as perfectly unfit for its purposes, with respect to those who had offended against its provisions. The mode in which prosecutions were carried on under it, was frequently by joint persons, and originated in malignity and personal resentment. No regular determinations had been given upon it. The judges were even obliged to assume the character

ter of legislators, rather than that of expositors of the law; and thus the statute remained under the erroneous idea that the poison was taken out of it. Among the apparent absurdities of the decisions of courts upon the subject, it had been decided that a gardener was a trade, that it did not require so much skill as to make an apprenticeship necessary; but, on the contrary, that the trade not only of a cook, but of a dealer in chickens, did require an apprenticeship. In fact, the juries always found themselves most reluctant to give a verdict for those penalties, although informed by the judges that such was the law. There was no one point in law so unsettled, or so hard to be ascertained. He had known judges divided 2 against 2 in the case of a gentleman exercising the trade of a miller, on a very large capital of his own, as it was contended on the other hand, that he had no right to exercise that trade without serving an apprenticeship. In the county of Northumberland they had found out that so much skill was required in cutting a cork, that informations had been brought against persons exercising the trade of cork-cutters without serving an apprenticeship; and at the time the notice of his motion was given, they were also going to attack the chimney-sweepers. Instead of promoting trade, the system had been highly injurious to it. Nevertheless, on the examinations before a committee of that house, there was swearing on the part of all the trades, that apprenticeships were absolutely necessary. Basket-makers and pipe-makers swore that seven years was the shortest time in which their trade could be learned. The provisions of the act of the 5th Elizabeth, however, extended only to the trades then recognised, and many of our important trades flourished more without such a system. It had been found advisable to repeal the law with respect to our great staple, the woollen manufacture. It had since been repealed with respect to hatters, wool-combers, and other trades. The act was, in effect, inoperative as to good purposes, and made oppressive for bad purposes. It was a striking instance, that at Birmingham there were frequently numbers of men thrown out of one particular employment. What were they then to do? Were they all immediately to become chargeable to the parish; or were they to be liable to penalties, if they took to some other occupation? In consequence of the happy news that had now been officially communicated of the suspension of hostilities, contracts for making gun-locks were countermanded, whereby 20 or 30,000 persons would be thrown out of this employment. What were those men to do, unless turn their industry to some other branch? Many of those who had been lately employed in making guns, had formerly been employed as button-makers; and, on the decay of that trade, had turned to making gun-locks, without having served any regular apprenticeship. After some further observations, he concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 5th of Elizabeth as related to the penalties.

Mr. Lockhart said, that the general reasoning of the hon. and learned gentleman seemed to go upon the principle, that skill and talent were not obtained by indentures. Now, notwithstanding the opinions of most of the writers on this subject, he did not think this bare assertion was of itself a sufficient ground

ground to induce the house to adopt so serious a change, as to remove the system of apprenticeships altogether. He suggested that it would be better to refer it to a committee to present a report, after hearing evidence from the different trades.

After Mr. sergeant Onslow had replied shortly to different objections, the original question was put and carried.

House of lords, April 29.—Lord Holland seeing his noble friend (Liverpool) in his place, said, he was desirous of ascertaining from him the exact import of the suspension or cessation of hostilities, which he had announced the other day. When his noble friend said that a convention for the suspension of hostilities had been signed between France and the allies, did he mean to state that Norway was included among those powers between whom hostilities had ceased?

Lord Liverpool said, he had no hesitation in stating, in reply to the question put by his noble friend, that Norway was not included in the suspension of hostilities.

Lord Holland.—Was it to be understood from that statement that we were at war with Norway?

Lord Liverpool.—He had no objection whatever to state the fact, that orders had been given at the proper place (the Admiralty) to take measures for the blockade of the ports of Norway.

Lord Grey.—It was then to be understood from this statement, that the ports of Norway were to be blockaded by Great Britain, in order to compel Norway by famine to submit to unite itself with a foreign power against its inclination! He heard this avowed with equal astonishment and grief. What was to be done upon this, he did not know. The matter was in the hands of his noble friend. But some motion ought to be made, that the subject might be thoroughly sifted.

Lord Holland moved the second reading of the Dulwich college bill, and stated that the object of it was merely to enable the master to marry. By the statutes made for the regulation of the college by the founder, the master could not be a married man. This had been found very inconvenient, and was not suited to the present state of society. If their lordships permitted the bill to go into a committee, he should undertake to show that this alteration could not be fairly considered as inconsistent with the intention of the founder; and at any rate, if it appeared that any regulation of this description was adverse to the public interest, it was the duty and within the power of parliament to apply the remedy.—This was not without precedent, as something of the same kind had been done in the case of Morden college in 1806. The college was founded at a time when, by the law, the ecclesiastical heads of colleges were not permitted to marry. When laymen were placed at the heads of colleges, it was thought advisable to subject them to the same celibacy. But at the Reformation, the prohibition as to the ecclesiastical heads of colleges was done away, while it continued as to laymen—the former being held to celibacy only by the general law which was abolished, while the private statutes still remained in force as to laymen at the heads of colleges. It could hardly be considered as consonant to the intention of the founder, that, under this change of circumstances, the statute as to the celibacy of the master should continue in force. It would

certainly be highly beneficial to the college that this bill should pass; for, if they consented to go into a committee, he understood that the necessity almost of such a change in the regulations might be proved. There were several absurd statutes besides this, which, perhaps, it might be proper to alter, though that was not the object at present. The college was under the necessity of electing a man of the name of Allen, who should be an unmarried man, and they were obliged to proceed to the election within a fortnight from the commencement of the vacancy. It was obvious that, when vacancies frequently occurred, improper persons must therefore sometimes be chosen. He had stated so much, on account of the industry which had been exerted out of doors with respect to this bill; but in hopes that the house would suffer the bill to be committed, he should say nothing further on the subject at this time.

Lord Ellenborough was decidedly adverse to the principle of the bill.

The earl of Liverpool, lord Grenville, and the lord chancellor, were for the bill going to a committee.

The duke of Norfolk, though he seemed to entertain strong doubts upon some points connected with the subject, thought the bill fit to be proceeded in.

It was then read a second time, and referred to an out-door committee, which was ordered to sit on Monday; to which day their lordships adjourned. But the bill was afterwards abandoned.

On the order of the day being read for the house resolving itself into a committee on the simple contract debt bill,

Mr. sergeant Best opposed the speaker's leaving the chair, and stated his objections to the bill at considerable length. The law as it at present stood was sufficient to enable the creditor to recover, if certain stipulations were made in the contract: he therefore considered the bill would be in a great measure nugatory. He thought it would open a door for unjust demands being made on the property of the dead, when they could not be resisted; and would therefore be very injurious. Many of the best lawyers who had given their attention to the subject, were of opinion such a measure would be most pernicious. Under these circumstances he could not consent to such an alteration being made in the law. He moved as an amendment, that the bill should be committed on that day six months.

Sir A. Pigot said, the proposition that a man who had incurred debts, and who possessed property, should not pay those debts, was one which he could not comprehend. He had long wished to see the law of the country improved with respect to simple contract debts. It was now three centuries since men had been able to dispose of property by law, in discharge of their debts; but 150 years of that time it had been in the power of testators fraudulently to disappoint even those creditors which lawyers called "creditors in specialty." One hundred and fifty years had passed since a law had been framed to prevent those frauds; but up to the present time, if a man avoided certain forms in his contracts, he might not only leave his property to his posterity unencumbered by his debts, but he might even sell it to strangers, aliens from his blood, and thus defeat all his creditors. That such a law ought no longer to exist, if a remedy could

could be found, or that it ought to have existed so long, he would never admit. He wished it to be borne in mind, on whom the loss must fall in such cases. It fell on honest, industrious creditors; on artisans, tradesmen, and manufacturers, not on the capitalist who holds a mortgage on the estate for 15 or 20,000*l.* The evil to which it was proposed to supply a remedy, was one which they all knew to exist. They all knew, that in many cases the simple contract creditors were utterly disappointed of getting that to which they were justly entitled. He had never reflected on this subject without being lost in surprise, that the law should have remained in its present imperfect state up to this day

Mr. Stephen observed, that his honourable friend had defended the proposed reformation in the law on the broad foundation that it was required by justice: It had been attempted to show, that such a reformation would be inconvenient; but he would ask, was inconvenience in some minor points to be opposed to the moral question of right or wrong? He had not the least fear of being contradicted when he said, that of the debts incurred by the proprietors of landed estates, the most unjust were those by bond; yet, as the law now stood, these were the only debts the payment of which was secured. All debts contracted with money lenders were in this form. In the colonies of the kingdom, by the act of 5th Geo. II. estates are made liable for the debts of the proprietors; and the reason why the case was not the same in the mother country was, he thought, because the attention of parliament had never been sufficiently directed to the subject. He trusted that the house would really not find that there was any difference between the political expedience and the morality of the measure.

Sir S. Romilly replied to the arguments of the opposers of the bill. To be consistent, they should have moved the repeal of an act, which he had had the honour of proposing several years ago, and which now stood on the statute-book, as every argument which had been urged against the present bill was equally applicable to the other. He had been astonished to have the authority of lord Rosslyn cited as against the bill; for it actually happened, that amongst the authorities with which he had armed himself on the subject was that of lord Rosslyn, which was delivered in favour of the measure now proposed, in no equivocal terms. The honourable and learned gentleman then read the authority of lord Rosslyn, which was clearly in his favour.

The house divided:

For the bill . . 61
For the amendment 37

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Stanhope on the Mesne Process—Debates on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion on the Slave Trade—Subsidiary Treaties—Corn Laws—War Taxes—Prince Regent's Message respecting the Duke of Wellington, &c.—Debate on Lord Grey's Motion respecting Norway—Lord Liverpool on the Regent's Message—Debate on Mr. Wynne's Motion on Norway.

HOUSE of lords, May 2.—Lord Stanhope observed that an act had passed in July last, commanding some small allowance to be made for debtors imprisoned on mesne process, who would swear that they were not worth 10*l.*, and that they had no other means of subsistence. This had, however, not been carried into execution. Of this his lordship mentioned some instances. He could compare this system of imprisonment, he said, for mesne process, with all its consequences, to nothing but the African slave trade: it was a British slave trade, which ought to be abolished. He then presented two petitions relative to these facts. These being read, and ordered to lie on the table; his lordship stated that the object of his motion was to discover how far the statute of the 51st of his present majesty had been complied with, which ordered a table of fees, inspected by the judges, to be hung up in the most conspicuous place in the prison. This motion was agreed to. His lordship then stated that he had two bills to bring forward on the subject of mesne process. In the report of a committee, appointed by the house of lords, it was stated that a man imprisoned on mesne process might remain seven months in gaol before the plaintiff was obliged to state his cause of action; and that he might even be imprisoned twelve months on the single oath of his adversary that he owed him 15*l.* If the verdict was for the defendant, he had no compensation except taxed costs, which were not sufficient to defray the expenses of his defence. Even when the original debt was only a few shillings, a rascally attorney might have raised it to 10*l.* or 15*l.* by costs, and then imprison the debtor. Nay, it often had happened, that the plaintiff and defendant met in the same gaol, the one for debt and the other for costs: this put his lordship in mind of the lawyer in the fable, who had to divide an oyster between two clients. According to the evidence of a very respectable magistrate, who had been sheriff of the county of Middlesex, out of 520 creditors, who had instituted proceedings within a certain period, 400 had not recovered their debts. A London lawyer was always remarkably clever at finding out the means of putting money in his own pockets. A person had taken a pair of leather breeches out of a cottage in Kent, without any intention of theft; but a London lawyer thought the circum-

circumstance actionable, and instantly set about drawing up a declaration. There were no less than twelve counts in this declaration about taking away the leather breeches. There was no force—no *vi et armis* in the business, for there was nobody belonging to the cottage at home when the breeches were taken away; and he was therefore somewhat surprised to find it charged that the defendant had with guns, pikes, halberts, pistols, and a variety of other deadly weapons, broken open this cottage and taken away the leather breeches. This was the first count. On looking at the second, he found that the defendant, not content with small arms, had attacked this cottage with cannons, cannon-balls, bombs, and other similar arms, and taken away the leather breeches. In the third count 100 horses, and 100 horsemen upon these 100 horses, had been brought into this village to storm the unfortunate cottage, and carry away the leather breeches; and, in short, out of the twelve counts eleven were pure fictions, there being only one which bore the least resemblance to the truth. He naturally asked the lawyer what was the meaning of these, pikes, pistols, &c. The lawyer, smiling at his ignorance, answered, "Oh, I see your lordship don't understand those matters; that is what we lawyers call a nullity." What do you mean by these cannons, bombs, &c.? "That is what we lawyers call a nullity." What do you mean by this troop of horse coming to carry away the leather breeches? "That is what we lawyers call a nullity." In short, all were nullities except one. Absurd fictions of this kind were alleged in the declarations in proceedings in every court of law, with no other motive than to swell out the costs; and this put his lordship in mind of a story told of Wilkes and Brook Watson. They happened to be at a meeting, where Brook Watson, who had a wooden leg, railed at the lawyers. Some one asked Wilkes what made his brother alderman rail in this way at the lawyers, "Don't you see," replied Wilkes, "that he has lost one of his legs by the bite of a shark?"

His lordship then presented a bill to abolish imprisonment in mesne process, which was not carried.

House of commons, May 3.—Mr. Wilberforce rose to make a motion for an address to his royal highness the prince regent, to take the present opportunity of proposing to foreign powers the abolition of the slave trade. In 1806 and 1810, the house had voted *nem. con.* addresses of a nature similar to the present. It was impossible, however, for any person not to see, that there never was a period more favourable, a better prospect of success, or more powerful motives for interference, than there was at the present time. It was a time in which the British cabinet and foreign governments were more closely drawn together, and more intimately connected, than at any former period. It was a time when all the nations of Europe were about to revive their commercial relations with each other, and to study the elements of a lasting peace. When we considered the extraordinary circumstances in which we now stood, and the extraordinary successes we had experienced in a long course of providential events, it appeared to him that there was no better or more acceptable mode of expressing our gratitude to that providence which had brought us in safety and

triumph out of all our trials, than to do what in us lay to diminish the mass of human suffering. Never did any time appear fitter for the proposition he had now to make. The great continental powers had distinguished themselves by their moderation and generosity, and had shown a temper and character that left no doubt but that they would be well disposed to contribute to any great plan for the relief of suffering nations. When the present circumstances were taken into consideration, when it was considered what great provocations some of the allied powers had received from France, and what noble revenge they had taken by returning benefits for injuries, and good for evil, he felt a most sanguine hope, that when they were made thoroughly acquainted with the nature of this horrid traffic, they would, as a sequel to their noble conduct, join heartily in this great act of justice and humanity. At the time when this question was first agitated, there were great and powerful interests contending against it. It was then represented that the commerce and marine of this country would be ruined by the adoption of such a measure; that the estates in the West Indies could no longer be cultivated; and that the slaves which were now sold to our islands, would be, in future, murdered on the coasts of Africa. Those things were so confidently asserted, that it naturally produced some hesitation. We had, however, ventured to try the experiment, and the threatened evils had not taken place, We had, therefore, tried the experiment for all other nations; and in now proposing to them to abolish this trade, we could confidently tell them that those evils were not likely to ensue. The slave trade of France had been practically destroyed by the war, and therefore that country had nothing to give up in this respect. He did not wish to appear to insult over him who had lately fallen: but in justice to his subject he must say, that there appeared such a connection between the slave trade and Bonaparte, that while he was in power there was but little prospect of any general agreement of nations to abolish it. He considered Bonaparte a far greater enemy to mankind, from his principles, than even from his conquests; from his openly laughing to scorn all the established principles of religion and morals, he was indeed a deadly enemy to the happiness of mankind. The abolition of the slave trade could never be agreed to by him, as he had not principle enough even to understand the motives of it. When that most able and eloquent champion of the abolition (Mr. Fox) spoke to him upon the subject, he found it impossible to convince him that England, or any other country, could seriously wish for the abolition of a measure from which revenues were derived, from motives of mere humanity. The present king, however, would be faithful to the great duties of the station he occupied, and there was something even in the misfortunes which he had experienced, that naturally opened the mind of men to relieve the miseries of others. As to Spain, she was no longer in those delicate and critical circumstances, when the government would be afraid of adopting a measure that might give offence to the merchants of Cadiz, or some other town that might be interested in the trade. As to Portugal, it was known that the prince regent of

of Portugal had signed an engagement with this country for the gradual abolition of this trade; but Portugal, he was sorry to see, still persisted in the shameful traffic. He then read some regulations which had been adopted by the Portuguese government, which, to his feelings, were more provoking than even doing nothing for their relief. Sweden had already acquiesced in the proposition of our government. Denmark, much to its honour, had discontinued the trade for a long time: and America had declared against it. He did not think the present motion necessary for the purpose of reminding ministers of the subject; but his object was to strengthen their representations, by showing to all foreign powers, that the British parliament had not acted from a mere transient fit of humanity and justice, but that they considered this as a subject of the most serious nature, and never could lose sight of it. It would be a noble sequel to the glorious events which had taken place in Europe, if a foundation were now laid for the future security, peace, and happiness of the inhabitants of Africa. Our thanksgivings to heaven for our own deliverance would not then be met by the shrieks of the suffering natives of another country. It should never be forgotten, that what was complained of, was not merely the sufferings of those individuals, torn from their country and their friends, and sold to slavery; but the great sum of African misery was, that, in consequence of this trade, internal wars were for ever raging in Africa, and its inhabitants were unacquainted with peace or security. Although he was no advocate for the Roman catholic religion, yet he must still do that justice to many of the heads of it to say, that the decrees of the pope and the recommendations of their clergy had principally contributed, in former times, to the enfranchisement of the lower orders of the people in Europe. He therefore did believe, that the spirit of that religion would now, in catholic countries, incline the rulers "to do justice and to love mercy;" and he thought that the reverence now shown to the pope was a pledge that the catholic countries would not oppose a proposition made to them in the true principles of christianity. The slave trade had been described by Mr. Pitt as the greatest practical evil which had been suffered to afflict the human race. —He concluded by moving an address to the following effect:— "That the house, relying in confidence on the solemn assertions and declarations which it had promulgated in 1806 and 1810, for the absolute and unequivocal abolition of the slave trade, humbly besought the prince regent to interpose the good offices and interference of government with the allied powers on the continent, to induce them to aid and assist in this desirable and humane object, by discountenancing and forbidding the same in their respective dominions."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he could not but hope that the unanimous declaration of the British parliament would have great weight with all the allied powers on the continent; and that his honourable friend who had originally brought forward this laudable and most important measure would live to see it carried into most complete effect, and would be rewarded with that universal approbation which his unabated exertions and continual persever-

ance for so many years so eminently entitled him to.

Mr. Ponsonby gave his most cordial approbation to all that had fallen from the honourable mover. He alluded to the despotism which had just been overthrown in France, and observed, that the governments of Europe may rejoice in that just combination of power which has rescued them from the thraldom of a single individual. Strange, therefore, would it be, if Europe, owing her glory and safety to the interposition of providence, should make so ungrateful a return as to join in the infliction of misery on her fellow-creatures. He would add, that that power which had endeavoured to found an excuse for the slave trade, on motives of humanity, had itself been guilty of a most disgraceful offence against humanity. Such language was a mean, malignant and rancorous attempt to combine the attributes of virtue with an endeavour to increase the miseries of the human race.

Mr. Canning rose, not to express his sentiments on the abolition of the slave trade, that was unnecessary, as they were already known to the house; he rose to declare it to be his opinion, that the vote which they were about to come to this night would not be a barren vote, but one that would materially aid the great cause they were anxious to promote. Their unanimity on this occasion would not merely support what they had already done, but would do much towards persuading the great powers of Europe to unite with England to put down the slave trade. Let it not be said, when this language was held, that the English were always vaunting of their importance in, and influence over, Europe. On such an occasion they had a right to expect that their example and authority would produce the happiest results. With those powers who had not acknowledged the injustice of this traffic in human blood, the authority of Great Britain must have some weight, and with that larger portion who, approving the principle acted upon by England, feared the application of it in their own case, our example must prevail. The apprehensions they at present entertained, must be in a great measure removed, when they saw that we, after cutting off that trade, which was to us a source of wealth and power, (if it ever had been a source of wealth and power to any nation on earth,) had lost nothing by obedience to the dictates of humanity, but had still been able not only to defend ourselves, but to contribute largely to the restoration of the independence of Europe.—With those powers who had not recognised the propriety of abolishing the slave trade, he would now take a higher tone than he thought it would have been wise in the day of their distress, when, struggling with difficulties, they looked to this country; for he would take a higher tone with them for this reason, were they in some sort dependent on us, a strong remonstrance on this subject would have gone with too much of authority; but now that the danger was past, and they had recovered their independence, we might assume a loftier tone without appearing to insult them, by holding out a threat if they refused to comply with our wishes. Spain and Portugal could now defend themselves without our assistance, and they could decline attending to our representations without fear of being abandoned to ruin. This then was the time when we could speak with most freedom; for,

for, as we could urge it with more of delicacy than formerly, so we could press it with more of firmness. The happy adjustment of the affairs of the world, which seemed now about to take place, would be incomplete, if an attempt to put an end to the slave trade did not form one grand feature of it. The technical consent to its abolition of those powers who were not actively engaged in it, ought to be obtained, as, if this were not done, their flags would be abused by individuals belonging to other countries, who would be ready to avail themselves of this subterfuge to avoid punishment. The sanction of all the great nations of Europe to its being done away was necessary, and of vast importance, not so much for the mighty power they possessed, as for the use they had made of that power. If their consent were not given to the abolition of the slave trade, things would not merely remain as they are in this respect, but the traffic in slaves would be greater than it had been for many years. The question then was, whether the æra of a general peace in Europe should secure the repose of Africa, or furnish a new starting-post for the plunder and devastation of that quarter of the globe. He hoped that the voice of the people, heard through that unanimous vote of the house, in favour of that which justice, which humanity, and which sound policy, all combined to recommend to every nation, would not appeal to the assembled majesty of Europe in vain.

Mr. Marryatt could take upon himself to state, that those connected with the West India colonies were as anxious as any other class of persons could be, for the universal abolition of the slave trade. Unless the house and the country went further than they had yet gone in this business, though they had washed their own hands of the guilt, they had done little towards lessening the evil which they proposed to remedy, as, while the subjects of other countries engaged in it at all, they did more in proportion as this country did less. From the report of the African society, it appeared that up to the year 1810, the average number of slaves obtained from Africa annually amounted to eighty thousand, one half of which were carried away by the Spaniards, and the other half by the Portuguese. That traffic which was formerly carried on in English ships, was thus kept up in Spanish and Portuguese vessels.—The abolition of the slave trade had produced one good effect, that of greatly meliorating the condition of the slaves in the colonies. The negroes were much better treated, and the old system of having night and day gangs had been abandoned. The total abolition of the slave trade would be a glorious consummation of the happy events lately witnessed in Europe; and he thought the prince regent could not be called upon to perform a more grateful task, than that which the resolution before the house went to assign to him.

Mr. Whitbread said, those were deceived, who imagined every man in England wished for the abolition of the slave trade. Before he knew any thing of the present motion, it had come to his ears, that there were persons in this country base enough to wish for the return of peace, on account of the facilities it would afford for carrying on this detestable traffic under another flag. He was glad this motion had been so ably supported by his right honourable friend near him

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(Mr. Ponsonby), and the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning), as the demonstration thus made, would convince those persons to whom he had alluded, that the legislature was intent upon procuring the perfect abolition of the slave trade throughout the world. At a former period, when we recommended the abolition of the slave trade to the other powers of Europe, it was thought we ought to set the example, by abolishing it ourselves. It was under such circumstances that the last peace was concluded, and reflections were then cast on the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade in that house, because such a step had not been taken. That blot remained on our character no longer. We had now set the example. He was glad to concur in the address, and he hoped it would produce a general and beneficial effect—beneficial even according to the most sordid calculation—as the trading interest of every country would profit by it. He had been present at many of the debates which precluded the abolition of the slave trade in this country, which perhaps boasted the greatest display of eloquence (from the members then on both sides of the house) ever witnessed in the world. Mr. Pitt commenced the march of one of his speeches, by appealing to those who would only consider their interest, who had no feeling but in their purse, and demonstrated by arguments which could not be answered, that it was their interest to put an end to a traffic so disgraceful. He had then, with that eloquence which he so well knew how to use, applied himself to persuade them to do it. This argument ought now to be held out to the deluded governments of Spain and Portugal, and to that most deluded government which attempted to justify the slave trade. They ought to be made to understand that their interest required that this traffic should be no more. He could not anticipate opposition to the motion; and but for the desire he felt to express his own feeling on this subject, he should have thought it quite unnecessary to add one word to the able speeches of those who had preceded him.

Mr. J. Smith and Mr. W. Smith both spoke in approbation of the motion, which was then carried *nem. con.*

A similar address was, on the following day, moved in the house of lords by lord Grenville, and carried.

May 4.—Mr. Whitbread on subsidiary treaties, &c. observed, that the right honourable gentleman had not yet given any notice of the day he meant to move the consideration of the treaties of subsidy and alliance. There was another and a most extraordinary treaty also, of which no mention had been made, though he wished to know whether it was in existence, and likely to be laid before the house. He alluded to a treaty, signed on the 11th of April, with the late emperor of France, by all the allies, except England, and in furtherance of the stipulations of which treaty an English officer was now acting by superintending the removal of Bonaparte from France to the island of Elba. There might be good reasons for not communicating this treaty to the house; but he wished to know whether such a treaty was in existence, and whether the government intended to refuse it or not.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he should certainly give sufficient notice for considering the

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treaties in a committee of supply. With regard to the other treaty, he could only say, that he had no doubt all the engagements into which this country had entered would be duly communicated to parliament.

Mr. Whitbread said he had received no reply to his questions.

The chancellor of the exchequer said they were questions which he did not think it proper to answer.

May 5.—A long debate took place respecting the corn laws, which were referred to a committee of the whole house. In that committee sir H. Parnell's first resolution was carried, "that the exportation of corn, grain, meal, &c. from any part of the united kingdom should be permitted at all times, without the payment of any duty, and without receiving any bounty whatever."—Upon the second resolution, "that the several duties now payable in respect of all corn, grain, meal, and flour imported into the united kingdom, should cease and determine; and that certain duties, specified in an annexed schedule, should be paid in lieu thereof," Mr. Huskisson moved an amendment, the substance of which was, that 63*s.* a quarter should be the price at which corn should be allowed to be imported, on paying the duty of 24*s.* 3*d.*; and that as the corn rose in price, the duty should diminish in exact proportion; so that whenever corn might rise to 86*s.* a quarter, the duty should cease and determine.—The resolution so amended was agreed to.—The chancellor of the exchequer then moved a resolution, that foreign corn imported and warehoused should be free from duty, until brought to market, and that it might be exported without the payment of any duty.—Agreed to.

The bill on the corn laws having gone through most of the stages was at length thrown out.

May 9.—The chancellor of the exchequer said, that there were many taxes, the expiration of which was fixed at six months after the termination of the war. As this might happen when parliament was not sitting, and their modified continuation, though necessary, could be provided for, he moved, that the excise and custom duties, excepting those on vessels clearing out, or goods carried coastwise, should continue in force until the 10th of July 1815.

Mr. Whitbread asked whether it was to be inferred, that the income tax was to expire on the 5th of April next?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that this was a question which must depend on the progress or result of the war with America.

May 10.—The chancellor of the exchequer brought down the following message from the prince regent:—

George, P. R. The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, having taken into consideration the many signal victories obtained by the valour and skill of field-marshal the duke of Wellington, has been pleased to create him a duke and marquis of the united empire; and his royal highness is desirous of further manifesting the high sense he has of his eminent services, which have exalted the renown of the British arms; established the safety and independence of Portugal and Spain; and contributed largely to restore the tranquillity of Europe.—The prince regent therefore recommends

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it to his faithful commons to enable him to grant such an annuity to field-marshal the duke of Wellington, and the heirs of his body succeeding to the title, as shall tend to support the dignity conferred on him, and, at the same time, furnish a lasting memorial of the feelings of his royal highness, and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation.

Similar messages were brought down to the same effect relative to lords Lyndoch, Hill, and Beresford.

House of lords, May 10.—The order upon which their lordships were summoned being read, earl Grey stated, that a subject of greater importance, as to principle, had never been discussed. It included the maxims of good faith, of moral and political justice, the doctrines of public law, and the interpretation of treaties. These were all to be considered before we decided on the conduct of a people who had done us no injury, and who were known to us only by their patriotism, their industry, and their virtues. The treaty with Sweden had last year been sanctioned by parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of himself and friends: he was still of opinion, that British policy never sustained a greater shock, nor the British character a deeper stain, than had been inflicted by that treaty. No authority could, however, induce him to persuade this country to depart from her engagements; and if it could be shown that this treaty compelled us to assist Sweden in the subjugation of Norway, their lordships would do well to reject his motion. But the first question was, whether that treaty required from us such measures as were now pursued towards Norway: secondly, whether those measures could be justified by the doctrines of public law: thirdly, whether Sweden had so acted as to be entitled to call upon us for the execution of these measures: and, fourthly, whether sound policy would justify us in complying with such demands.—In considering the construction of the treaty itself, it would be found to contain no such obligation as the blockade of the ports of Norway. At the suggestion of Russia we had agreed to employ force to compel Denmark to relinquish Norway. The obligation contracted on our part had been fulfilled. We had not guarantied to Sweden the peaceable possession of Norway. That such was the fair construction of the treaty, he appealed to his majesty's ministers—a construction which was admitted in their subsequent treaty with Denmark. What then did this treaty bind us to perform? Certainly, to use every possible exertion, that Denmark should agree to the transfer of Norway to Sweden—and now, when Denmark had ceded all her claims to that country, we were resorting to further and more obnoxious measures of compelling the submission of Norway.—Would the noble and learned lord at the head of the law permit the recovery upon a contract "*ab initio*" illegal? Would they not say, You have entered into an illegal contract, which is *ab initio* void, and you must bear the loss? —In the case of nations the principle was the same—the difference of power made no difference of justice.—What were the disposable rights of the king of Denmark?—were they founded on the consent of the people, on which all thrones rested? or, did they allow him to transfer

transfer the people of Norway like cattle? He was speaking in the nineteenth century, and in the British parliament—and surely there wanted no arguments to prove, that a sovereignty could not be transferred, without the consent of the people, nor that a sovereign had no title to obedience when he ceased to give protection. This was the principle of the revolution in this country—upon this principle his majesty reigned. The rights of the king of Denmark were those of a sovereign only, and not of a proprietor. From what Grotius had written on this subject, it might be deduced, that sovereignty could not be transferred without the express or implied consent of the people. Puffendorff was of the same opinion. "If a prince," according to that writer, "was compelled to yield his sovereignty, he could not place a portion of his subjects under any obligation not to resist the surrender—he could not hinder their erecting themselves into a commonwealth, or any other disposal of themselves." The whole of Vattel's writings went to prove, that sovereignties could never with justice be transferred, unless the people consented to the transfer.—These authorities were conclusive.—He wished their lordships to imagine what would be the consequences of an attempt of the king of England to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland or Scotland. When Richard the second had transferred even the sovereignty of Gascony, the Gascons resisted, and their resistance was successful. When John gave up the sovereignty of England to the pope, the barons asserted the principle, that the king had no such right. What was the consequence of the transfer of the crown of Scotland by Baliol to our Edward I. Had history sanctioned the pretence that the resistance of the Scotch was rebellion?—Had history, as well as Edward, condemned the great and patriotic Wallace as a traitor? No—the transaction had fixed a deep and indelible stain upon the character of the British monarch!

"Scots who have with Wallace bled—
Scots, whom Bruce has often led—
Welcome to your gorey bed!
Or to victory!"

In these and similar lines had the glorious struggle against the transfer of sovereignty been consecrated. That part of our history was never read by any who were sensible of the value of liberty and independence, without regret. Who did not desire to be a sharer in the noble efforts of a Wallace and a Bruce? Who did not follow the actions of those heroes with breathless anxiety, and the most ardent wishes for their success?

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share?
Lord of the lion-heart, and eagle-eye:—
Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."

The Scottish barons had replied to the pope, that no king should be imposed upon Scotland without their consent. Such was then the language of the Scottish barons, and such was now the language of the Norwegian freeholders!—Thus he had proved, that we were not bound by the construction of the treaty to assist in the subjugation of Norway; and since it was clear that the king of Denmark could not transfer the sovereignty, it was equally clear that, let whatever treaty exist, no one could justly compel the Norwegians to submission.—His lordship then adverted to the documents, and complained of their defective character. Sweden did not appear to have furnish-

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ed her contingent of troops, nor could the noble lords pretend absolutely to say, that the crown prince had done his duty. What was the testimony of Mr. Thornton and sir Charles Stewart on this subject? What would be that of the gallant marshal Blucher, could he be brought to give his opinion of the services of the crown prince of Sweden? During the eventful period that followed the battle of Leipsic, who ever heard of the crown prince? Was not the strongest discontent excited by his inactivity? and when he did move, *where* did he move? Not upon the enemy, but upon Norway. Even when he had compelled Denmark to consent to the cession of Norway, where was the crown prince during the anxious months of January, February, and March? —Why, on the 28th of March he was at Liege! There a demi-official article had appeared in the Liege Gazette, declaring his disappointment at not being called upon to send a plenipotentiary to Chatillon, complaining that the Hanseatic legion had been withdrawn from his command, and that his remonstrances had not met with due attention, and, in conclusion, expressing his determination not to take an active part till this was explained.—On the 16th of April, sixteen days after the battle on the heights of Montmartre, the Swedes are put in motion, and the prince repairs to Paris. And yet he stipulates for the assistance of Britain for the unwarrantable reduction of Norway! He requires the criminality of this country to obtain a reward for his inactivity! His lordship then declared that policy was also against the cession of Norway to Sweden. Sweden would naturally look to France to balance her against Russia, while Russia was of all others the most natural, noble, and useful alliance for England. There was, undoubtedly, the happiest hope of a long and lasting peace with France, but he must be a sanguine politician who did not look to a possible future difference of prospect. But was there no alternative for Norway but a dependence on either Sweden or Denmark?—was there not independence?—might she not be more beneficial to this country under the impulse of liberty?—His lordship then combated the idea of the resistance of Norway being instigated by a Danish faction. Even if there were a Danish faction, why not attack Denmark rather than blockade Norway?—After a series of lucid and powerful arguments, his lordship concluded by moving an address to the prince regent, entreating that the blockade of Norway by a British force should be raised.

The earl of Harrowby, in reply, contended, that Russia had a right to engage for the union of Norway with Sweden, and that his Britannic majesty had a similar right to accede to such an engagement. He thought that kingdoms, as well as provinces, might be transferred by treaty with all the rights of their former sovereigns. According to certain doctrines, a sovereign might cede a province which he could not keep, and then that province might start into a state. A country might be cut up into twenty pieces, and each start up with a head and tail as an independent body. The presumptive heir to the crown had gone to Norway, and endeavoured to set up a state, after the king had ceded it. The Danish civil officers had been ordered to return. There was rea-

son to think that the liberal terms of Sweden had been studiously concealed from the Norwegians. As to the condition of the Norwegians by the transfer, was there no difference in a transfer from a free to a despotic, and from a despotic to a free constitution? It was a satisfaction, that instead of imposing hardships on Norway, the contrary was the fact. The king of Sweden offered Norway freedom. He lamented, under all the pleasing and glorious circumstances of the time, that there should be even this single voice of complaint to disturb the general joy, and that too upon the transfer of Norway from an absolute though mildly administered government, to a free and representative constitution.

The debate was continued to considerable length by lord Grenville, the earl of Liverpool, and lord Holland; and the house then divided upon lord Grey's motion, which was lost.

May 11.—Lord Liverpool said, in rising to move an address in answer to his royal highness the prince regent's most gracious message, he could not anticipate the possibility of the slightest opposition. Perhaps he should perform the duty he had to discharge, if he simply laid his proposition before the house, accompanied by necessary explanation: but though he might not have occasion to detain their lordships longer than necessary, he could not do justice to the great individual if he did not, on an occasion like this, trouble the house with a few observations. Conquests had been made under the duke of Wellington without parallel. If they were to look back to the history of former times, when the glory of the British arms was raised to a high pitch of renown, they would be struck by the splendour of the military glory this country had acquired; but a comparison would be in favour of the great events which have recently occurred. It was in the recollection of this house, and every man in the country, that, a few years since, it was supposed that our military character was confined to one element. It was said, that we only held a high place on the ocean, and when our armies fought on land we could not be great. Those who made such observations did not judge rightly. Some supposed the character of the British people would suffer in a military point of view; others, that we were unacquainted with operations in the field; but he would now ask, whether there was the slightest ground for those observations? We have proved to the world, that England is not without military renown. The noble duke of Wellington has elevated the British name; and his genius, joined to the skill and ability of the illustrious person at the head of the army, had made the British equal, if not superior, to any soldiers in the world. The house perhaps would reflect, that it was only four years since England was the only independent nation. All the other powers were under the influence of France. With the exception of the lines of Torres Vedras and Cadiz, defended by the noble duke, all was at the disposal of the enemy. The house might follow lord Wellington from the lines of Torres Vedras, moving forward in 1810, see his operations, the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos; follow him to the field of Vittoria, and see him plant at last the British standard on the walls of Bourdeaux. The noble duke having conquered Spain, had finished

finished his career of glory by placing the standard of Bourbon on the walls of the first city in France, to hail the restoration of their legitimate sovereign. This noble example was the work of lord Wellington, and it proved the harbinger of the peace and happiness likely to follow. These were services which ought to be marked by some singular act of British gratitude. If ever there was a man deserving a public mark of approbation, it was lord Wellington. Lord Liverpool had felt that he should have been wanting in respect to the house, had he not reminded them of the claims on which he had to establish his proposition, and he had only to state to their lordships what the proposal was. The house knew that the measure to convey a grant to the noble duke would originate in another house. It was there intended to grant to the duke of Wellington, in addition to the former grant, an annuity of ten thousand pounds a year on the consolidated fund. It was desirable that it should be laid out in the purchase of land: therefore it was proposed to give authority to the lords commissioners of the treasury to advance 300,000*l.* to be laid out in lands, and a portion of the annuity to be cancelled as soon as the purchase is made. In the next place, it was intended that the income of the lands should be equal to the sum of the annuity. His lordship's experience in the purchase of lands had induced him to make this proposition. It was much better for the house to adopt this mode, leaving the individual, if he preferred it, to purchase estates out of a former grant made by parliament, instead of cancelling the annuity. The noble duke was entitled by the vote of parliament on a former occasion to 10,000*l.* a year, 3000*l.* of which might be applied annually to the purchase of lands, leaving the noble duke 7000*l.* a year. The noble earl concluded by moving an address to his royal highness the prince regent, to inform him that the house would cheerfully concur in the recommendation contained in his royal message.

The earl of Liverpool moved, in succession, the consideration of the prince regent's message, as applicable to provisions for lord Lyndoch, lord Rowland Hill, and lord Carr Beresford. The noble earl paid the tribute of praise due, first to general Graham, who had been considered second to lord Wellington in the various operations in Spain and Portugal. The devotion of that officer to the interest of his country had been noticed also by his willingness to proceed in a bad state of health to Holland, where he had sustained a most honourable character. Lord Hill he extolled for prudence, and having the entire confidence of lord Wellington. Lord Beresford was the subject of admiration, as the man who had disciplined the Portuguese levies, making them troops worthy to take the field with the British.

Addresses to his royal highness the prince regent, concurring in all his recommendations, were moved and carried in succession, with entire unanimity, and the said addresses ordered to be presented by the lords with white staves.

House of commons, May 12.—A committee upon the messages of the prince regent being gone into by the whole house, the chancellor of the exchequer took a wide survey of the military character of the duke of Wellington and the other general officers specified in those messages,

messages, and concluded by moving "that the sum of 10,000*l.* be paid annually out of the consolidated fund, for the use of the duke of Wellington, to be at any time commuted for the sum of 300,000*l.* to be laid out in the purchase of an estate."—On the question being put,

Mr. Whitbread objected to the proposed grant, because he thought it was not large enough, and he did not approve of the proposition, that, if the sum was found insufficient, another application might be made; no time ought to be delayed in making such a provision as was commensurate to the service rendered, and the dignity conferred; and least of all would he consent to leave open any anticipation of future reward. The house should have in contemplation to settle the duke of Wellington on a great landed estate, and in a noble house, in some part of the country, and the sum proposed was not sufficient for such a purpose.

Mr. Ponsonby said, eighteen or nineteen thousand per annum was not enough to support the dignity of one of the first nobles in the land; for his own part, he would willingly vote for 500,000*l.*; and if no other person would propose it, he would move to add one hundred thousand pounds to the proposed sum.

The chancellor of the exchequer felt that no pecuniary reward could be equal to the services of the duke of Wellington. He would therefore propose four hundred thousand pounds, and augment the annuity to thirteen thousand pounds per annum; so that, with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds already granted, half a million would be placed at the disposal of the duke of Wellington.

Mr. Whitbread said, the addition made the act complete, and he was perfectly satisfied.

The resolution was then carried *nem. con.*

Grants of two thousand pounds per annum were proposed to each of the three following noblemen—lords Lyndoch, Hill, and Beresford.

The resolutions were agreed to, and ordered to be reported, in order to be taken into further consideration, with a view to making some alteration in the sums proposed.

Mr. Wynne, after a very luminous speech respecting the state of Norway, in which he added many forcible arguments to the grounds already taken on this important subject by earl Grey in the house of lords, moved, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, humbly to request that his royal highness would be graciously pleased to interpose his mediation, to rescue the unoffending people of Norway from the dreadful alternative of famine, or of subjugation to the yoke of a foreign and hostile power; and that during the discussion of such proposals as his royal highness may be advised to make for this most desirable object, all hostile operations on the part of this country against a people struggling for the sacred right of national independence may be discontinued."

Mr. Lambton seconded the motion.

Mr. Stephen was decidedly of opinion, that that which was inconsistent with duty could never be conducive to interest. We could never pursue our true interest by violating the laws of God or of nature. Those who attempted to

do this threw the gauntlet to Almighty justice; and he should fear in such a case, even if he could not immediately see the connection between cause and effect, that the supreme governor of the universe would not fail to take it up. We were bound to perform the treaty we had concluded, by doing all in our power to annex Norway to Sweden, unless we were released from the obligation by Sweden herself. Nothing was more repugnant to common sense and to common principle, than to argue, because Norway had been ceded to Sweden, though the cession was successfully resisted by the Norwegians, that we had done all the treaty required, and were bound to do nothing more in the business. By the terms of the treaty we engaged not only not to oppose the annexation of Norway in perpetuity to Sweden, but to co-operate with Sweden and Russia to secure it to the former power, if Denmark did not join the allies. It was now said, after a sanguinary campaign, because at last Denmark had been compelled to change her system, that we were not bound by the stipulation of that treaty. He should not be surprised to hear this from persons unacquainted with those great writers on the law of nations, Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel; but he was astonished to hear it from those who were familiar with their writings. He proceeded to show from Vattel, that the course taken by ministers, with respect to Norway, was in every respect justifiable. It would have been but a mockery on our part to have acceded to the treaty concluded between Sweden and Russia, had we offered to introduce a proviso, that if the people of Norway resisted it should not be carried into effect. On such terms our assent would not have been accepted by Sweden. But it was said that Sweden had not fulfilled her engagements, and therefore we were not bound to perform ours. It would come with a very bad grace from us to say this now, if we had made no remonstrances to this effect before. The services of the crown prince at Leipsic, his defence of Berlin, &c. had greatly forwarded the plans of the allies. He did not think ministers deserved more praise in any one thing, than for having discovered that confidence could be placed in the crown prince of Sweden, at a time when the prevailing opinion of this country was much against it. After the services required of Sweden had been performed, it was not just, because now the danger was past, doubts could be raised on the conduct of the crown prince, that we should put aside the engagements we had made. If this treaty were a violation of eternal justice, and of the law of nations—if it were a transgression of the law of God—then, if that were made out, he would admit it ought not to be fulfilled. If we sinned in making it, we should not sin in breaking it, if we made the party suffering from our doing so all the reparation in our power. The conduct pursued towards Norway he again vindicated, by referring to the public writers he had quoted before. Norway, as belonging to Denmark, with whom we were at war, we had a right to conquer if we could, and we had a right to contract with another power to effect its subjugation. If it were proved that this was contrary to the law of nations, he would give up the argument. A ceded people, it was said, must consent to the cession before it could be

place: but how was this expressed but through their legitimate organ, the king? The king of Denmark had consented to the cession of Norway, and we were bound by solemn treaty to carry that cession into effect. But it was said that Norway was part of Sweden, or part of Denmark. If part of Denmark, it had been ceded to Sweden, and we had nothing more to do; if it was part of Sweden, with that country we were at peace. He should avoid both horns of this dilemma. If it was part of Denmark, it was bound to obey the law of Denmark. If it resisted to fulfil the treaty made by Denmark, it placed itself by such conduct in its former state of war with this country. They could in that case have no right to benefit by the peace between the two powers. It was said that the plan formed for starving them into submission was one not to be contemplated without horror. God forbid that he should wish any nation to be placed in this situation! but by unequivocally stating our intentions he thought we might save the Norwegians from the miseries of famine and protracted war. He thought it would be mercy to Norway to put forth our means in concert with our allies at once, in order to convince them that resistance would be vain. The situation of Norway he could not think likely to be at all deteriorated by its union with Sweden. This to him was a consoling reflection, though under other circumstances he should still have contended that we were bound to fulfil the treaty we had concluded. On these grounds he most cordially opposed the motion, believing that, instead of propitiating the supreme governor of the world by agreeing to it, to do so would only have the effect of heaping greater disgrace on this nation than had ever fallen on any other country.

Sir J. Mackintosh, referring to the circumstances under which the treaty between Russia and Sweden had been concluded, eulogized in the highest terms the splendid exertions of the former power in the cause of Europe. He admitted the convention with Sweden, to which this country was a party, to be binding; but stated the question before the house to be this, whether this country was bound in fact, or by right, to compel the kingdom of Norway to submit to the domination of Sweden, by a treaty concluded with Sweden against the crown of Denmark? He contended that it could not bind us to make war on an independent power which was not in existence when the treaty was made. All that was asked by the resolution under consideration was, that a pause should be made to give time for inquiring into the real state of things in Norway, before the most odious measures of hostility were resorted to. Those who doubted whether the insurrection in Norway was unanimous, or who doubted of any of the facts which had been made public, were bound to vote for the address. It had been asked, if Sweden would have accepted our assent to the treaty between her and Russia, with a proviso that it should not be enforced if it met with resistance from the Norwegian people? He would answer, Sweden would, if she had read the law of nations, as laid down by Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel. Recognising the universally received writings of these men as the law of Europe, she was bound to admit the proviso, as much as if it had been inserted in the treaty. These he proceeded to

support by quotations from those celebrated writers. For a prince to cede a million of men by one stroke of his pen was to carry on a white slave trade, to outdo the worst scenes exhibited in Congou or Bohemia. The resistance of a people was not to be treated so lightly. One protest, he contended, was more than equal to a thousand acquiescences. He then adverted to the cession of the island of Corsica by the republic of Genoa, and traced from the circumstances which that cession led to, the production of that mind which had afterwards nearly destroyed the liberties of the world. The cession of the Tyrol by Austria he next noticed, and inquired if the gallant resistance of the Tyrolese was to be stigmatized as a rebellion, and if that hero who, fighting for his country, had probably in his blood planted the seeds of European liberty, was at that time of day to be called a traitor. The vote of the house that night would decide whether he deserved to rank with Sydney and Hampden, or was one of the blackest traitors that ever prolonged the horrors of war. He wished to ask the learned gentleman, if there were no cases in which the people might with justice resist the attempts of their sovereigns to cede them to foreign powers? He put it to him, if the king of Spain were to cede the fine province of Andalusia to the barbarian called the emperor of Morocco, or to the dey of Algiers, would it be high treason in the people to refuse their consent to such a transfer? The poor peasant of Norway had that artificial instinct, the love of his native land, without which he could be no man, without which the country could be no country, but merely a wretched bundle of slaves. A parallel case to that of Norway was furnished by Scotland. Had not her sons resisted Edward the first, had they suffered themselves to be made slaves, they could never have become useful friends to that great country to which it was now their honour and their glory to belong. It was because they had resisted, and because a Wallace had suffered martyrdom, that they had become what they were; and that from them the annals of Great Britain had been graced with the names of an Abercromby, a Moore, and a Graham. He proceeded to picture the hard case of the Norwegians, in being subjected to the horrors of famine for choosing their own government. He contended that, when the king of Denmark had abdicated the sovereignty over them, they had a right to act for themselves, as an independent power must commit some act of hostility before any nation could with justice declare war against them. The honourable gentleman wished to know whether the rising was partial or general, and this he proposed to ascertain by starving the whole people. But it was said that they had been hostile to us. They had been so while it was their duty. Under the most trying circumstances, they had stood firm as their mountains, which he hoped would prove to them an unconquerable barrier. He expressed great sorrow at finding the navy was to be put on so abominable and nefarious a duty as that of blockading the people of Norway. Of the navy he could not speak without enthusiasm. Those who composed it, adding the perfection of science to valour and generosity, had raised themselves within these last twenty years, as a body, more than any other class of persons he could name.

name. They had appeared to be without rivals, till the immortal Wellington made it doubtful whether our army or our navy was most to be admired. He mourned that such men were to be sent to persecute, under the profaned name of mercy, a people who would not believe them capable of acting such a part. He put it to the house, what must be the feelings of the Norwegian mothers, while gazing on their dying infants —their infants famished by the mercy of England; they pointed to the British flag, which they had taught their children to admire, and saw in that which had given independence and relief to others, the cause of their subjugation and misery.

Mr. Canning defended the character and conduct of the crown prince of Sweden. He thought we were expressly bound by treaty to assist in putting Sweden in possession of Norway. Then how was this assistance to be rendered? Our lofty ships could not scale the mountains of Norway, and of course the stipulated co-operation could only be by blockading the Norwegian ports. Therefore, the blockade took place in adherence to the treaty, and the consequences which followed were naturally to be apprehended, however much they might be deplored. But such consequences must ever be calculated upon in war; and however those intrusted with the weapons of war might feel, they must wield those weapons with effect for legitimate objects, or become unfit for their situation, and dangerous to their country.— He regarded Sweden as a most important support to the common cause, as the very nucleus of the continental confederacy, by cementing the connection between Russia and England. The importance of Sweden might indeed be judged of from the testimony of Austria, which, in its original declarations in favour of the allies, distinctly stated that "Russia, Sweden and England formed the point of union round which the confederacy of Europe rallied." The rank here assigned to Sweden showed that the services of Sweden were highly estimated. Why then should such services be slighted, or why should the price which this country had engaged to pay for them be refused? We had entered into this engagement in a period of difficulty, when the danger that menaced us was tremendous; and should we now in a moment of comparative repose, when the danger had sunk into insignificance, refuse to fulfil our contract to that power, which had materially contributed to remove that difficulty? —The waters were out—clouds covered the opposite shore—and yet having got safely across, should we complain of an overcharge for our conveyance—should we refuse to pay the boatman?—The circumstances under which a treaty was concluded must, according to all jurists of authority, be taken into consideration, in order to judge of the propriety and duty of adhering to its provisions.

Mr. Whitbread said, that if the right honourable member who had spoke last had not been able as well as accustomed to weigh the meaning of words, he should have supposed that he had mistaken the purport of his honourable friend's motion. If there were any members in the house to night who had never heard the right honourable gentleman before, they would be lamentably disappointed by the very imperfect specimen which he had

given of his eloquence and powers of imagination. His "roar of waters, his trickling stream, his ferry-boat, his ships climbing mountains," were not at all in that gentleman's usual style of oratory. As to the part we should take in the present contest, Mr. Whitbread contended that it would be perfectly gratuitous and voluntary, there were no obligations in the treaty to bind us, we were free as air as to the conduct we should pursue. The crown prince of Sweden had not fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty, by which we had agreed to assist him in the subjugation and annexation of Norway. This was his firm opinion; and it was, he believed, the opinion of the highest military authorities, that Sweden had not given that assistance to the common cause which she was bound by the express conditions of this unprincipled contract to give. He should like to have had the opinions of sir Charles Stewart, of marshal Blucher, as to the effective co-operation of Sweden at the battle of Leipsic, and after that battle, after the allies had entered France, or when they were under the walls of Paris. With respect to the charge of treachery against Denmark, in defeating the cession of Norway, which she herself had formerly made, it was sufficiently answered by the ratification of the original treaty with that country, so late as the 19th of April, when it was plain that the allies were perfectly satisfied with the conduct and good faith of the king of Denmark. Every one knew what blockade meant in the present instance. It was not intended to prevent the sending of arms or ammunition to Norway, but to cut off her supplies of food, to inflict upon her that which had been described by Mr. Burke as the greatest of all possible calamities, as a calamity so dreadful that every humane mind shuddered and turned away from its contemplation. Would not the house pause, then, before they proceeded to this last act of aggravated injustice and cruelty?—Yet ministers would not allow them to inquire, or were themselves most scandalously ignorant, whether the condition of a treaty, which could alone bind them down to such disgraceful conduct, had been fulfilled or not. He was sorry not to see an honourable and learned member (Mr. Stephen) in his place, or he should have animadverted on some expressions that had fallen from him. He might have alluded to the half pious, half profane, expression which he suffered to escape him, that we had thrown down the gauntlet to the Almighty, who, he had no doubt, would take it up. He would also (if he were present) say, that that honourable gentleman's tender mercies were cruel, though he himself was not among the wicked; for, if he had not known his voice, and person, and his manner so well as he did, he should have supposed, during his speech to night, that he was hearing one of those persons who used formerly to descant on the miseries of the Africans in their own country, in order to show the justice and humanity of the slave trade. [Here Mr. Whitbread, seeing Mr. Stephen enter the house, hailed his approach, and, recapitulating what he had just said, proceeded.] If that honourable and learned gentleman were not also one of the most moral and philosophical characters of the age, who held all jacobins and jacobinism in the utmost abhorrence, he should almost have mistaken him for one of the members of

of the constituent assembly of France, setting out on a crusade to Norway, with the rights of man in one hand, and a sword and famine in the other, to compel them to accept of freedom and happiness, on the peril of their lives. Mr. Whitbread here pointedly alluded to the sentiment of the right honourable member for Liverpool delivered out of the house at a convivial meeting, in which the eloquent speaker had declared his satisfaction, that it was in the wilds of Russia, of a barbarous and despotic country, that Bonaparte had been first defeated. This, according to the right honourable gentleman, proved that patriotism had nothing to do with the freedom, or the forms of government.

He wished the right honourable member, and the learned and honourable gentleman behind him, to apply this theory to the brave and unfortunate people of Norway, and not to suffer them to be juggled out of their natural rights and political independence, by fine theories of liberty and happiness, by technical acuteness, and the strict letter of unfulfilled treaties.

After some observations from the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Ponsonby, and other members, the house divided,

For the motion - - - - -	71
Against it - - - - - - -	229
Majority against the motion -	158

CHAPTER V.

Debate on Mr. Sergeant Onslow's Bill on the Apprentice Laws—Mr. W. Smith's Bill to prevent Child-stealing—Sir J. Hippesley's Motion on the Jesuits—Copyright Bill—Petition of Mr. De Berenger—Petition of Arthur Morris, Esq.—Letter from the Princess of Wales, and Proceedings thereon.

MAY 31.—Mr. sergeant Onslow moved the second reading of the apprentice bill, which was warmly opposed by sir Frederic Flood, who, though a friend to liberty, disliked licentiousness. The bill went to abrogate that most salutary law of the 5th Elizabeth, and to revive the practice which had previously existed from Edward the third's time. It would be destructive of the interests of persons who served their apprenticeships and paid for education in their respective trades, and ruinous to the morals of youth. It would be hurtful to commerce, to mechanics, to manufactures, and to the stamp act; the present law had lasted two hundred and twenty one years. He proposed to postpone the second reading to that day six months.

Mr. Protheroe seconded the motion, as the bill proceeded on no general comprehensive system; but simply on a repeal, without any efficient substitute for what was to be repealed. The apprenticeship system was beneficial both to manufactures and morals. Lord Coke had said, that it was intended to prevent children from being brought up in idleness. Blackstone expressed himself to the same effect. As to vexatious prosecutions, he learn-

ed that in Bristol there had not been one prosecution under the act for the last twenty years. Apprenticeship was most peculiarly attended to among shipwrights; yet they had struck for increased wages but once during twelve years. If apprenticeship was more encouraged, it would be found the best mode of checking combinations. It was a great comfort to poor parents to fix their son with a good master, and so insure his future livelihood. Let there be a proper report on the subject, and let some wise, comprehensive plan be proposed.

Mr. Davies Giddy was averse to theories: but if ever natural and indefeasible rights could be maintained, it would be in favour of men employing their skill and labour in those pursuits which seemed to them best adapted to their faculties and powers. He who looked back to Elizabeth's reign, and saw the number of patents and monopolies then granted, and the remonstrance of the commons against them, would find no reason for veneration of the statesmen of those days. Under the operation of the law, suburbs were frequently found to flourish more than the cities to which they adjoined. Wherever such a law had not force, it was found that manufactures thrived better. Apprenticeship might be expedient in many cases; but the bill provided for that, while it prevented the country from being longer divided into hostile classes of artisans. He most heartily concurred in the proposed measure.

Mr. Thompson wished the law totally repealed, though the bill did not go so far. The present law was necessarily broken every day. It was clear that the judges always wished to evade it when they could do so. He knew a case of two men, who were prosecuted under the act for sawing a piece of wood; another, of a good and a bad baker in the same town, where the bad one finding that the good one had not served a regular apprenticeship, had him turned out, and got liberty to poison all his neighbours with his bad bread. Some years ago the printers struck, and there was a difficulty in getting even the parliamentary papers printed. Let those who chose it bind their children as apprentices, but let not others be compelled to do the same. Instances of the absurdity of the law would be innumerable. It was none the better for the age of it, which the worthy baronet had stated. It was, in fact, superannuated; and it was much the kindest way to let it die quietly, and so confer an advantage both in this country and Ireland. Lord Ellenborough got the coachmakers out of a scrape ingeniously enough. They were attacked as wheel-makers; but his lordship said that coaches could not have been known in Elizabeth's days, as that queen went to parliament on horseback.

Sir S. Romilly thought that when he heard the advantages that were stated to arise from the system of apprenticeships, they would be sufficient without any compulsion to induce parents to put their sons apprentices. One gentleman had stated the great comfort to poor parents of being entirely relieved from the burden of maintaining their children for so many years; and the petitions from the shipwrights stated, that their trade could not be learned in less than seven years. If this was the case, he conceived that there would still remain sufficient encouragement to the system of apprenticeships, without

out the penalties of the act of Elizabeth. He considered that statute as, in many instances, a prohibition against persons becoming useful members of society, and supporting their families by their industry, and an injunction on them that they should remain beggars, and that their families should go to the poor-house. Men were by this statute punished in the severest manner, because their friends had neglected or were unable to put them out as apprentices at the proper time. He never knew a greater mass of folly and absurdity in any statute, than in this which had been so highly cried up.

Sir F. Flood, seeing the sense of the house against him, withdrew his amendment, and the bill was read a second time.

May 17.—Mr. W. Smith, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to punish the crime of child-stealing, observed that it was singular that this offence, though there was none of greater enormity, was not at all punished by the existing law, unless in those cases where the person stealing a child could be convicted of stealing its clothes. It was surely a sufficient ground for the bill which he wished to bring in, that, as the law stood, a man should not be punished for stealing a child, while he was punished for stealing its shoes. But practical inconveniencies had arisen; for it had happened that the judges in their charges to juries had said, that if the jurors should think that the intention was to steal the person of the child and not its clothes, it was their duty to acquit the prisoner. There were other motives for stealing children besides the possession of their clothes, though this might be the most common. Instances had been known where children had been stolen in order to be brought up by the person who had stolen them, a case of which kind had excited great interest, and which was tried at Winchester assizes. This object was no palliation of the offence, as the agony of the parents was the same. Sometimes even offenders had reached such a pitch of enormity as to steal children in order to sell them, or to enure them to degraded employments. A bill to render the offence penal had been introduced, and passed without opposition through that house, but it had dropped in the house of lords. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill. Leave given.

Sir. J. Hippesley said, that in the last session a doubt arose as to the fact which he had mentioned, that 30,000*l.* had been remitted from Rome to Ireland, for the establishment of a jesuitical seminary. Not only was this sum remitted, but Castle Brown had been purchased for the sum of 16,000*l.* for the institution, at the head of which a professed jesuit was placed. A professional gentleman of eminence (Mr. Brown) in an eulogium of the order of jesuits, lately published by him, had admitted that young men had been sent from Ireland to Naples, there to receive orders; and had maintained that an oath was binding, not *secundum intentionem imponentis*, but *secundum intentionem jurantis*—the old jesuitical maxim. The plans for the re-establishment of this once formidable body were deeply laid, and those best acquainted with the state of Ireland dreaded the event. Another circumstance, which he thought should be viewed with jealousy, was, the frequent meetings which had been held by the catholic clergy in Ireland;

land; an assumption of authority the more wonderful, considering the restrictions which the catholic clergy had submitted to in catholic as well as reformed countries. He hoped the government of Ireland was alive to the consequences of such meetings, as well as to that of another body—the catholic board, a body which had taken on itself to appeal from its own government to the Spanish cortes. The papers which he should wish to be printed would inform the house of the regulations adopted in foreign countries respecting the catholic clergy, and would give them a more accurate idea of the practice of the catholic church than could be obtained from the varying and contradictory rescripts of the papal see. The honourable baronet concluded by moving that the forty-second and forty-third paragraphs of the instructions to sir G. Prevost, governor of Lower Canada, of the 22d October 1811, presented to the house of commons in July 1813, be laid before the house.

Sir H. Parnel stated, that the institution, which had been alluded to by the honourable baronet, was in fact no other than a lay establishment for the education of young people in Ireland of any religious persuasion. Any fears from the efforts of the jesuits in the present state of that society, and of religious opinions, he conceived to be ridiculous; and he did not see how the house could interfere to prevent a gentleman from keeping a school, because he was formerly educated at a jesuits' college.

Mr. Peele observed, that the utmost jealousy of jesuitic institutions had always been evinced by the government; and therefore he had had a communication with Mr. Kenny, the head of the institution alluded to, and had stated to that gentleman, that he should conceive it his duty, in his official station, to watch the establishment with peculiar jealousy; to which he was the more disposed by that gentleman's refusal to state the funds from which he derived the very considerable sum with which that establishment was supported.

The motion was agreed to.

May 18.—The house resolved itself into a committee on the copy-right bill, in which Mr. D. Giddy explained the object of the clauses which he intended to propose. The clauses provided—1. That it should not be necessary that the copies of books presented to public libraries should be on fine paper.—2. That no book need be presented to these libraries, unless such as were required from the booksellers.—3. That all copy-rights should be entered at stationers' hall; and that if the author, by a special entry, waved his copy-right, he should then only be required to present one copy to the British Museum.—4. That the term of copy-right be extended from fourteen years certain, and another fourteen years if the author was living at the end of the first term, to twenty-eight years certain.—There was another clause which had been presented by the booksellers, to provide that improper use should not be made of the books presented to the public libraries, as it had been said that they were sometimes sold! These clauses were then received for the purpose of being printed.—The bill with alterations was in due time passed into a law.

May 20.—Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from Charles Random de Berenger, which being read, complained of having been arrested by virtue of a warrant from

from the secretary of state for the home department, as a disloyal alien; that, after being some time in custody of a messenger belonging to the alien office, he had been committed to Newgate, and confined on the felon side of that prison; that his papers, money, and clothes had been taken from him; that he was under a prosecution for being concerned in a conspiracy to defraud the stock exchange; and that, being deprived of his papers and his money, he had not the means of duly preparing his defence against the said charge; that he had by letter, dated 15th of April, applied to Mr. Beckett, under secretary of state, to have his papers, clothes, and money restored to him, in order to prepare for his defence, but had not received any answer; that in addition to the disgrace of being confined on the felon side of Newgate, when the charge against him was only a misdemeanor, he was subjected to have his quiet disturbed by persons being allowed to intrude upon him from the committee of the stock exchange, who were continually annoying him with questions; that, not being able to obtain any redress or satisfaction from the secretary of state, he was under the necessity of throwing himself on the mercy of the house, and of praying for their protection. Mr. Whitbread, before moving that the petition do lie on the table, begged to observe that he had looked over all the alien acts, and could not discover in any of them a provision which empowered the secretary of state to take from the prisoner any thing but arms. So far from Mr. de Berenger having been deemed disloyal, he had for several years served as an officer in his majesty's service, in a corps commanded by lord Yarmouth.

Mr. H. Addington said, that Mr. de Berenger had been arrested and committed to prison on a distinct charge from the transaction at the stock exchange, for which he was also under a prosecution. What that charge was, he believed neither the honourable gentleman nor the house would expect him then to declare. He was surprised that the honourable gentleman should question the authority of the secretary of state, which he had never before heard denied, and who had acted under the several alien acts during the last fifteen or sixteen years. With respect to de Berenger's money; part of it had been restored, at least in value, if not the identical money taken from him.

Sir S. Romilly hoped this subject would not terminate with the single question before the house. The great question was, whether the powers of the alien act had or had not been abused in the present case; and whether the warrant had been issued with a view to the prosecution. It was clear that it had been used to obtain evidence which otherwise could not have been procured. A case such as this ought to be well watched, by which a man, if innocent, could not make his innocence manifest.

Sir James Mackintosh said, the powers given by the alien act were among the most formidable and liable to abuse ever given by parliament. The act of the secretary of state he affirmed to be illegal, unless sanctioned by the alien act.—Petition ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. Whitbread said, there was no time to be lost, or prejudice would indeed be raised. It was stated

stated that the obvious purpose of Mr. Berenger was to get property, which, if detained, would operate to his conviction. This must naturally go against him, unless the house investigated the subject. He had made constant applications for his money, not for any identical bank notes, but for his money to pay his gaol fees, his medical attendants, and for his sustentation. He had received his money only within these few days. Mr. Beckett wrote on the 5th of May, stating lord Sidmouth's consent to his going to Newgate; but could give no answer respecting bail. It was strange that Berenger preferred Newgate to remaining in custody of a messenger. Mr. Beckett wrote again on the 13th of May, up to which time Mr. Berenger had received no money. Lord Sidmouth declined then doing any thing concerning his liberation. As to property, every thing was to be restored, except what was wanted for public justice, at the approaching trial, with which it is said that his arrest had nothing to do. Other notes were then to be delivered to him, instead of the original property. Mr. solicitor-general had said that one note was as good as another; and so it was, if of equal value: but his eloquence in a court of justice would have extorted a verdict from a jury, if he dwelt upon the value of a thing being one's own. In 1811 the house appointed a secret committee to inquire into the case of Mr. Colville. No inconvenience resulted, nothing was divulged, and the report sanctioned his detention. It was right to have the matter cleared up. Had the stock exchange affair never occurred, would Mr. Berenger have been arrested? If the indictment had not been found, would he not, in a decent space of time, have been liberated? Had the secretary of state's office abused its power or not, in putting the means of conviction into the hands of private prosecutors? It was due, in justice to the secretary of state, to the house, and to the petitioner, who was a foreign, friendless, and *traduced* individual, to inquire into the matter. He had said traduced, on account of the presumptions against a man yet untried.—He concluded by moving for a secret committee to inquire into the circumstances of the detention of Charles Random de Berenger, and to report thereon.

Mr. B. Bathurst said that a motion like this should have had a notice. Practice did not exclude inquiry; but he objected to a hasty motion for examining the conduct of the secretary of state's office, which could be done by a proper question, and a simple aye or no: he should therefore move the other orders of the day.

Mr. H. Addington did not expect such a motion that night; and several gentlemen had asked, if it were necessary to stay. He saw no fair case made out to suspect the secretary of state.

Mr. Whitbread would have delayed his motion to a future day, but determined on an immediate step, in consequence of what fell during the debate. His purpose was answered for the present, and he did not object to a reasonable delay. In the greatest questions of party politics adjournments had occurred, without placing either party in a worse situation. The honourable gentleman (Mr. H. A.) had seemed surprised at the flock of orators that ran away, after only putting the question "Need we stay?"

stay?" He should be ashamed to fight him, when he was stripped of his troops.—The further consideration was postponed till Monday; but, when again discussed, the motion was negatived.

May 24.—The petition of Arthur Morris, esq. praying remuneration for expenses incurred at the Westminster election, which sum he had failed to procure at law from sir F. Burdett, as the honourable baronet had not been considered as a candidate, was referred to a committee.

The report of the committee on the child-stealing bill was agreed to, two clauses having been added, one excepting from the provisions of the bill persons claiming to be the fathers of illegitimate children, and as such getting possession of them, or taking them from their mothers; and another, exempting Scotland from the provisions of the bill, there being in that country laws existing against the crime.

After some conversation, the further consideration of the report of the committee on the corn exportation bill was fixed for Monday week.

June 3.—The speaker acquainted the house, that since he had come to his place he had received a letter from her royal highness the princess of Wales, which, with the leave of the house, he would read.

"*Connaught-house, June* 3, 1814.

"The princess of Wales desires Mr. speaker will inform the house of commons, that his royal highness the prince regent has been advised to take such steps as have prevented her from appearing at court, and to declare his royal highness's fixed and unalterable determination never to meet the princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.

"The proceedings of 1806 and 1807, and last year, are in the recollection of the house, as well as the ample and unqualified vindication of the princess's conduct to which those proceedings led.

"It is impossible for the princess of Wales to conceal from herself the intention of the advice which has now been given to the prince regent, and the probability that there are ultimate objects in view pregnant with danger to the security of the succession, and the domestic peace of the realm.

"Under these circumstances, even if the princess's duty towards herself could suffer her to remain silent, her sense of what is due to her daughter, and to the highest interests of the country, compels her to make this communication to the house of commons.

"The princess of Wales encloses copies of the correspondence which has passed, and which she requests Mr. speaker will communicate to the house."

The speaker then said, that with the liberty of the house the papers should be read; which was done. They were copies of the letters which are already published.

As Mr. Methuen was rising to bring forward the proposed motion on this subject, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers, which was immediately enforced.

The following is an abstract of the account of what passed in the house of commons after the gallery was cleared of strangers.

Mr. Methuen, having expressed his consciousness of the arduous task he had undertaken, read some of the parts of the letter of her royal highness, and commented upon her situation. He then showed that the

the innocence of the princess was acknowledged by the hereditary prince of Orange, who had addressed her as his future mother-in-law, and by the prince and princess, dowager of Orange, who had sent letters of congratulation to her. Her address to the prince regent was vindicated by his own example. It must be fresh in the memory of the house, that in the year 1804 his royal highness the prince of Wales, with a spirit well worthy the heir-apparent of the British throne, desirous of being foremost in command in case of an invasion then threatened by that restless and merciless scourge of mankind whose sun of glory is now set, and whose dreams of mad ambition are now happily at an end, applied to his majesty for a command. His majesty refused the request. The prince felt his character concerned, and appealed to the tribunal of the public, publishing his letters to his majesty and the duke of York.—The New Annual Register of that year will assist any gentleman's memory which may be defective on this subject. The honourable gentleman said that he had heard the charge of bad taste urged against her royal highness as a crime: but what had such a charge to do with her sufferings? The time chosen to proscribe her from court was particularly galling. He hoped that the necessary supplies to be granted by parliament for the ensuing marriage would be granted conditionally, that the marriage be a public one, and that the princess of Wales appear at it with the consequence and splendour due to her situation. After some further observations, the honourable member moved,

"That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, to pray his royal highness that he will be graciously pleased to acquaint this house by whose advice his royal highness was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her royal highness the princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in private or public,' as communicated by his royal highness to her majesty, together with the reasons submitted to his royal highness, upon which such advice was founded."

Mr. Martin seconded the motion.

Mr. Bathurst paid a tribute to the motives of the mover, but was of opinion that he had urged no argument to induce the house of commons to agree to the motion. Out of all the papers that are now before the house, he had used only the letter from the princess of Wales to the regent. Surely it was not for the letter that the ministers were to be responsible. The main object of the motion was to know why the princess of Wales was prevented being at court. Will parliament call upon the regent to declare who advised him not to see the princess? The honourable gentleman indulged himself in speeches about liberty, as if it were a question where liberty was connected. As for the charges of guilt, they were irresistibly refuted at a former period. In other periods of our history dissentions were carried on between different members of the royal family to a greater excess than at present, and yet parliament was not called on to interfere. The honourable gentleman had talked of a right of the princess to attend the drawing-room. Now what was this? A mere assembly. Are the ministers, the confidential advisers of the crown on state affairs, responsible

sponsible for prohibitions to be present at court? The object of the motion, the substance of the thing, was the princess's admission to court. Will they say that she ought to be there, and the regent not? These prohibitions to be present at court might proceed from different causes; these questions of guilt or innocence, from causes so frivolous as those mentioned for the first time in that house by the honourable gentleman, for difference of taste. The duchesses of Gloucester and Cumberland were forbidden the court; but there was no imputation of guilt, no question of guilt or innocence there, and yet they never were received at court. But if the honourable gentleman prided himself upon the opinion of the king as to the path of the princess's conduct, as alluded to in the report of the council, he might find himself, on investigation, most mistaken; but the more this unfortunate question was discussed, the more irritation was produced. He did not wish to withdraw himself from responsibility, but the question the house was called upon to interfere in was a question of etiquette. Will the house call upon the regent to rescind his resolution? This house might as well have been called upon to interpose on account of the separation. This present case is one of mere court etiquette, arising from circumstances totally distinct from guilt. No guilt is charged; for what the honourable gentleman said is true; if it were so, she would not be permitted to see her daughter. The parliament cannot with propriety interfere; he calls upon the house to stop it in the beginning; he does not blame the publication of these letters; it was natural that the subject should become public; he does not complain, but it is so. The main question is, Can the house interfere without mischief to all the parties concerned? He concluded with opposing the motion.

Mr. Whitbread spoke nearly as follows:—The speech of the right honourable gentleman in defence of the advice he has given, has been like the advice itself, special, minute, wavering, assuming a right, a right to exclude, and acting as if he were conscious the party advised had no such right. Sir, I maintain that a great indignity, a harsh disgrace, a cruel and unmerited punishment has been inflicted on an innocent person, on a subject of the crown, who was by that crown protected as long as it had moral and mental life and energy to protect her. At one time the right honourable gentleman shrunk from the contest; he divested himself of all responsibility; he was ashamed of his own act and deed, of the advice he had given. The sovereign and crown were left by him to trample upon any subject, to gratify its own unadvised and unconfronted vindictive resentments. Yet, at the close of his speech, he lets us know that the sovereign power did not act for itself; that there were advisers; that he could name them, could give them up, if the house should call upon him so to do. Let them come forth!—He has treated this as being only an exclusion from an assembly, from a fête; but a positive exclusion the advisers dared not warrant, that was a proceeding too manly. It was an affront to be operated through the queen, consort of that monarch, who, when the king had the use of his faculties, had commanded her to receive the princess of Wales at her court, as the symbol of her entire innocence; of her complete

complete acquittal. This reception continued till the king's indisposition; and then the regent was advised to employ the queen, his mother, to banish the princess of Wales from court. Could this advice have been risked had the king mentally existed? Oh, no! he should have thought that gentleman and his colleagues would have been eager in their advice to conciliate and to calm, to proclaim the innocence they had so often declared. But the reverse is the case. The right honourable gentleman, as he knows the king cannot contradict him, has ventured to throw out an insinuation, as if the assertion made of the complete approbation, the affectionate attachment, of the king, was not well grounded. The king cannot speak; and he quotes the king, to wound through his side the princess of Wales. This is of a piece with their whole proceedings. I will not repeat what a noble lord, who, be it remembered, is not a party to this advice, said on a former debate on this subject—nor the testimony given by all, of the princess's entire innocence. I maintain that the king thought her so, and the princess is so convinced. He proved that he thought so, by his kindness and cordial reception. When the king was well, no man would have dared to deny it. The right honourable gentleman durst not have done it. But if he questions the right of the princess of Wales to appear where the king placed her, it is to be hoped that she will, notwithstanding the moderation she has evinced, accept the advice to appear at court; and then let us see who will advise that admittance be refused to her. As to stirring the question, I ask, Who has stirred it?—Is it the person who vindicates her own innocence from unjust and foul aspersions; who follows the example set her by the prince regent himself, in publishing to the world that affected honour and character? or it is those who directed this cruel outrage, this unprovoked indignity, that have occasioned this affront?—Has she complained that her near relations have been prevented from visiting her, that it has been intimated to all, that to visit her was to exclude them from the court?—To all the injuries she has patiently borne, she has submitted in silence. Where does the burden rest of agitating the question?—Upon those who have planned and advised this foul indignity and injustice. The right honourable gentleman has quoted precedent from history most erroneously: he has talked of queen Anne having been forbidden the court by queen Mary. The fact is not so: king William, nettled at some step taken about the settlement of her revenue, forbad the countess of Marlborough (who was supposed to be her adviser) to come to court. There was here no imputation on character, no charge of crime, no insinuation of thrice-refuted guilt: but the princess Anne, resenting her favourite being forbidden the court, declined appearing herself there too. Next, as to the cases of George I. and II., in both cases the charges were specific. Lord Hardwicke has left an account of the latter case, and also what the advisers of the crown then did, and what was the opinion of each. He said himself, while advising conciliatory measures, All this may be brought before parliament; but now the ministers will tell nothing. Lord Hardwicke says, Parliament will call for these papers; but the right honourable gentleman says, Parliament shall

not

not hear one word, you shall hear nothing from us. George the second directed the publication of all the papers that had passed between his son and himself, and circulated them among the foreign ministers, that all the world might know the grounds on which he had acted. So different from the unmanly ministers of the present day, who devise schemes to attack a woman a thousand ways, and contrive ten thousand obstacles to her defence! But the right honourable gentleman talks of this as being only an exclusion from a common assembly. Is it then nothing that her nephews, that her future son-in-law the prince of Orange, who has so announced himself to her—her near relation, the king of Prussia, the emperor of Russia, the immortal Blucher, the companion of her father in arms,—is it nothing that they should remark the absence of the princess of Wales, and to be told that it is for reasons undefined, and of which the regent alone continues the judge? Sir, under the circumstances of her situation, such infliction is worse than loss of life; it is loss of reputation; blasting to her character, fatal to her fame. But this thing we hear today: No man now dares to say she is guilty. All the charges, says the right honourable gentleman, were irresistibly upset. It is our duty to extend our view to the whole object, to look at it in all points of view to which it reaches. I ask, Would the king have consented that the marriage of the princess Charlotte of Wales should have taken place in private, to have been smuggled in a corner? that event which is to bring a thousand blessings upon this country, to be celebrated in a corner? Shall we consent then that it should be so performed? No, the parliament will, and all the nation will, demand that this marriage shall be public; and that the princess of Wales shall be there in the state becoming her rank and station. Now, as to an event which sooner or later must happen, I mean the demise of the crown, is the princess of Wales to be crowned? She must be crowned! Who doubts it? One hears it whispered abroad, A coronation is not necessary. I believe it is. Will the right honourable gentleman say it is not? He dares not say so; crowned she must be, unless there be some dark base plot at work, some black act yet to do, unless the parliament consent hereafter to be made a party to some nefarious transaction. If it is their intention to try the question of divorce, let them speak out if such be their meaning. These proceedings materially affect the succession of the crown. Where is the limit to the inquiries after former transactions; these searches after trial and acquittal? Yet, after all the search, what have they found? Nothing, but what the right honourable gentleman terms an irresistible refutation of all accusation. Where are these accusations to stop? They may impeach the legitimacy of the heiress of the crown, now to be married to the prince of Orange. Now it is time for this house to interfere. Let better counsel be given to the regent, and undo what has passed; people do this every day; it is the tribute paid by fiery passions to conviction and returning reason. Sir R. Walpole prided himself in the reconciliation he effected between George the first and the then prince of Wales. That was a conciliating minister who did this; happy would it be if our ministers would follow his example. One would have thought, if ever there was a period when it was an object to represent the royal

family as united, this was now that period. The people maintain that family not only for state and show, but for their examples of moral and domestic virtues; what the king so uniformly showed, and what have endeared him to his people more than any other circumstance of his reign. Let it not be said that the emperor of Russia finds any person whom the law does not protect, who is exposed to outrage and insult; and that person is the wife of the prince regent; that for one subject of the crown there is no redress. Now, sir, if the right honourable gentleman has not a doubt of the princess of Wales having a right to appear at court, the use of which she has at present consented to wave, I have only to add, that if she finds not protection in this house, the last refuge of the destitute and oppressed, it is to be hoped she will be advised to assert her right, and, however reluctantly, to dare the advisers of the regent directly to execute their intentions.

Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Elliot, were against the motion, on account of its irregular and unparliamentary form; and Mr. Methuen withdrew it, with the understanding that he should bring the question forward again, in such more eligible shape as might be suggested by his friends.

CHAPTER VI.

The Earl of Liverpool on the Treaty of Peace—Lord Castlereagh on the same—Sir John Newport respecting Fees of Office—Mr. Methuen on the Princess of Wales—Marquis of Lansdown on Foreign Troops—Budget—Prisons in the Metropolis—Mr. Bennet's Motion for the Abolition of Gaol Fees—Ways and Means—Letter from Lord Cochrane—Debate on Mr. Methuen's Motion respecting the Princess of Wales—Motion for the Expulsion of Lord Cochrane—Lord Stanhope's Motion respecting John Perrin confined in Gloucester Gaol—Debate on Lord Grenville's Motion on the Slave Trade—Introduction of the Duke of Wellington into the House of Lords—Address on the Treaty of Peace—Duke of Wellington's Appearance in the House of Commons.

HOUSE of lords, June 6.—The earl of Liverpool presented the treaty of peace, of which he gave notice that he should move the consideration on Thursday se'nnight.

Lord Grenville had expected that all Europe would have concurred in the abolition of the slave trade as a great crime, as a system of the worst piracy, which ought no longer to exist. He could not help now expressing the feelings of regret with which he had read the article in the treaty on that head. If any thing could still be done, he hoped their lordships would be ready to follow up the resolution which they had unanimously adopted on that subject.

Lord Liverpool stated, that ministers were fully as anxious to have the traffic generally abolished as any men could be; and he only requested of their lordships to suspend their judgements till the subject of the treaty came to be discussed.

House of commons.—Lord Castlereagh brought up a copy of the treaty of peace with France, and moved

moved that it should lie on the table.

Mr. Wilberforce could not avoid saying a few words on the present occasion. He could assure his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) that he was convinced that he had used his best exertions to secure that object which the house and public had so much at heart; at the same time, any one who had indulged warm expectations that France could have been prevailed upon to join us heartily in the entire abolition of the slave trade, must have been much disappointed in finding that this abolition was not immediately to take place. At present it was known that France had no slave trade; but when many colonies had been restored to France, with the understanding that the slave trade was to continue for a certain number of years, what was that but giving up great numbers of Africans to all those miseries from which we wished to have saved them? He must suppose that the noble lord was justified by some very strong and imperious necessity; but still he must deeply lament that such a sacrifice should have been found necessary. In his view of the subject, it appeared to him the surrender of a great part of Africa, and many thousands of human beings, to deliberate robbery and murder. It was not merely to give vent to his feelings on this subject that he had risen, but because there were other treaties still to be concluded, in which he trusted that our interference might be more effectual. We had not as yet signed the treaty with Holland; and when we were upon the point of ceding to her such large and important settlements, he thought that we might well insist on the slave trade being there abolished. What was the slave trade, but tearing a number of human beings from their homes and their country, and consigning them and their descendants for ever to slavery? To fix any particular time for the abolition of the trade, was to give a premium to embarking in it until that time should arrive. It reminded him of a text of scripture, which had been quoted on a former debate on this subject, "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth! for the devil is come upon the earth with great power, for his time is short." Such, he feared, would be the condition of Africa, if the slave trade were only to continue a few years longer. He hoped that the noble lord might yet find some means of checking the mischief, by some limitation of the number of slaves imported, or of the tonnage of vessels allowed to be employed in the traffic. We were now to cede to France large settlements on the north coast of Africa, which had now for many years enjoyed a sort of repose, and where its chiefs had since directed their exertions to more humane pursuits. This repose he found would now only prove "*spatium requiemque doloris;*" and that there would be again wars stirred up between village and village, and between neighbour and neighbour. He expressed a strong hope that the great emperor Alexander would be ready to connect his fame with the abolition of this the greatest evil which now afflicts the earth. Was the period of general joy throughout Europe to be the time for letting loose war, in its most cruel and savage form, among the innocent nations of Africa? He hoped that the noble lord would still be able to prevail on the principal powers of Europe sincerely to

join in the immediate abolition of this detestable traffic.

Lord Castlereagh said, he could have wished, in point of order, that his honourable friend had deferred the observations he had just made till the treaty on the table had come to be taken into consideration, on a future day to be named for that purpose, as his honourable friend would then have had an opportunity to have read the treaty, and to have formed his judgement with more accuracy on the points in which he felt himself so deeply interested, than he could possibly do by this anticipation of the subject. When it came to be discussed regularly before the house, he had no doubt but his honourable friend would find that every care and caution had been used to place the question on the safest grounds, so as to suit the best feelings of his honourable friend, of the house, and of the country. He was by no means surprised that his honourable friend was feelingly alive to a subject which had for so many years engaged his deepest and warmest attention, and must naturally have caused him so many cares and anxieties; but he flattered himself, if his honourable friend had abstained from pressing the subject at the present moment, he would soon have been convinced that the points he alluded to were perhaps placed in a more favourable state than his honourable friend at present seemed to apprehend. It certainly was not his wish to anticipate any part of the debate which would take place on a future day; but in answer to what had fallen from his honourable friend in some of his observations, he could not but think he had been somewhat too sanguine in what he had supposed could be done on a point of so much importance, and of such an extensive complication of different interests of the highest magnitude. With respect to France, there could be no doubt but peace must be as desirable to the people there as it could be to us; but then it was equally natural for so great and high-minded a people to expect, when they received back certain of their colonies, that they should have them with all their former advantages; and as they looked upon their former right to stock them with slaves to form one of those advantages, and a very principal one, it was not very surprising that they should have shown themselves averse from parting with that right, and anxious to retain it. It was very evident to the French government, that the whole of the French people were very warm on this subject; that in the present moment they were not prepared for it; and therefore to have pressed it peremptorily as a measure absolutely necessary to be definitively adjusted, might have only fixed their prejudice in its favour deeper, and made the obtainment of it at a future period more difficult. It was therefore thought more advisable to leave it open to further discussion in a congress hereafter to be held for that and many other important purposes; and he was sure the cause of humanity, which was so mainly interested, could not have a more ardent and powerful advocate than in that great monarch, who, so much for the happiness not only of France, but of all Europe, now filled the throne of France. His best feelings, and those of his august family, were in the highest degree favourable to the abolition of that inhuman traffic; and he hoped the time was not very far distant when it would be proved,

proved, that to press a point with too much vehemence at any given time, was not always the speediest way of obtaining the wished for end. On this subject he could also say, with the highest satisfaction, that his honourable friend could not wish more ardently for a total abolition of the slave trade, than did those illustrious potentates the emperor of Russia, and the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia; and in the future congress which had been alluded to, his honourable friend would have the assistance of those three great powers, to obtain by their united influence, added to our own, from Spain and Portugal, the great and important object which his honourable friend had so nearly at heart. He would not any further anticipate upon the discussion which must ensue upon this subject, and concluded by moving that the treaty do lie on the table, and be taken into consideration on Friday se'nnight.

June 7.—Sir J. Newport complained of the erroneous returns which had been made to the house, of the fees received by the officers of the different courts. The clerk of the rules of the court of king's bench had stated, that there had been no additional fees since 1798, although in fact there had been a considerable augmentation. In 1798, the charge for a rule was 2*s.* 6*d.* only; now, it was 4*s.*; so that when parliament laid a tax of 1*s.* the clerk of the rules thought fit to add 6*d.* for his own profit. Thus he had increased the value of his office from 2900*l.* a year to 3730*l.* This office too was a saleable one!—Then the marshal of the court of king's bench had likewise made an erroneous return: 7*s.* had been added to fees of 13*s.* 4*d.* though in the return it had been stated that no augmentation had taken place. The son of the chief judge (lord Ellenborough) held this office by a deputy!—The clerk of nisi prius (also a son of the chief judge) had made an equally erroneous return!—Upon such extraordinary returns, from persons so related, he did not think proper to comment.—The chancery court had made no returns at all.—An Irish chief judge had ordered an officer to make no return till he had revised it; and this judge had actually expunged some part of a return. The officer, in consequence, very properly refused to make any return. In Scotland, too, the lords of session had added some fees, which put 3000*l.* a year into the pockets of a few persons.—All these things demanded the serious attention of the house.—Sir J. Newport then moved several resolutions on the subject; but their consideration was postponed, owing to the thinness of the house.—Adjourned.

June 9.—Mr. Methuen gave notice, that unless something should be done in the mean time to ameliorate the situation of the princess of Wales, he should move on Tuesday that her royal highness's letter should be taken into consideration. He had intended on the two former evenings to have given a similar notice, but had delayed it with a view of putting some questions to a noble lord, whom he had not seen in his place.—Adjourned.

House of lords, June 10.—The marquis of Lansdown rose to put a question to the earl of Liverpool respecting the landing of certain foreign troops in this country. It was important, in point of principle, though not with a view to the particular case, that every explanation should be given, and a con-

stitutional course pursued on this subject. The question he had put was, whether the noble earl was prepared to make any communication to parliament on the point to which he alluded. There had been cases, indeed, where the troops had been landed first, and the communication made to parliament afterwards; but that was only where there was an emergency which did not permit delay in the landing of the troops till the proper communication could be made to parliament. Here the landing of the troops was a mere matter of convenience, which might have been the subject of previous arrangement; and where there had been nothing to prevent a communication being made before the troops were landed. It was also, in point of principle, worthy of notice, that these troops were not even in British pay, and consequently not at all under the control of parliament. The question was put merely on the constitutional ground, and not from any desire that the convenience might be withheld from the illustrious monarch to whom the troops belonged. He hoped the noble earl would be able to give an answer that ought to be satisfactory.

The earl of Liverpool had nothing to complain of, either as to the nature of the question, or the manner in which it was put. None of the troops to which the noble marquis alluded, had as yet been landed in this country, so far as he knew; and he had, in answer to the question, only to state, that he expected to receive the commands of the prince regent, to make a communication on Monday.

Mr. Whitbread in the house of commons said, the honourable member for Wiltshire (Mr. Methuen) had given notice of a motion on a peculiarly delicate subject for Tuesday. He should be most happy if any thing should occur to postpone the discussion of that subject entirely; but otherwise, he conceived, that as many members would probably be absent at Oxford on that day, it would perhaps be better to defer the subject to Thursday.

Lord Castlereagh deprecated the agitation of the question as much as the honourable member, and should be as happy as any individual in the house or the country to see it brought to an amicable adjustment out of the house. He, however, concurred in the propriety of the honourable member's proposal.

Mr. Whitbread said it was ridiculous in those to talk of deprecating the agitation of a question, who had it in their power to remove the necessity for it altogether.

June 13.—The chancellor of the exchequer said, that on the present occasion he should content himself with stating the several sums necessary to be raised for the service of the year, and then with giving the amount of the ways and means by which they were to meet the exigencies of the country. And first, he should begin with the supplies. He estimated the expenses of the navy for the present year at 18,786,509*l.* The army, 18,121,173*l.* The extraordinaries, 9,200,000*l.* It would be necessary, however, to raise a further sum of 6,350,182*l.* to make good the deficiency under the same head left unprovided for last year. The ordnance, including Ireland, was estimated at 3,955,658*l.* The miscellaneous service of the year he should state at 2,500,000*l.* The vote of credit amounted to 3,200,000*l.* Ireland taking 200,000*l.* of it. To this were to be added 3,000,000*l.* already

already voted, and another vote of 1,200,000*l.* which he should have to bring forward before the close of the session, to defray the subsidies to our allies, payable this year. There was also another million in bills of credit. The whole amount of the joint charge for England and Ireland was 67,313,472*l.* This estimate was certainly very high for the expenses of what might be regarded as a peace establishment! But it was to be recollected, that the first part of the year had been passed in a state of war, and of exertion beyond any former period. We had still also a powerful enemy to contend with, America; considerable expenses must be incurred in order to carry on the contest with vigour. The separate charges for England were 71,320*l.* for the loyalty loan; interest on exchequer bills, 1,900,000*l.* interest on debentures, 49,780*l.*; the grant to the sinking fund for unprovided exchequer bills, 290,000*l.*; and six millions for the repayment of exchequer bills. The whole of these separate charges amounted to 8,311,100*l.*, which, added to the former joint estimate, made the sum of 75,624,572*l.* The proportion of the joint charge to be furnished by Ireland was 7,919,232*l.* and for the civil list and consolidated fund, 187,862*l.* so that there remained a total expense for England of 67,517,478*l.*—To meet this charge, parliament had granted 3,000,000*l.* in annual duties; 20,500,000*l.* for war taxes; the lottery, 200,000*l.*; vote of credit, 3,000,000*l.*; the English proportion of naval stores, 508,515*l.*; the first loan, 22,000,000*l.*; and the second, which had been this day contracted for, 18,500,000*l.*; in all amounting to 67,708,545*l.*—The right honourable gentleman here stated, that he should not take credit for any sum to be raised on the consolidated fund, which had fallen so far short of the expectations entertained from it. He then proceeded to take a detailed view of the relative increase or diminution of different sources of revenue in the two preceding years. In the customs there had been a deficiency last year of between thirteen and fourteen hundred thousand pounds. In the excise duties there was an increase of near a million. The duties on beer were nearly equal in 1813 and 1814. On malt there was an increase from 4,444,000*l.* to 4,875,000*l.* British spirits had produced in the year 1813, 2,600,000*l.*, and in 1814, 2,900,000*l.* On foreign spirits there was an inconsiderable rise. The wine duties had increased from 900,000*l.* to 1,300,000*l.*; and the duties on tea from 1,100,000*l.* to 1,200,000*l.* The stamp office produced in 1813 five millions and a half, and considerably more last year. The post-office had also been more productive. The assessed taxes had increased from 5,339,000*l.* to 5,518,000*l.* The land tax had diminished from 1,081,000*l.* to 1,069,000*l.* The property tax had risen from twelve to fourteen millions.—With respect to the consolidated fund, there remained, of the present year, a surplus of one million and a half, though, from some deductions to be made, it could hardly be estimated at so much.—The exports of the last year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing year at any former period.—The total amount of the loan for the service of 1814 was 24,000,000*l.* being 18,500,000*l.* for England, and 5,500,000*l.* for Ireland. The terms were for every 100*l.* sterling subscribed, 80*l.*

in the reduced three per cents; 30*l.* in the navy five per cents.; and 23*l.* 10*s.* in the three per cent. consols. In order to diminish the capital stock, part of the loan had been taken in the five per cents; by which proceeding an amount of nominal capital, not less than four millions, would be saved to the public. For the first time, also, it had been stipulated that instead of granting arrears of interest, the interest was to run from next July only, thus making a deduction of nearly 2½ in the 5 per cents. and 1½ in the consolidated fund. It might be calculated, therefore, that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest of 4*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per cent. upon the present loan. The bonus to the contractors was 3*l.* 7*s.* The loan that had been taken before Christmas was taken at 5*l.* 6*s.* per cent.; the improvement in the value of the funds, therefore, since that period, was obvious. So remarkably indeed had the funds risen, in consequence of the signature of peace, that, had the loan been closed on the day of bidding, it would have made the difference of 1,500,000*l.* in stock against the public, but which was now in their favour, by the conclusion of the loan that day instead of last Wednesday. The total amount of diminution between the present loan and that raised before Christmas, was 1*l.* 13*s.* per cent. On the whole, he flattered himself that the loan had been concluded on terms not unfavourable to the public interest.

The usual resolutions were then read, and agreed to, after a remark or two from Mr. Ponsonby, respecting the property tax, who gave it as his firm opinion, that the public interest demanded that the tax should not be collected after next April.—Adjourned.

June 14.—Mr. Holford brought before the house the present condition of the prisons of the metropolis. Among the many evils which he considered as loudly calling for legislative interference, the first was the insufficiency of allowance to the prisoners. With regard to their food, it appeared, according to the report, that it was not sufficient to support life. The same quantity of meat, indeed, was always sent in, without any regard to the number of the prisoners, and the distribution of it was then left to the discretion of the jailors. There was one class of prisoners, who, though committed for criminal offences, were untried, and, therefore, presumed to be innocent, whose allowance was only ten ounces of bread per diem, and six pounds of potatoes per week. They were obliged to rely upon their friends for such an addition as might be sufficient to support nature. It might be necessary that they should be sent thither to await the issue of any accusation; but it surely would not be pretended that justice required, when they were disabled from following any occupation, that they should depend upon the assistance of their friends. Another complaint was, that in the city prisons there was no allowance of clothing. The poorer prisoners, he believed, had two rugs each; but as no straw was allowed, from the apprehension of fire, it was evident that, with only one rug under him, on a stone floor, he must keep on his clothes night and day, a practice not very favourable to cleanly habits. Garnish money was another abuse that required to be suppressed altogether, or at least regulated. The want of discipline too, in Newgate, was a great evil. When he (Mr. Holford) and some other

other gentlemen of the committee visited it, while they were looking down into the yards below, they beheld a regular fight between two prisoners with irons on, who had their seconds, and every thing in exact pugilistic order. Nor was this disgraceful scene put a stop to till Mr. Newman, at the desire of one of the gentlemen, called out to them. He objected, too, to what was called the master's side, upon the principle it was now conducted, where every one who could pay 13*s.* 6*d.* admission money, and 2*s.* 6*d.* per week for a bed, were all equally admitted. In the Borough compter there was neither chaplain nor chapel. In the other four prisons, divine service was performed, indeed, but the general duties of religion were not sufficiently attended to. Dr. Ford, the present ordinary of Newgate, seemed, by his own account, to consider his duty merely to attend on the convicts; and stated that he knew nothing at all of the morals of the prison.—When the committee were pursuing their examinations in Newgate, they noticed a number of boys in a yard by themselves. Upon asking them if they knew the chaplain? they replied, Yes; and expressed their gratitude for the many kind offices (such as giving them clothes, food, &c.) he had done them. The committee thought that Dr. Ford had depreciated his own services in his account of them: but upon inquiry it turned out that this chaplain was not Dr. Ford, but another person, and the very individual person whom Dr. Ford had described as impertinently intruding himself, and "cramming the prisoners with prayers and preaching," to use his own words! The honourable member concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the better management of the prisons belonging to London, &c.—Granted.

June 15.—Mr. Bennet referred to the acts of Charles II. and George II. on the subject of gaol fees, and also to the committee which sat in 1792: he urged that in many counties the fees were irregular; in some the fees of discharge amounted to many pounds, in others to seventeen shillings. In many places no table was kept at all. After some further observations, he moved for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of gaol fees in Great Britain and Ireland.—Leave given.

June 17.—The house having gone into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. Fitzgerald rose to state the terms of the loan of 3,000,000*l.* made in Ireland. He observed that he did not then intend to occupy the committee with a general view of the finances of Ireland; that his right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer for England having postponed to a future day his general statement, he would, in order to adopt himself to the usual course, follow him in a similar line with respect to Ireland; but that it was necessary that he should state the loan this day, and hoped its terms were such as would receive their fullest approbation. He then proceeded to state that the loan for 3,000,000*l.* in Ireland had been contracted for on the following terms:—

	Interest.	Sinking Fund.	Tot. charge.
90*l.* 0*s.* in the 3 per cents.	£3 3 0	£0 18 0	£4 1 0
80*l.* 15*s.* in the 4 per cents.	1 4 7 1-5th	0 6 1⅘	1 10 9
	£4 7 7 1-5th	1 4 1⅘	5 11 9

The

The charge for interest for money received, being to the public 4*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* one-fifth per cent. and the total charge for interest and sinking fund only 5*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* This he would take upon him to say had been the best bargain made for the public for many years, and with the sincerest feelings he hoped it would prove fairly advantageous to those who had contracted for it: he could not avoid drawing the attention of the committee to the peculiar circumstance, of this being the largest loan ever made in Ireland; that the legal interest in that part of the empire was 6*l.* per cent. that the loan made in England this year was smaller than usual, and much less than had been previously expected; that the legal interest here was but 5 per cent.; and that, though the loan to this country was made on terms admitted by all as eminently advantageous, yet had the loan in Ireland been negotiated at 4*s.* 7*d.* less interest per cent. and 7*s.* per cent. less total charge to the public. He hoped, therefore, to meet the full concurrence of the committee in the resolutions which he had to propose thereon, and felt it unnecessary to detain them by any more lengthened statements, reserving himself for any observations which might be made, or any further information which might be demanded on the subject.

These were accordingly put and carried; as was one for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of England.

June 26.—The speaker informed the house, that he had received a letter from lord Cochrane, protesting his innocence of the charges of which he had been convicted in the king's bench court, and requesting that he might have timely notice of any motion, and ample means allowed for his defence.—To which he (the speaker) had replied, that it was always usual to give timely notice, and allow ample means of defence, whenever a motion was brought forward against a member of that house.

Mr. Methuen expressed his great surprise that steps had not been taken to render unnecessary any further proceedings in that house in the case of the princess of Wales. As this had not been the case, he must proceed in his motion, and he trusted that the house would not refuse its protection to an unprotected woman, who had been treated with such indignity. Her royal highness, on her marriage, was allowed 17,000*l.* an addition to her own 5000*l.* but this was reduced to 12,000*l.* on account of the prince's debts. She had contracted, in consequence, some debts, which the prince paid, to the amount of nearly 50,000*l.* Being obliged to live on a less income than when she resided at Carlton-house, though she had an entire establishment to support, she resolved to reduce her expenditure, by keeping fewer servants, and giving up company. These sacrifices had accomplished her object, for she now did not owe a shilling. But was this a situation for a princess of Wales? The prince had declared, that he would never meet her again, in public or private; it was therefore every way proper, that her royal highness should be enabled to support the dignity of her high situation, as reconciliation seemed utterly hopeless. He concluded by moving, that the house, on Tuesday next, proceed to take into consideration the correspondence communicated to it by her royal highness the princess of Wales.

Lord

Lord Castlereagh declared his deliberate conviction, that these matters never could be brought forward so as to promote the interests of those for whose benefit they were intended. To have the private transactions of the royal family thus brought into parliament, could only keep alive differences which might otherwise be allayed. It would not be tolerated that the private affairs of any other family in the nation should thus be made the subject of discussion. As to another delicate topic, which had been alluded to in connection with this, he could state it as a fact, that the marriage was in actual progress both prior and subsequent to the exclusion of the princess of Wales from the queen's court: it was in active progress even so late as the 18th of June. It had been asserted, that it was a matter of right for her royal highness to appear at her majesty's drawing-room. But how was parliament to regulate these court matters? Nothing could be more preposterous than the claim of such a right. To dictate to the court whom it should or should not receive, would be to degrade it, and deprive it of a freedom which the lowest individual enjoyed. The regent was in fact the sovereign, and he would be the most abject wretch in all his dominions, if he were not allow d to be the master of his own court. Allusions had been made to the sentiments of his royal highness's father. The regent had certainly met the princess formerly; but since that period, a letter, which was made the vehicle of insult to his royal highness, had reached those walls, and a late trial had proved that persons connected with the princess had been engaged in a cabal or conspiracy, to degrade and vilify and to render odious the regent through the medium of the press. In many cases such insults were best passed over in silent contempt; yet no court could make it a principle to admit those who had not firmness enough to resist the attempts of those who had advised such insults.—However much the circumstance was to be deplored, it was the fact, that a final separation had taken place between the prince and princess. In 1809, an instrument had been signed, which had the signatures not only of the immediate parties, but of the king and his cabinet ministers. It was a formal deed of separation. The princess then declared her entire satisfaction with the provision made for her; but if, on account of the increased expenses of the times, a larger provision was required, he believed there would be no objection to such a parliamentary measure. Whatever might be the feelings of his royal highness in other respects, he was quite sure that it was never in his intention to visit them upon her in what regarded her pecuniary situation. In 1809, out of an income reduced to less than 70,000*l.* the prince had made her royal highness an allowance of 17,000*l.* a year—a sum larger than almost any other husband would have consented to have given. And notwithstanding all the calumnious reports abroad, he (lord C.) was perfectly convinced that his royal highness harboured no feelings of a vindictive nature, and had no wish to disturb her royal highness in the enjoyment of her social feelings. He, for his part, was convinced, that in a country of truth and justice, like England, a time would arrive when

when character would triumph over all attacks!—He would conjure the house, by all the regard which they felt for a family which brought peace and liberty to this country, not to be made the instruments of degrading the royal authority, by allowing the names of that illustrious family to be bandied about, and dragged before the house, as some persons wished to do. Nothing could grow out of such discussions but fresh bitterness.

Mr. Methuen, in explanation, said, that the noble lord had mistaken him, if he imagined that he meant to give up her royal highness's claims to justice, for an addition to her income, though he would withdraw his motion for the present.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the noble lord had not done justice to the prince, to parliament, or to the people, in describing the general feeling which prevailed as the result of a cabal. The princess's object was the assertion of her innocence, and the rescuing herself from persecution, not the obtaining of money. She called for justice, and would never consent to barter her rights to increase her income. He felt surprise at the doctrine of the noble lord, that no minister had a right to advise the sovereign whom he was to receive at court. A document indeed existed, signed by the noble lord himself, as a cabinet minister, in which he had recommended to the king that this very individual should be received at court, as a testimony of her innocence! Was it right, therefore, to forget that the king so advised was still alive, and thus to set at naught what he had done by the advice of his ministers? He was surprised that the noble lord had not given similar advice to the prince regent. The country was then grateful to the noble lord, for coming forward with his advice to save the princess from the machinations of a secret cabal against her honour and her life. Yes; it was a conspiracy against her very existence!—If a woman, so deserted by all her proper protectors, had fallen into the hands of other advisers, was that to be visited on her as a crime? Was she to be made responsible for all the acts of others? The noble lord had alluded to the press; but had he forgotten how it had been employed to overwhelm an innocent female? The noble lord seemed to think the princess had no rights. If so, she was the only female in the land who could be persecuted without redress. As to the talk about "delicacy," he was satisfied that these discussions had saved the existence of her royal highness. Money would be no sort of compensation for the injuries she had received. The noble lord disclaimed all vindictive feelings on the part of the prince. Yet what but vindictive feelings could have prevented her from all those friendly attentions which her condition entitled her to receive? Was it nothing, that she alone was kept from sharing in the general triumph and joy? nothing, that the illustrious visitors were kept from her? nothing, that amidst all the late grandeur and magnificence she alone was doomed to solitude and mortification? Even if an increased allowance was resolved upon, was she to forgo her right to be present at her daughter's nuptials, or her right to be crowned queen of England? He did not mean to impeach the prince's liberality; but the noble lord had forgotten to mention,

mention, that in the period he had alluded to, his royal highness had twice obtained from parliament money to pay his debts, and yet had not resumed his proper splendour. As to the interference of the house in the private concerns of the royal family, he thought that, too, had not been treated with proper respect, in not having received a communication on the subject of the intended marriage. The noble lord said, that it would not be endured that any private family's concerns should be so dilated upon. Certainly not; but the royal family was the property of the country, and in their affairs the nation had a common interest. The noble lord intimated that the marriage had not been broken off on account of the drawing-room. He did not say it had; but he would repeat what he had before said, from authority he could not doubt, that the match had been broken off on account of the situation of the princess of Wales; and in this point of view, her situation became one of great political importance. He felt all due respect for the illustrious family on the throne; but he must deny most positively that they gave liberty to the country. The family had been called over to secure and protect that liberty which the country enjoyed before.—To call the expression of the public feeling the result of a cabal, was most improper. Persons in eminent stations were often made acquainted with the real state of the public feeling by expressions of approbation or disapprobation; they were often the very best and most innocent channels of information. — He should be glad to see an adequate provision made for her royal highness, but not at the expense of her rights—not as the purchase of her silence. The noble lord complained that her royal highness's affairs were brought before the house; but the noble lord's colleague, Mr. Perceval, had determined to lay her complaints before the country in the most enlarged form! How could his lordship now arraign that conduct in others which his intimate associate had resolved upon? As to the reconciliation of the parties, that now was not to be looked for. The present discussions, in fact, would not have been revived, but for the wanton indignity offered to her royal highness through the channel of her majesty. These were indeed wounds for which no remedy could be found—mental vexations which no balm could heal. He trusted that the house would ever be ready to take up the cause of the highest as well as lowest person in the land; and that it would protect the princess in all her rights, present as well as future.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, denied that the illustrious visitors had been prevented paying their respects to her royal highness. To which Mr. Whitbread replied, that the impression on the public mind was totally different.

Mr. Stuart Wortley thought it was much better that there should be the means of expressing the public feeling in that house, and he therefore by no means regretted the agitation of the subject.

Mr. Tierney did not doubt the asserted general kindness of the regent; but of his particular kindness to the princess he must be allowed to have some doubts! It was quite a new and untenable doctrine, that parliament could not interfere. Parliament had an undoubted right to entertain every question which interfered with the public

public feeling and the public tranquillity. The queen had chosen to make herself the instrument of a cruel and unprovoked insult on the princess, to which his majesty would never have consented. Advantage was thus taken of the king's incapacity. He believed that the royal personages lately in London had been requested not to visit the princess; at any rate, they abstained, knowing what they did, in compliance with etiquette. Thus forlorn, the princess applied to parliament; and parliament having sanctioned her marriage with the prince, had become her guardian, and was bound to protect her. Let any man contradict this doctrine if he could. If it were not so, they might as well live in the days of Henry VIII. as at present. Had parliament nothing to do with the public manners, the public decorum? If the princess Charlotte's feeling had been strongly roused on such a subject, all he should say was, that it gave an earnest to the country of future honourable conduct. The house would betray its trust, not to come to some settlement on the question. The sole reason why parliament had not been called upon to pay the princess's debts was, that Mr. Perceval found it convenient to keep in the back ground all that related to the prince's own debts! When the restrictions on the regent were taken off, his debts amounted to between 5 and 600,000*l.* and the money he had paid for his wife had been taken from the sums devoted to his own creditors. This was not a subject for the noble lord's parade. Ministers have been grossly culpable The house should not suffer their future queen to be insulted with impunity: they should protect her against secret advisers and cabals, and participate in the universal feeling.

Mr. Methuen withdrew his motion, upon understanding that some provision would be made for the princess of Wales.

June 24.—A copy of the record of conviction from the court of king's bench against de Berenger and others was presented, and ordered to be printed.

It was ordered, that on that day se'nnight the house should take the above record into consideration.

Mr. Broadhead then made the following motions, which were severally agreed to, viz.—That lord Cochrane do attend in his place in that house on that day se'nnight. That the marshal of the king's bench prison do bring the said lord Cochrane in his custody to that house, if he should desire that he would do so; and that the speaker do issue his warrant for that purpose. That a copy of the order of the house be sent to the said lord Cochrane. That the honourable Cochrane Johnstone do attend in his place in that house on that day se'nnight.

Mr. Holmes moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the report made by the chief justice of the court of king's bench on the indictment against lord Cochrane, together with lord Cochrane's statement, and any affidavits that he might have filed in the court of king's bench.

Mr. Brown seconded the motion. This case, he said, affected two members of that house under circumstances widely different: one had fled the country, thus acknowledging his guilt: the other, with a seeming consciousness of his own innocence, had used every means in his power to bring the case under

der the revision of the court, but had been prevented by a rule of practice, which required the personal attendance on the floor of the court of every individual affected by the judgement, which attendance it was quite impossible for him to effect. Whether that rule was or was not wisely founded, it was not material to consider; it was sufficient to observe, that it had prevented, in a case highly penal, involving consequences deeply affecting honest character, that opportunity of a re-hearing, which, without the intervention of such a rule, was universally allowed in cases comparatively of no consequence—in cases of property. That individual, undismayed by a sentence unequalled in point of severity, a sentence against which one universal voice was raised in the country, which was deeply regretted (as he was well informed) by every individual member of the Stock exchange, had written a letter to the speaker protesting his innocence, and imploring the house not to proceed without giving him an opportunity of being heard, and of rescuing himself from the effect of a judgement which he contended had been erroneously and improperly pronounced. The house therefore was called upon by a sense of that which was due to the individual, from a sense of that which was due to itself, to investigate the evidence upon which the judgement of the court below was founded, and ultimately to pronounce its decision, not upon that judgement, but upon such a conclusion as might arise from the facts and circumstances and evidence of the case itself. It might be said, that this would be in effect to involve the house in a trial of the guilt of the individual; but there was no argument arising from this inconvenience—there was no argument arising from the inconvenience of having an individual member of this house, who stood under a sentence of pillory from a court below, that could reconcile it to the duty of that house to proceed to a sentence of expulsion from that house. He had made these observations from a pure sense of what was due to the case. He never had the slightest personal knowledge of the noble lord; he had never spoken to him; he spoke without any other influence than that possibly which the severity of the sentence might have excited, but with no disposition to avoid that conclusion to which he might arrive upon a careful review of the case.

The attorney-general warmly opposed the motion, contending that nothing was calculated to give a deeper wound to the institution of juries, than for that house to take upon it to review their sentences. He asserted, that the court of king's bench had refused a new trial upon the best grounds; and uttered in his usual style a lofty panegyric on the king's bench judges, for their "exalted character, for talent, honesty, integrity, and virtue."

Mr. Horner was fully satisfied with the verdict of the jury and the judgement of the court. The verdict of a jury ought, in his opinion, to have credit given to it by the house, so far as to give the constituents an opportunity for saying whether they would any longer consider the member expelled, as a fit person to be sent to parliament. On these grounds he should vote against the motion.

Mr. W. Wynne did not think that in this case adequate grounds had

had been stated to induce the house to go into the inquiry.—The motion was then negatived.

House of lords, June 21.—Lord Stanhope moved, that the case of John Perrin, now confined in Gloucester jail, should be referred to a committee.

Lord Liverpool said he had no doubt, that if a proper application were made to the executive government, which he thought was always the first step to be adopted, the subject would undergo a thorough examination at the secretary of state's office; and till this were done, or some stronger ground laid than that contained in the petition, he should resist the motion.

Earl Grey could not subscribe to the doctrine of the noble lord, that it was always proper to refer such complaints, in the first instance, to the executive government. The question before the house was, not whether the prison at Gloucester was well or ill regulated; but a particular case was brought forward of an individual, who stated himself to be unjustly and arbitrarily deprived of the intercourse of his friends, as well as debarred from access to professional advice. Till contradiction or explanation were offered, he should not think himself justified in not voting for the motion for inquiry.

The lord chancellor agreed with the noble earl, that it did not require any reference to a particular act of parliament to prove the illegality of detaining the prisoner's letters. He had also an undoubted right to have free access to legal advice. But then there were cases in which it often happened that persons were admitted under this pretext for a very different and improper purpose. Parliament ought to have further grounds before they consented to a committee.

Lord Holland did not apprehend that the general good management of the gaol at Gloucester was a sufficient ground for resisting inquiry into the specific abuses which were alleged. It is like what he had read in a comedy—"that a man's having a good character only enabled him to commit bad actions with impunity." There was some inconvenience attending the calling of witnesses; but this was greatly overbalanced by the general satisfaction afforded to the country, by the knowledge that parliament was always ready to inquire into and redress the grievances of individuals, who appealed to its justice and its humanity.

Earl Stanhope descanted on the hardships which persons confined for debt (which was the case of the petitioner) were doomed to suffer; and now they were to have this illegal hardship added to the rest,—the noble lord on the woolsack admitted it to be illegal—of having their letters opened and detained at the discretion of a gaoler. The numerous evils and vexations that were practised in our gaols justified an expression of a late historian, that "this country was the island of bastiles;" for there were more in England than in all Europe put together. There might be found persons to defend such practices; but if he were to do so, he should not be able to sleep on his pillow with a safe conscience.

The house then divided, when the motion was negatived.

June 27.—Lord Grenville called the attention of the house to that article in the treaty with France, which allowed that power to carry on the detestable traffic in human creatures,—an article which, though it

it declared that the practice was contrary to natural justice, yet allowed that it should be continued for five years! Had an individual made such a declaration, what would have been thought of his conduct? Yet the honour of governments ought to stand upon higher grounds. Lord Grenville in the course of a very eloquent speech, which our limits will not allow us to go into, contended, that it was absurd to suppose that France would give up the trade at the end of five years, when she had embarked much property in it, if she would not renounce it when she had not a single sixpence employed in it; that England had it perfectly in her power to have insisted on the abolition of the trade, for that France, with her capital lost and her armies defeated, could not but have consented—at any rate, as we had her colonies in our hands, it surely was not necessary that we should give them up without stipulating for the abolition; and that by not so doing, we had consented to place those colonies in a much worse situation than when we held them. Not to dilate, said his lordship, on the mischief that would be done by checking the progress of amelioration in Guadaloupe and Martinique, the supply of the French part of St. Domingo alone would occasion a revival of the slave trade to as great an extent as the whole of the traffic at the period of our abolition. This must be the consequence before that place could be brought to a state of full cultivation by slaves. The noble lord concluded by stating the effect which the revival of the slave trade would have upon the immense territory of Africa. "I would," said he, "that all the horrid scenes of this nefarious traffic were as present to your lordships' minds as they are to mine. I cannot paint to you with all the vividness with which they dwell upon my imagination, all the miseries which that traffic inflicted upon that desolated land; not over miles but whole regions; not only the public war, which it induced, of state against state, but of individual against individual, and of family against family. Throughout the whole range of territory, no individual was safe for an hour against kidnappers, lured by the acts of European slave traders, lured by pretensions to witchcraft, by delusions, and by every species of wickedness. I cannot paint to you the daily and hourly miseries which this traffic inflicted on Africa—villages desolate—towns sacked—sovereigns selling their subjects—masters betraying not only their servants but the very partners and children of their beds. This, and much more than this, was proved at the bar of both houses: and it was the glory of this country, that by a brilliant though tardy act of justice, by a repentance sincere though late, it showed itself desirous to make the only atonement in its power for all these calamities, by abolishing for ever the cause of so much misery. This was at length effected; and I am sure (speaking the sentiments of others as well as myself), there was no moment of my life so happy, nor can there be in this world, as that in which the abolition was effected. In proportion to this happiness was my grief to find that Britain had, by her concurrence with France, declared that all this misery should be once again restored to Africa, to darken again the face of that devoted country, and to cause those who had been taught

to bless us, to curse us to our face." The noble lord concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to the prince regent, praying him to give directions, that there be laid before the house copies of all the representations on the part of this government, during the late negotiation between it and France, which related to the abolition of the slave trade, together with such part of the dispatches of ministers as related to the same.

Lord Liverpool resisted the motion. He denied that the article of the treaty allowed a continuation of the traffic; it stipulated for its abolition in five years. He contended that we had no right to dictate morality to France, or to go to war on that account. Ministers had done every thing in their power to persuade the French government to renounce the trade, but the public opinion in France was not sufficiently enlightened on the subject. It would not have been justifiable to have made the abolition a *sine qua non* of either making peace or ceding colonies. This country had only resigned the traffic after years of deliberation. He had no doubt whatever on his mind, that France would strictly adhere to the treaty, and abolish the trade at the end of the period. This being a question of moral obligation, was much more delicate than any other question, for it was one upon which every state conceived it had a right to judge for itself. Against the production of the papers he must vote; the subject was still a matter of negotiation, and their production must be attended with inconvenience.

Lord Holland had heard the noble lord triumphantly ask, was the abolition to be a *sine qua non*, and was England prepared to go to war on this point? He would answer that by another question: was France prepared to go to war, if we insisted on it? But while the noble lord seemed to feel the most dreadful scruple at degrading France by the abolition, he had exhibited none at stigmatizing its conduct in the very phrase of the treaty. But was it a degradation to insist on the giving up a traffic of iniquity and blood? But if the treaty was not put in exact execution in five years, where was the means of enforcing it? or was the noble lord prepared to say it should be a *sine qua non*, and go to war for it? If not, the words were of no meaning. But in England we were several years shaking off the slave trade, and why expect France to do it at once? Yes, but the trade was interwoven with our whole system, and capital had been embarked in it on the faith of parliament. But France was not to be degraded. No, but the noble lord had degraded her by the words in which the traffic was described; and most justly, as contrary to the principles of natural justice and the knowledge of an enlightened age. And after this, talk of degradation! He hoped to see the interference of parliament, and the strong appeal of the British people; and he was inclined to think that even in France a spirit might be found superior to that of their government.

On the question being put, there were for the motion . . . 27
Against it 62

Majority 35

Adjourned.

June 28.—His grace the duke of Wellington, having taken the oaths and his seat in the house,

The lord chancellor communicated to him the thanks of the house

house (voted the day before), observing that, upon the duke's introduction, he had gone through every dignity of the peerage in the power of the crown to bestow (baron, earl, marquis, and duke). These, however, he said, had been bestowed for acts, which had given immortality to the name of Wellington.

The duke of Wellington replied, modestly attributing his successes to the entire confidence bestowed on him by government, and to the talents and gallantry of his officers and men. He said he felt quite overcome by the favours of the prince regent, and the approbation of both houses of parliament; and concluded by expressing his desire to serve his country whenever it thought proper to call upon him.

Lord Lonsdale moved an address to the prince regent, thanking him for his gracious communication of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and France; which motion was seconded by lord De Dunstanville.

Lord Grenville made a few remarks, generally approving the treaty, with the exception of the slave trade article. The principle of partition, he said, had first shaken the foundations of the peace of Europe; the principle of restoration had now been resorted to, which he hoped would be persevered in, being as it was the only true policy.

Lord Liverpool eulogized the treaty, which, he said, had reduced France to nearly her ancient limits, and promised the happiest consequences. The concessions made by the allies were Avignon and other districts—some addition in the Netherlands—and some on the side of Savoy—giving France an increased population of between 6 and 700,000 inhabitants. England had conquered all the French colonies, and though it would not have been just or prudent to retain all of them, we had kept her factories, the Mauritius, Malta, as the key to the Mediterranean, and had recovered Tobago. A congress was to be held to settle minor points; and thus we had happily terminated a war, which was commenced to defend our ally, Holland, by restoring that country to independence, placing its lawful sovereign on the throne, reducing the power of France to nearly her old limits, and finally consulting not only our own interests, but those of all our allies; for the present peace had their full approbation. Never, in fine, was there a moment in which the character of Great Britain stood so high as at present. This was not a visionary and ideal source of exultation; for character was strength.

The motion was carried *nemine contradicente*. Adjourned.

House of commons, June 29.—Lord Lascelles moved a congratulatory address to the regent on the treaty with France, which motion was seconded by Mr. Gooch.

Sir J. Newport could not agree with the address, that the treaty had consulted all interests; he noticed the state of Ireland and the defective stipulations respecting the slave trade and the fisheries of Newfoundland.

Mr. Wilberforce noticed the treatment of the Spanish patriots by Ferdinand, and hoped they would be protected by the government. He approved the treaty with the exception of the slave trade article, and moved as an amendment, "that the house abstains from any further opinion, relying on his royal highness for giving effect to the wishes repeatedly

edly expressed by the house, by using his utmost endeavours to obtain the universal abolition of the slave trade." This was agreed to.

Mr. Baring approved of the main points of the treaty.

Mr. S. Wortley gave it his entire approbation, as it was conducted on principles he had always advocated.

Mr. P. Grant said, that the overthrow of the power of Bonaparte had been caused chiefly by himself, and not by the plans of any government. It was painful to object to the treaty, yet there were some points of it which he thought imprudent, and others which he deemed disgraceful. He disapproved that clause which supported the claim of Sweden to Norway. Next to that disgraceful article about the slave dealing, was this most ruinous and shameful measure, against which he entered his solemn protest.

Mr. Canning was of opinion that it was the most glorious treaty that England had ever concluded. The prospect which the treaty held out, in the settlement of the ancient governments of Europe, in the restoration of genuine tranquillity—was peculiarly cheering to every friend of humanity, of social order, and rational liberty. Thus the great objects of the war, which, overleaping the truce of Amiens, had for twenty years been steadily and uniformly pursued, were at length happily attained. Thus the principles upon which the war was undertaken were established—thus our pledges were redeemed—thus our perseverance was rewarded; and such a great and gratifying result, so much exceeding the most sanguine calculations, could only be attributed to the interposition of an over-ruling providence.

Mr. Ponsonby was of opinion that a treaty which had such an article in it about the slave trade, could never be termed an honourable one. He alluded to the partition of Poland, and hoped that the nations of Europe would see the justice and policy of returning to the condition they were in before that partition, which first endangered the peace of Europe: Bonaparte's system was not a bit more mischievous than that which dictated the partition of Poland: it was indeed the very same. The treaty itself, as far as it related to this country and France, he entirely approved.

Mr. Whitbread avowed, that in every respect, except that article which regarded the slave trade, and to which the noble lord ought never to have put his name; the noble lord (Castlereagh) had fully and completely deserved that confidence which he had reposed in him. There was one part of his history which, in his (Mr. W.'s) opinion, redounded more to his honour than all the rest of that important business, which (except in the article already alluded to) he had brought to so glorious an issue—and that was, that when he went to negotiate, he fairly tried the experiment of doing so with the then ruler of France; and though the papers had not been produced, he (Mr. W.) was fully convinced the negotiation at Chatillon had been broken off only in consequence of the folly, madness, or what else, of Bonaparte himself. He (Mr. W.) had often recommended to ministers to make a peace with the ruler of France, if that could be done: there was no evidence of the impracticability of such a measure, till the noble lord had tried it: being then found impracticable, no man

rejoiced

rejoiced more in the restoration of the Bourbons, coupled as it was with the safety of Paris from destruction, than he did. With respect to the treaty which the noble lord had concluded, except in the article regarding the slave trade, it met with his (Mr. W.'s) approbation. The honourable gentleman then went on to point out a number of questions which would necessarily come to be considered at the approaching congress; particularly the partition of Poland—that touchstone of the real magnanimity of kings—the spoliation of Sardinia—the integrity of Genoa, for which the faith of Great Britain was pledged—the article for the subjugation of Norway—and the cession of Guadaloupe to France, that island and the permission to carry on the slave trade being granted to France, in order to procure her concurrence and assistance in the subjugation of Norway, while Russia seemed to have given her assistance in the same measure, as a consideration for her right to retain Finland.

Lord Castlereagh thanked the house for the indulgence it had shown to him. He had already given his opinion on the article respecting the slave trade. The great cause in which Europe had so long been engaged had been triumphant, because it was founded on the immutable principle of right, and not by the conduct of any man or set of men. While Bonaparte continued ruler of France it was their duty to treat with him as such, though he was well satisfied, that no peace made with him would have been satisfactory. By the treaty, Holland had been restored; and the colonial cessions made to France would have the effect of giving her commercial facilities, and thus be productive of peaceful views. If this country had for twenty years endured the most heavy burdens, it had at least the satisfaction to feel that its character was unstained. We had closed the war as conquerors; but we had received the benedictions not only of those with whom, but ultimately of those against whom, we had fought. The spell had been dissolved by which France and Great Britain had hitherto been considered as necessarily enemies. He was sure the house would feel that the honourable situation in which this country was placed, was in a great degree attributable to the firmness of the illustrious person at the head of the government, who had taken charge of the vessel of the state at a moment of the utmost peril, and who by his earnestness in the discharge of his public duty, by his determination in sustaining his allies, by an unrelaxing system of foreign policy, had restored peace, not only to this country but to Europe, and had, in consequence, the lasting gratification of having fulfilled the dearest wish of his sovereign father.

Mr. W. Smith expressed his perfect conviction, that if, at the commencement of the war, affairs had been conducted in the spirit manifested by the noble lord, the contest would many years since have been brought to a happy termination; and the country would have happily saved a hundred millions of debt and thousands of lives.

An address as amended was then agreed to.—Adjourned.

July 1.—Lord Castlereagh stated, that in consequence of the intimation of the house, his grace the duke of Wellington was in attendance.

The speaker—"Is it the pleasure

of the house that his grace be called in?"

A loud and universal "aye!"—The huzzas in the lobby announced his grace's approach. On his entrance, dressed in his field-marshal's uniform, profusely decorated with military orders, and bowing repeatedly to the house, all the members, uncovered, rose, and enthusiastically cheered him.

The speaker,—"My lord, the house has ordered a chair to be placed for you to repose on."

The duke seated himself, in the chair, which was placed a few feet within the bar, and put his hat on. The members of the house then seated themselves; his grace instantly rose, took off his hat, and addressed the speaker to the following effect:—"Mr. speaker, I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour done me in deputing a committee of the house to congratulate me on my return to this country. After the house had animated my exertions by their applause on every occasion that appeared to them to meet their approbation; and after they had recently been so liberal in the bill by which they followed up the gracious favour of his royal highness the prince regent in conferring upon me the noblest gift a subject has ever received, I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous if I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration at the great efforts made by this house, and by the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support, on a great scale, those operations by which the contest in which we were engaged has been brought to so fortunate a conclusion. By the wise policy of parliament, government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations carried on under my direction. The confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers and by the commander-in-chief, the gracious favours conferred on me by his royal highness the prince regent, and the reliance I had on the support of my gallant friends the general officers, and the bravery of the officers and troops of the army, encouraged me to carry on the operations in which I was engaged in such a manner as to draw from this house those repeated marks of their approbation for which I now return them my sincere thanks. Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel. I can only assure the house, that I shall always be ready to serve my king and country in any capacity in which my services may be considered as useful or necessary."

Loud cheers followed this speech, at the conclusion of which,

The speaker rose, took off his hat, and addressed the duke of Wellington as follows: "My lord, since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years have elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro, and the Tagus, of the Ebro, and the Garonne, have called for the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is, not, however, the grandour of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applauses;

plauses; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendency of character, which uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires. For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellation of illustrious warriors, who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth. It now remains only that we congratulate your grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed, and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

During the speaker's address, the cheers were loud and frequent; and at the close of it there was a general and long continued cry of *hear, hear, hear!*—The duke then took his leave, bowing repeatedly as he retired, and all the members, as at his entrance, uncovered, rose and warmly cheered him.

Lord Castlereagh—Sir, in commemoration of so proud and so grateful a day—a day on which we have had the happiness to witness within these walls the presence of a hero, never excelled at any period of the world, in the service of this or of any other country—in commemoration of the eloquent manner in which that hero was addressed from the chair, on an occasion which must ever be dear to Englishmen, and which will ever shed lustre on the annals of this house, I move, sir, that your address to field-marshal his grace the duke of Wellington be printed.

The speaker put the question, that the address of the duke of Wellington, and his own answer thereto, be entered on the journals, which was unanimously agreed to.

CHAPTER VII.

Debates on the Princess of Wales's Income—Lord Cochrane's Defence—Princess of Wales's Letter—Duke of Sussex's Questions respecting the Princess Charlotte of Wales—Lord Ebrington's Motion respecting Lord Cochrane—Conversation respecting the Princess of Wales.

JULY 4.—After a long conversation on a question of form, as no message had been brought down from the crown, the house went into a committee on the papers laid on the table respecting the princess of Wales.

Lord Castlereagh then went into some details regarding the princess's pecuniary affairs, which he had before noticed. On the present occasion, he said he thought it would be desirable to raise her royal highness's income during the separation to the amount which it would reach in the event of another calamity (the death of the prince regent;) for it was not consistent with the interest or dignity of the royal family, nor was it indeed the province of parliament, to entertain questions respecting differences in such quarters. He should therefore propose that a net income of 50,000*l.* per annum be paid to her royal highness the princess of Wales, out of the consolidated fund, and that the public be indemnified to the amount of the sum (22,000*l.*) now paid to the princess out of the income of the regent.

Mr. Whitbread said, that her royal highness had never authorized any one to make any proposition on the subject of increasing her income. She had been satisfied with her allowance. As to the "separation" alluded to by the noble lord, her royal highness was no party to the use of that word. Did the noble lord mean to found any legal measure on such a term, or to prevent her royal highness from the enjoyment of any of her just rights? The noble lord had spoken of the "generosity" which had been shown to her royal highness: but he should recollect, that when the princess left Carlton-house she had to provide every domestic thing but some knives and forks, which were the only articles given to her.

Lord Castlereagh did not intend to found any argument on the statement he had made, yet he thought it just that the prince regent should have full credit for the exertions which he had made for the princess. He repeated, that never any husband had surrendered up so much for a wife as his royal highness had done; and that whatever was the cause or result of the separation, it had never been his intention to visit the princess with any pecuniary inconvenience.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had asked for protection, for mercy, for justice, from that house, for the princess of Wales; but he had never asked for money, nor had it been ever contemplated by the friends of her royal highness. When first she heard of the proposition, she said, "I shall not be allowed to starve in this country, I shall not be obliged to beg my bread, and I will not compromise my rights

rights for any thing which can be offered to me." Whatever she accepts, it must be in the contemplation that she gives up nothing of rank, of dignity, and character, which by the grant of this separate and ample—too ample allowance, it is evident she holds in the eyes of all the nation. It is in contemplation whether her royal highness shall be admitted within that cathedral, where all of higher rank are to be admitted. If an application made on her behalf were refused, how would the nation brook this indignity? If there be one found to advise a denial—and if he intended not only to exclude her royal highness from the drawing-room—from matters of ceremony, but from saying her prayers with the nation—what a mere mockery will the proclamation of the prince and our resolutions be, if when we pray for forgiveness of our tresspasses as we forgive others, there is one person shut out—not from forgiveneness only, but from justice! As to the provision which is to be made by this vote, it is large—much larger than any of the friends of her royal highness could have contemplated, if any such idea had entered their minds. It is for her to consider, whether she thinks proper to accept the whole of it. I have no doubt that she will act with dignity and propriety; and if she calls in advisers on the subject, I hope she will call in such as will support her in her own honourable ideas.

Mr. Canning said, that as the house had preserved one principle in the discussions, not to meddle in those things in which it could not properly come to a decision, so on the other hand her royal highness should not revise the decision of the committee, but that considering that all her claims were taken into consideration, and that by refusing a part of the grant she would lie open to the imputation of giving up some pecuniary advantage to be once more the subject of discussions in parliament, it would be most proper for her to acquiesce passively in the determination of the house.

The resolution was agreed to.

July 5.—Before the house proceeded to the immediate case of lord Cochrane, Mr. P. Moore said he held in his hand a petition from Alexander M'Rae, one of the persons convicted of the late fraud. The petition was to the following effect:—The petitioner declared himself fully competent to unveil the whole mystery of the transactions. He felt desirous to remove the false imputation which now rested on the character of an illustrious and innocent individual, who had no participation whatever in the plot, but was a perfect stranger to it. He was ready to prove this to the satisfaction of the house, not only by his own testimony, but that of three other witnesses. He had before the trial offered a full disclosure to the committee of the stock exchange; but when they found that his evidence would not bear against lord Cochrane, but would expose the dealings of many others, they not only refused the information he offered them, but included him in the indictment, for the purpose (as the petitioner verily believed) of preventing him from giving material evidence on the trial. The petitioner prayed for the usual protection afforded to witnesses coming to the bar of that house to give evidence, and pledged himself, in case he failed of substan-

stantiating those matters at their bar, to submit himself to justice, and to such punishment as the laws would inflict.

Mr. B. Bathurst opposed the reception of this petition; and on the question being put, it was rejected.

Mr. Broadhead moved the order of the day for the taking into consideration the copy of the record of the conviction of lord Cochrane and Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.

The speaker stated that there was also an order for the attendance of lord Cochrane and Mr. C. Johnstone; and having inquired of the serjeant at arms if lord Cochrane was in attendance, and being answered in the affirmative, his lordship was called in. The noble lord having entered, he was desired by the speaker to take his place.—The messengers, Skelton and Jones, were called to prove the delivery of the order of the house, for the attendance of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, at the place where he resided previous to the trial.—Mr. Graham and Mr. Kerrison, two members of the house, stated that they had seen Mr. Cochrane Johnstone at Calais on the 31st day of May last.

Lord Cochrane now read to the house a very long defence, which none of the papers have ventured to report, after a warning given by the speaker and lord Castlereagh. His lordship asked for a patient hearing, and mentioned the case of a man, who was condemned in France to be racked and burnt for magic. The poor creature, whilst protesting his innocence, was struck on his mouth by a monk, to prevent his being heard. Though what he had now seen of ********** convinced him that cowardice and malignity was not the exclusive property of monks, he trusted that no means would be resorted to stifle his voice, or to prevent the public from hearing his whole defence.—He did not ask for compassion or pardon. The country had indeed felt indignation at the sentence passed upon him,—a sentence more heavy than ever yet was laid upon persons clearly convicted of the most horrid of crimes, and for an act now for the first time deemed a legal offence. But the fine, the imprisonment, the pillory,—even that pillory to which he was condemned,—weighed as nothing, when put in the balance against his desire to show that he had been unjustly condemned.—In the presence of the house, then, and with the eyes of the nation fixed upon him, he most solemnly declared, that he was wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and for which he had been condemned. His lordship here observed on the improper conduct of the stock exchange, the prosecutor, in erecting a sort of court, calling evidence, &c. &c. and prejudicing the public mind before the trial by various publications. And what, he said, must the world think, when they see those to whom the welfare and the honour of the nation are committed covertly co-operating with a committee of the stock exchange? He was indeed prepared to expect much, knowing how his endeavours to expose corruption had roused the impure and the hypocritical, and had engendered a thirst for vengeance, particularly in the grasping and never-pardoning phalanx of the law, for exhibiting to the world their frauds upon his ill-treated brethren of the navy. A bill of indictment was preferred; but a common jury was not

not to be used, and a special one was therefore resorted to: for these were not the times,

"When sterling freedom circled Alfred's throne,
"And spies and special juries were unknown."

"No," said his lordship; "a special jury is composed of 12 men, hired and paid to be a cloak to a judge. A special jury is composed of 12 persons taken out of 48 persons, the whole of which 48 persons are selected by the master of the crown-office. It is notorious, sir, that these special jurors follow the business as a trade; that they are paid a guinea each for every trial; that it is deemed a favour to be put upon the special jury list; that persons pay money to get upon that list; that if they displease the ****, care is taken to prevent them from serving again; or, in other words, to cut them off, or turn them out of a profitable employment. And, is it this, sir, which we call a jury of our country? Have I been tried by a jury of my country? No, sir **********. The institution of special juries, an institution unknown till times of modern date, and repugnant to the laws of England, had its rise in a pretence, that in matters of technical difficulty a common jury might not be competent to understand; as in cases of insurance, shipping of goods, and the like. But what was there in this case that a common jury, composed of tradesmen in the city of London, would not have understood? A common jury would surely have been as competent to decide upon my case as upon the cases of hundreds who are condemned to death upon the decision of such a jury in that same court, where, to do me justice, my case should have been tried."—His lordship then proceeded to state the manner in which he had been employed since he was actively engaged in his professional duties. At an expence of nearly two thousand pounds, he had examined the situations, and procured plans of various important ports and places in the Mediterranean, some of which plans were considered infallible by some of the most distinguished officers now living. He was occupied with the perfection of an invention of public convenience and utility the very day this offence was so unexpectedly laid to his charge. He had expended more than a thousand pounds in fitting himself for sea, after his appointment to the command of the Tonnant. He returned to his duty on board that ship on the 1st of March, and it was not till the 8th that he found his name was connected with the fraud. On reading a paragraph in the public prints in which he was named, he obtained permission to return to town. He returned merely with a view to clear his character, and not in consequence of any communication from the admiralty.—His lordship then entered on various details of his case—of the alleged difference in De Berenger's dress—of the bank-notes traced to De Berenger, which he could prove to the house were given by his lordship to Mr. Butt for *bona fide* transactions—of lord Ellenborough's charge to the jury, where he takes one part of his lordship's affidavit as truth and the other as falsehood—of lord Ellenborough's making his lordship represent De Berenger as coming in disguise; about which, if there was one word in his lordship's affidavit, then was he perjured and lord Ellenborough spoke truth, &c. His lordship then complained that it was not stated to the jury, that he

was

was from home two hours after De Berenger called; who had consequently time to change his dress, and had a portmanteau with him to carry off his disguise; the same probably in which he carried it to Dover: that he (lord C.) first disclosed the fact of De Berenger's coming to his house, &c. &c. His lordship, after making a variety of other observations, proceeded nearly as follows:—"Of all tyrannies, sir, the worst is that which exercises its vengeance under the guise of judicial proceedings, and especially if a jury make part of the means by which its base purposes are effected. The man who is flung into a prison, or sent to the scaffold, at the nod of an avowed despotism, has, at least, the consolation to know that his sufferings bring down upon that despotism the execration of mankind; but he who is entrapped and entangled in the meshes of a crafty and corrupt system of jurisprudence; who is pursued imperceptibly by a law with leaden feet and iron jaws; who is not put upon his trial till the ear of the public has been poisoned, and its heart steeled against him, falls, at last, without being cheered with a hope of seeing his tyrants execrated, even by the warmest of his friends. In their principle, the ancient and settled laws of England are excellent; but, of late years, and especially since the commencement of the present reign, so many injurious and fatal alterations in the law have taken place, that any man who ventures to meddle with public affairs, and to oppose persons in power, is sure and certain, sooner or later, to suffer in some way or other.—Sir, the punishment which the malice of my enemies have procured to be inflicted on me, is not, in my mind, worth a moment's reflection. The judge supposed, apparently, that his sentence of pillory would disgrace and mortify me. I can assure him, and I now solemnly assure this house, my constituents, and my country, that I would rather stand, in my own name, in the pillory every day of my life under such a sentence, than I would sit upon the bench in the name of * * * * for one single hour.—Something has been said, sir, in this house, as I have read, about an application for a mitigation of my sentence, in a certain quarter, where it is observed, that mercy never failed to flow. It was, I am informed, his majesty's attorney-general, who (I suppose, unintentionally) offered this last insult to my feelings. I excuse it, because I am aware that the learned gentleman is an utter stranger to the sentiments that inhabit my bosom; but I can assure him, that an application for pardon, extorted from me, is one of the things which nothing has the power to accomplish. No, sir, I will seek for, and look for, pardon nowhere; for I have committed no crime. I have sought for, I still seek for, and I confidently expect, justice; not at the hands, however, of those by whose machinations I have been brought to what they regard as my ruin, but at the hands of my enlightened and virtuous constituents, to whose exertions alone the nation owes, that there is still a voice to cry out against that haughty and inexorable tyranny, which now commands silence to all but parasites and hypocrites."—His lordship concluded by protesting before almighty God, that he never knew any thing about the offence of which he had been found guilty.

The speaker stated, that a member under his lordship's circumstances,

stances, having made his defence, should withdraw.

Lord Cochrane said, he would withdraw; but again expressed his hope that the house would investigate the matter for itself, and that no punishment should be inflicted, unless the house was satisfied that he was guilty. He again declared, before almighty God, that he was entirely innocent of the charge.

Lord Castlereagh said, the house must be aware how much of what they had now heard was not defence, but inculpation of others of high character. But he should think it a great abuse of the indulgence of the house, if what was said there were reported elsewhere, so as to make it the vehicle and means of circulating libel and calumny. If it should be necessary to interpose afterwards on account of any abuse of this kind, it must be recollected, that, after this, the want of warning could not be heard as an excuse.

Mr. Broadhead did not wish to wound the feelings of any individual, but in his humble opinion there was no duty more sacred than that of averting any stain from the popular branch of the legislature. A due attention to this was a political duty of great importance. Fully satisfied, then, that the house would do justice to its own character, he concluded by moving, "that lord Cochrane, a member of that house, having been found guilty of a conspiracy, ought to be expelled that house."

Mr. Brown felt it inconsistent with his notions of justice to adopt implicitly the judgement of a court against which the party had appealed, though without success. He could not help being struck with the manner in which the noble lord had this day repeatedly protested his innocence in the name of his constituents, his country, and his God. When he considered what must be the education and habits, the rank and feelings of such a person as lord Cochrane, he thought it impossible that he should not have been more depressed by the degrading sentence of the pillory, unless he was conscious of innocence. He could not believe that it was in the power of such a man, if guily, to come forward and boldly assert and re-assert his innocence before such an awful tribunal as the house of commons. The noble lord had entered into a long and distinct analysis of the alleged proofs of his guilt. The house could not be competent to embrace all the new matter advanced, without further inquiry. Could any man say, that he was prepared at once to decide on these circumstances? if not, no harm could arise from a little delay. He therefore moved, that the statement and papers of lord Cochrane should be referred to a private committee, which should have power to report thereon.

The attorney-general said, that the noble lord had stated, that the judge could not effect his wicked purpose of condemning him without the aid of a jury packed for the purpose; and that the master of the crown-office was compelled to appoint the jury. The master of the crown-office was not appointed by political influence, but by his court, and he held his office during good behaviour. The master merely turns over the leaves of the book which was given him by the sheriff, and in the presence of the agents of both parties selects 48 names. Each member strikes off one, till the number is reduced to 24: these 24 are to appear at the trial,

trial, and no man knows which 12 will be selected. It had happened that the jury who tried the defendants were all new men, probably selected on that very account; but if, which was impossible, the judge should know the disposition of any man, and wish to influence, yet he had not the smallest power. The learned gentlemen then pronounced a panegyric on juries. He should give no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the noble lord, but he trusted he should be pardoned for rising when the chief tribunal of the country was arraigned.

Mr. Brand had always entertained doubts as to his lordship's privity in the late transactions; that privity chiefly rested on two points,—the dress of De Berenger, and the circumstance of the bank-notes. The noble lord had only been able within two or three days to give an account concerning these notes, and had now five persons prepared to prove that De Berenger arrived in a different dress. He was now, therefore, able to account for two circumstances, which before appeared inexplicable. The character of the house was engaged not to act precipitately; the country had been carried away too violently. The prosecutors had acted with a most indecent activity to advertise and prejudge; while it appeared that the noble lord, from a consciousness of innocence, had been too proud, or too careless, to use proper means for his defence. He should vote for the amendment.

Mr. Barham had all along doubted the noble lord's guilt, and now his doubts were stronger than ever. He thought much blame was due to that self-erected tribunal which had been so active in all its proceedings: he doubted whether an innocent man might not have suffered under such circumstances; he should not like to be so tried. The house should, under such circumstances, be slow to add to his penalties, and be ready to inquire into his statements.

Mr. Ponsonby said, the noble lord had been heard with much tenderness. He thought, however, that his wish to investigate the propriety of the charge of the chief-justice was not unreasonable. Judges were not infallible; nor were they so deemed, either by themselves or the constitution. He hoped the debate might be adjourned; for he could not that night sleep soundly on his pillow after voting for expulsion.

Lord Castlereagh entreated the house to pause, and not let their feelings mislead them. It might be much better to run the hazard of letting individuals remain among them, with a stain upon them, than to risk a measure which lowered the exalted character of the public tribunals. Would they delegate a sort of star-chamber above stairs, to review the proceedings of the first criminal court in the land? Could the house call the prosecutors, and hear the cause from beginning to end? What person convicted might not hereafter suggest doubts to parliament? The same plea might be made for all.

Mr. Stuart Wortley confessed, that after all he could read on the matter he had some doubts: now he had great ones. The circumstances might have been brought about by others, without the noble lord's guilt; and thefore he could not sleep on his pillow, if he voted for expulsion.

Mr. Bankes saw no third mode of proceeding that would not create a pernicious precedent. They ought not to step out of their natural

tural wholesome functions to attack the chief-justice and the jury.

Mr. Whitbread asked, were they prepared to vote expulsion, which was called no punishment, without a full conviction of guilt, for the exalting the character of the house, whose purity was such, that suspicion was never to alight upon it? Would it not be among the bitterest moments of any gentleman's life to know that he had been expelled from the house? He felt all the difficulties respecting the appointment of committees. The question was, whether he had doubts of the noble lord's guilt? He must confess, that after his defence, the bent of his mind was, that he might appear wholly guiltless. There was an innate value in some points, notwithstanding the noble lord's injudicious mode, in which he seemed to embody the whole feeling of the house against him. Now, however, he did doubt his guilt: and if compelled to a vote, he would say "No," to expulsion.

Sir F. Burdett was not an advocate for the interfering unnecessarily; but it was of the highest importance that the house should sometimes look a little into the conduct of the judges. The property, liberty, and character of the people were deeply interested in such a protection; and he had no notion of being led into so much awe and reverence for the courts, that the house should suffer themselves to hesitate in granting protection whenever a case justified to interference. If it had been represented by the judge, that Berenger did appear before lord Cochrane in his red coat, stars, and various orders, more like a mountebank than an officer, and there was no evidence given to that effect, he thought that was a case sufficient for the house to inquire into. Lord C. had seized the first moment to entreat a hearing; and having obtained it, declared on his honour that he was innocent;—and such a declaration from a man of a profession, the life and soul of which was honour and glory, ought to have weight. As to the rule, he did not think it was law. Lord C. appeared but slightly connected with the transaction, and appeared drawn into it by his relation; and he approved of the mode of defence of his noble friend,—for he would call him so, because he verily believed that he was truly innocent; and he should have thought that the noble and heroic exploits he had achieved ought to have protected him against one part of the sentence, at least, even if guilty, and which was to the majority of the country cruel, disgusting, and dreadful beyond example. When some years back, a forged French newspaper made its appearance in this country, no prosecution whatever had been instituted against the fabricator, though the object undoubtedly had been to raise the funds. Such a practice was only accounted a misdemeanour, and liable to be punished by six months imprisonment. But lord C., with those feelings natural to his rank and to his profession was to be punished by the pillory. The attorney-general had given his sentiments: formerly that officer had no seat in the house. The learned gentleman had not negatived a single point of the speech of lord C., but had praised the chief justice, and the trial by jury, drawing largely upon his own eloquence, and the ignorance of his audience. He knew something of the mode of striking special juries; and he believed it would

would have been difficult to find a common jury who would have condemned lord C. It was most unnatural to suppose, that a man so indifferent about money as lord C. would become a swindler, and that he who was one day a hero, would the next be a cheat.

Mr. Wilberforce.—The house was not qualified to act as a court of justice. Of this they seemed sensible, when they renounced the power of deciding on contested elections. The sentence of a court of justice had been hitherto untainted by the breath of calumny; and our administration of justice had been extolled among foreign nations as the most excellent institutions; the greatest among the great, and the fairest among the fair.

The motion for expulsion was carried.

While strangers were excluded, the speaker read the following letter:—

"The princess of Wales desires Mr. speaker will acquaint the house of commons, that she has received from viscount Castlereagh the copy of a resolution voted yesterday in a committee of the whole house, enabling his majesty to grant out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain the annual sum of 50,000*l.* for her maintenance; and the princess of Wales desires Mr. speaker will express to the house of commons, her sincere thanks for this extraordinary and unsolicited mark of its munificence. —The princess of Wales, at the same time desires Mr. speaker will inform the house of her deep regret, that the burthens of the people should be at all increased, on account of the circumstances in which she has been placed; and that she cannot consent to any addition to those burthens beyond what her actual situation may appear to require. That she therefore hopes the house will reconsider its resolution, for the purpose of limiting the income proposed to be settled upon the princess of Wales to the annual sum of 35,000*l.* which will be quite sufficient, and will be accepted with the liveliest gratitude, as an unequivocal proof that the princess of Wales has secured the good opinion and protection of the house of commons." — Connaught-House, July 5, 1814.—Adjourned.

July 8.—Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the house to the letter from the princess, in which her royal highness stated her wish not to receive the proposed 50,000*l.* but 35,000*l.* His lordship said he had previously made two communications on the subject to her royal highness, who had answered, that she was willing to accept the grant offered, as it was not clogged with any qualifications derogatory to her rights, nor an act of favour from the crown, but was an act of right and justice.—He therefore concluded that her royal highness had accepted the larger grant; but if the renunciation of a part of it was her royal highness's spontaneous wish, it was his duty not to vote the public money to a subject who was not inclined to receive it. If parliament however agreed to the diminution, he hoped that no person would be allowed on that account, at any future period, to revive in that house discussions which were so painful to every one who felt a proper respect for the royal dignity.

Mr. Whitbread said, that her royal highness had answered the noble lord's letters in very general terms; but when the princess consulted those persons with whom she was in the habit of advising (himself among

among them) the sum was disapproved as being too large,—larger than was necessary,—larger than the noble lord ought to have proposed,—larger than he (Mr. W.) could vote for. Her royal highness then said, that she had not considered the amount of the sum; and he could state, that the princess gratefully accepted the 35,000*l.* a year, as fully sufficient for all her purposes; and all he could add was, that whether the allowance was larger or smaller, it could not possibly make any difference in the state of things as they regarded her royal highness.

Lord Castlereagh said, he should be sorry to find that her royal highness had been advised to a line of conduct from that which her real feelings dictated.

Mr. Tierney (lord Castlereagh having said something about the princess not incurring debts) observed, that he hardly thought it delicate or prudent in the noble lord to make allusions to royal debts. If however the subject was brought forward, he should not shrink from his duty in calling the attention of the house to the debts of the other branches of the royal family. It was highly creditable to her royal highness that she had so much consideration for the public as to relinquish a part of the proposed grant.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the noble lord seemed to think that, because her royal highness's former adviser (Mr. Perceval) was dead, and because she had no longer the benefit of the advice of my lord Eldon and others, her royal highness was to be left without counsel and assistance. The true cause of all these "painful" discussions was, the indignity and injustice heaped on the princess. Not a word respecting money had been uttered by her royal highness's advisers; but the vote of parliament proved that she was taken under its protection. The instant the reduction was hinted, her royal highness gave it her hearty concurrence. The 35,000*l.* was then voted instead of 50,000*l.*

House of lords, July 19.—The duke of Sussex rose under feelings of considesable anxiety to put certain questions to a noble earl opposite (Liverpool). He put them without any consultation connected with any party subject, being actuated by all those feelings of respect and duty which he ought to entertain towards the illustrious person who new administered the government of this country. So prefaced, he should put these questions separately. The question, then, which he wished to put was this,—1st, Whether her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales has had the same liberty of communication with her friends, since her arrival at Carlton-house, as she had at the time she resided at Warwick-house? If the noble earl did not think it proper for him to answer, he should take his silence as an admission of the fact. Was it their lordship's pleasure that he should state the question again?—(*repeats the question*).—The next question was,—2d, Whether her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales, since her arrival at Carlton-house, has had the same liberty of communicating with her friends by writing or letter, the same use of pen, ink, and paper, as when she resided at Warwick-house?—The next question was this,—3d, Whether her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales, since her arrival at Carlton-house, had been in the same state

of liberty as a person not in confinement would be in?—The next question was,—4th, Whether the same recommendation had been made last year to her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales as to the use of the seabaths, as had been made this year?—The last question was,—5th, Whether her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales, being of the age of 18½ years, and past the age when parliament had recognised the capability of persons of the royal family to exercise the functions of government without assistance, there existed any intention of forming an establishment for her royal highness suited to her station, and calculated to promote the communication with persons of high rank, with whom she must at some time associate, and over whom it might be her fate at a future period to reign?—These were the questions which he wished to put, and he would be glad if the noble earl should find it consistent with his sense of duty to answer them.

Lord Liverpool left it to their lordships to consider whether such questions as these ought to be put, and whether, when put, they ought to be answered. The prince regent was the father of the royal family, and it belonged to his prerogative to regulate the education of her royal highness the princess Charlotte of Wales, as he might think proper. The prince regent had done nothing with respect to her royal highness, except what was for her benefit;—that he felt towards her, as a father ought to feel, with the strongest and warmest affection, and was only anxious to perform those duties which God, nature, and the laws of the land had imposed upon him. He trusted that, under circumstances like the present, their lordships would give his royal highness credit for not having conducted himself but on grounds the best calculated to promote her comfort, benefit, and honour.

The duke of Sussex was not satisfied with what had fallen from the noble earl; and therefore he gave notice, that on Friday he should bring forward a motion on the subject.

The lord chancellor could not be altogether silent. The illustrious duke had said that he meant no disrespect with reference to a certain quarter, and he was persuaded that he did not mean it: but he would take the liberty of saying, that if the noble earl had answered those questions which had been put to him, he would have betrayed every duty which he owed as to the quarter to which he had alluded; and he now told him, that if he had answered those questions,—he meant the first four of them,—the noble earl and he would never have conversed together again.—What was the meaning of the questions? When it was asked whether the princess had the liberty of communication with her friends (with her enemies might have been added); whether she had the free use of pen, ink, and paper; whether she enjoyed the same liberty as one not in confinement; was not all this imputation? It was an imputation on the ministers of the prince regent. But his royal highness had the right, under the advice of responsible servants, to educate the children of the royal family as he may think fit, and no interference by parliament could be justifiable unless strong grounds were laid for it. If the advice which had been given, and followed

lowed in the most laudable manner by his royal highness, was wrong, his ministers were responsible; and if his royal highness had been misled, he at least would have the satisfaction of having acted as one who deserved applause and not censure.

The question that the lords be summoned for Friday was carried, but the motion was not brought forward.

House of commons, July 19.—Lord Ebrington said, he had received a letter from lord Cochrane, which he should read. Having read the letter, (which merely stated lord Cochrane's wish that no motion for a remission of a part of his sentence should be made, as, if he were guilty, he well merited the whole of it,) lord Ebrington observed that he should still persevere in his motion, as he deemed the punishment of the pillory a disgrace to the enlightened age in which we lived, for it made an ignorant mob both judges and executioners. He then alluded to lord Cochrane's great naval services and talents—to his very gallant exploit in capturing a Spanish 38-gun ship in a sloop of 14 guns—and to his brilliant achievements in Basque roads, for which he had been thanked by that house, and had received the order of the bath. It was said that there should be no respect for persons; but when a noble marquis (Sligo) had been found guilty of seducing seamen from the navy, what was his sentence? Why, a fine, slight for him, and a very short imprisonment indeed. After a variety of other arguments, the noble lord moved, that an address be presented to the prince regent, praying that his royal highness would be graciously pleased to remit the ignominious punishment of the pillory, included in the sentence upon lord Cochrane, in consequence of the distinguished services of that noble lord.

Lord Nugent seconded and supported the motion.

The solicitor-general (Shepherd) could not help expressing his surprise, that it could for a moment be imagined that any political prejudice could have operated against lord Cochrane! He lamented also that his lordship should have so fallen from his high station; but the case had been marked by deliberate avarice, cold iniquity, and spontaneous meanness. What claim to lenity did it afford? Having attentively read the report of the trial, he felt himself bound to declare, that had he been one of the jury, he should have found lord Cochrane guilty, had he been his own brother. He was astonished that there could be any doubt on the subject; for it could not be supposed that De Berenger would have gone to lord Cochrane's house, dressed as he was, if his lordship had not been aware of his purpose; neither would he have put himself under his lordship's protection, nor solicited a refuge on board his ship, had not lord Cochrane been guilty. He could state it as a fact, that all the instructions for lord Cochrane's brief had been received from his lordship, and that the brief and other statements were read over by him and corrected: yet the noble lord had asserted that he had never read the brief nor given any instructions! and had attempted to criminate the whole administration of public justice.—The motion had his solemn dissent.

Mr. Wynne could not agree to the doctrine, that the house had no right to interfere, though he

thought the verdict of the jury warranted by the evidence. Still he did not approve the more severe part of the sentence.

Mr. Hurst should give his cordial support to the motion.

Lord Castlereagh disapproved entirely of the interference of the house with the administration of justice in the courts of law. We had every motive, in the present day, not to bring into doubt the pure, unbiassed administration of the law, or to throw an unmerited and dangerous aspersion on the most revered character in the country. It was impossible to doubt either the propriety of the conviction or the punishment. He had no doubt that the revered judge who tried the cause was deeply impressed with the importance of making known to the country the malignity of the crime, and the punishment that belonged to it. The law had done its duty, the judges had done their duty, and it was for the crown to determine what line it would pursue in the exercise of its prerogative. No satisfactory ground had been laid for the interference of parliament, and he should therefore feel it his duty to resist the motion: he would add, however, that the crown had taken steps to interpose its mercy with respect to the infamous part of the punishment, not only as far as it related to lord Cochrane, but to all the other parties. The ground upon which the crown had been advised to adopt this course did not arise from the slightest doubt of the propriety of the conviction, nor the slightest doubt as to the integrity of the judges, but because it was satisfied the crime was so little known to Englishmen, was of a nature so repugnant to national character, and above all to persons moving in the sphere in which the noble lord did, that it might safely remit the ignominious part of the punishment. He thought it right to state this view of the question itself, and of the motives from which the crown acted, in order that no perverted interpretation might be put upon the exercise of its mercy.

Sir F. Burdett could not but be of opinion that the solicitor-general, from the official situation which he held, was under some undue bias towards ministers and their measures. It was said that the trial was now to be seen by every body; but he believed the short-hand writer had submitted it to the judge who tried it for his revisal, before it was published. He believed that the charge of the judge had been revised and corrected by himself, and that he had, in one instance, introduced the word "if," which was known to be a great peace-maker. He did not see what evidence there was of lord Cochrane seeing Berenger in a red coat, except the evidence of Crane, the hackney-coachman, who swore that he entered the house in red. This man, however, was a man of the worst of characters, and might well be supposed to be influenced by the hope of receiving 250*l.* from the Stock exchange. He was surprised to hear the grounds upon which the noble lord had stated the crown to have acted on this occasion. It appeared that frauds at the Stock exchange were so unfrequent, so rare, and things so little known among Englishmen, that it was hoped no other instance would ever occur, and that no example was necessary! Now, if he were to state those grounds in the lobby, he believed that every one would laugh in his face. They would not suppose frauds in the

Stock exchange to be quite so rare as the noble lord supposed. He felt, however, obliged to the noble lord for the advice he had given to the crown, not for the sake of lord Cochrane, who despised that part of the sentence, but for the sake of the public, and of that gallant profession of which he had been an ornament.

The attorney-general said, that there were times in which the honourable baronet thought proper to praise the trial by jury; but when it was necessary to uphold the character of his colleague, and to inflame the minds of the public against the sacred institutions of our country, he had not hesitated to talk of picking and packing a jury. He would state most positively, that it was as impossible to pack a jury in the city of London, as it was in the county of York, or any other of the counties that the assizes were now going to be held in. It was possible, and not unlikely, that the short-hand writer who took down the trial did send it to the learned judge to be revised by him. It was the common practice so to do. If the honourable baronet, however, meant to imply that the noble and learned judge who tried the cause would wickedly alter his charge, so as to give it a different colour, he who knew the noble and learned persons residing in the courts would say that there was not a judge on the bench who was capable of such conduct. It appeared now, that notwithstanding the denial of the noble lord, he had given instructions for his brief with his own mouth, and had heard it read to him. But the honourable baronet thought the noble lord innocent! Perhaps there had been no fraud committed; but all was merely a government plot to hunt down an innocent rival, who, by the way, was neither very important nor very formidable. After a consideration of all the circumstances, it was impossible to believe that lord Cochrane was innocent; and he trusted that the country, as soon as its prejudices had subsided, would acknowledge that the jury had done its duty; and that the judges had done their duty in inflicting that sentence which lord Cochrane himself allowed not to be too severe, on the supposition that he was guilty.

Lord Ebrington rose to withdraw his motion, after the communication made by the noble lord. He regretted, and was surprised, that it had not been made earlier, especially as the noble lord had on a former occasion so earnestly deprecated discussion.

House of lords, July 25.—The earl of Hardwicke, in presenting the report from the committee on the corn laws, said that he regretted that the time which the committee had been enabled to employ in the investigation, had not been such as to justify them in coming to a final report. He should therefore move that the present report be laid on the table, and printed, in the intention of moving for another committee early next session. —Agreed to.

House of commons.—A message from the lords stated their lordships' assent to the corruption of blood bill, and also to the treason punishment bill, with an amendment.

Sir S. Romilly observed, that although the lords thought proper to retain that part of the sentence upon treason which referred to the cutting of the body in quarters, yet as the still more odious part, "the tearing out of the bowels,

and flinging them in the face of the convict," was omitted, he regarded it as a gain to humanity, and therefore he should not oppose their lordships' amendment.

The amendment was accordingly agreed to, and the bill was ordered back to the lords.

July 30.—Mr. Tierney, seeing a noble lord in his place, wished to ask him some questions on an important subject. It had been reported that her royal highness the princess of Wales had made an application through his majesty's ministers for permission to return to the continent. Whether this was intended as a temporary visit to her brother, or as a permanent residence abroad, he could not contemplate it without regret. There might be a reason (which however he could not imagine without pain) that might warrant the temporary absence of her royal highness from this country. He and an honourable friend of his (not then present) had been the only two members, on that side of the house, who had taken an active part in the proceedings respecting the increased income of her royal highness; but if at the bottom of that proposition there existed any arrangement savouring of an understanding, that the public should be deemed to have paid the price of her royal highness quitting this country, he solemnly protested that he had no hand in it.

Lord Castlereagh said, with respect to the honourable gentleman's questions, an honourable friend not then present (Mr. Whitbread) must be better acquainted with the intentions of her royal highness the princess of Wales, than himself. All that he knew was, that her royal highness had signified to his majesty's ministers her intention of visiting the continent. He was persuaded that the house, in voting the addition to the income of her royal highness, had no design of imprisoning her royal highness to this country, or of preventing her from residing wherever her pleasure or convenience might induce her to take up her abode.

Mr. Tierney said, the house must be surprised at the word imprisonment. He was sure that the house, in the recent grant, had never contemplated the departure of her royal highness from this country. The right honourable gentleman (said Mr. Tierney) seems highly entertained at this declaration. Perhaps that gentleman could tell what were her royal highness's intentions. Mr. T. concluded with protesting against his majesty's ministers allowing her royal highness to quit the country without completely ascertaining what were her motives, and without taking measures to secure her early return.

Lord Castlereagh explained; and Mr. Rose said, that his mirth had been excited by the honourable gentleman so extravagantly identifying the house of commons with himself.

Mr. Tierney said, that notwithstanding the imputations of the right honourable gentleman and his friends, there was not a thinking man in the island who would not feel alarm at the step her royal highness had been advised to take. With respect to his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) who had been described by the noble lord as being in possession of her royal highness's confidence, he had his honourable friend's authority for stating not only that he had not advised her royal highness to quit the country,

country, but that he had most earnestly advised her not to do so.

Here the conversation dropped.

Sir F. Burdett wished to ask his majesty's ministers a question. It had been recently rumoured that a proposition had been made by the government of France to the government of England to admit all articles the respective produce of the two countries, reciprocally, on the payment of a low duty, he believed 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. From this proposition such great advantages seemed likely to arise to Great Britain, that he wished to know whether it had actually been made. If it had, he hoped it had been met in a similar spirit of liberality on our part.

Lord Castlereagh replied, that any proposition founded upon the principle of free commercial intercourse would be received with the utmost attention; but he was not at liberty to state any precise proposition that had been made by any foreign power.

After some further desultory conversation, the usher of the black rod summoned the house to attend the prince regent in the house of lords, when parliament was prorogued.

CHAPTER VIII.

Introductory Remarks:—Different Views taken of the same Transactions by Contemporaries and by Posterity—This Remark applied to the French Revolution—Conjectures naturally formed at the Beginning of 1814, *respecting the future State of France, and those Countries which had been affected by the Revolution—Probable permanent Effects of it on France itself—on the political and military Character of the French—on the State of Property—General Conclusions with respect to France.*

IT has often been remarked, that on many political events, which are regarded by those who live at the time during which they occur with indifference, or at least by no means with the interest, and calculation or suspicion of their extensive or lasting importance, which they deserve, posterity will look with a very different judgement and feeling. But the converse of this observation, however true and equally well founded, has not often been made: and yet scarcely a single year passes over our heads, in which some events do not happen, which we regard either with indifference at the time, or respecting the real nature and consequences of which we are either not disposed from our prejudices, or not able from our ignorance and incapacity, to see them in all their bearings and relations, to form an accurate and just opinion. The political occurrences to which not only Europe but America, now become next to Europe the most interesting and important portion of the globe, have been witnesses, and from which nearly all nations have suffered, either directly or indirectly, either in a momentous or trifling degree, either in such a manner as that the consequences will soon pass away or be permanently influential,

supply ample materials for making with propriety, justice and force, both these observations.

The annalist, writing at the moment, or nearly at the moment, when important events are occurring, before indeed all their real consequences have unfolded themselves, and certainly before the real causes and motives from which they sprang are thoroughly known and explained, is naturally and necessarily exposed to the danger, not only of overrating the importance of some events, or of estimating below their importance others, but of mistaking the tendency of many; of pronouncing those wise and beneficial, which the historian will afterwards be called upon to denounce as impolitic, or baneful to the rights and peace of mankind; and those foolish or hurtful, which by the same authority will afterwards be declared to be sound in their principle, praiseworthy in the motive from which they proceeded, and highly beneficial to the rights and welfare of mankind in their permanent and most important consequences.

The French revolution itself; the sources from which it sprang; the means and causes by which it was established in France; the nature of the principle on which the great leaders of it at its commencement were supposed to act; the tendency and effect of external influence upon it; all these things and several others were viewed in very different lights by the different political parties at the time, not only in this country, but in the whole civilised and enlightened world. Perhaps we are still too near the period at which this astonishing event took place, to regard it with that collected and comprehensive calmness, by means of which alone we shall be best enabled to judge of its real nature, and of the permanent consequences which it must have, not merely on the political but also on the moral fate of mankind. But though on some accounts an unprejudiced and very comprehensive view of it cannot be yet taken, yet on other accounts it may be contemplated with advantage to our political knowledge and experience. In the reflections which we are about to offer as preliminary to the historical department of our Register for the year 1814, it is not however our purpose to go at all into the detail of facts on this subject, but merely to offer some very general remarks.

We are the rather induced to offer these preliminary remarks, because it appears to us, that now the pertinency and justice of them may be greatly assisted, as well as their impartiality secured, by the state of Europe at the beginning of the year 1814. At this period, the apprehension of that dreadful military power and despotism which had been erected on the French revolution, and which had crushed to all appearance for centuries the independence and repose of Europe, had passed away; it was no longer a question, whether Europe was to regain its freedom and happiness; that seemed out of the reach even of the malice of fortune: the question now was, what was to become of that military tyrant, who, after having carried his victorious arms to nearly all the capitals of continental Europe, and dictated terms of peace there, was now driven within his own territories, defeated with immense loss, and disgraced not only in a military but a political character;—and what was to be the fate of that nation which had so long lent its energies, talents and its population to his schemes of ambition

bition and conquest; which had hailed him as the man who was to lead them to their darling and long cherished object of universal empire; and which had been so far blinded as almost to overlook and forgive his tyranny and cruelty, even when exercised against themselves, in the blaze of his military reputation and conquests.

At the beginning of the year 1814, there was also another question of great moment, which forced itself on the attention and interest of all who felt a concern in the fate of Europe; and this respected the fate of those countries which had been long under the dominion of the French; in which while they held them, they had totally changed, at least endeavoured to effect a total change in, their constitutions and laws, and not only in them, but also in the feelings and manners of the inhabitants. It was natural to suppose that in those countries, of which the conquerors had only retained possession for a short time, and in which of course they had not possessed the means and opportunities of effecting any radical or permanent change, every thing connected either with their political institutions, or the habits and feelings of the inhabitants, would soon and easily revert to their old channels. But the case might be different in those countries, where the great and efficient part of the population had grown up under the existence and influence of the French government, where they had in a great measure assumed at least the political character and feelings of their conquerors, while at the same time they had ceased to regard them as such.

Now it is abundantly evident, that these important questions, which at the commencement of the year 1814 must have arisen in the minds of all who feel an interest in the fate of mankind, and which even yet are undecided, at least so far as regards part of Europe, cannot be satisfactorily answered, without adverting to the consequences produced by the revolutions and conquests of the French, not only in France itself, but also in those countries which had long been under its sway. If the questions indeed were merely what form of government would be established in those countries which had been liberated from the yoke of France, it might easily and speedily be answered; but he must be a weak and ignorant politician, who is not sensible that the permanence and effects of any form of government depend almost entirely on the habits, feelings, and information of the great mass of the people; and in some measure on the habits and disposition of those to whom is given the administration of the government. The real question then is, In what state have the French revolution and conquests left the feelings and habits of the people of France themselves, and of those people who are about to return to their former governments, after having been so long under the dominion of France? And subservient and secondary to this question is another—What effects have been produced on the political principles and habits of those men, who are again to administer the affairs of continental Europe, uncontrolled by the tyranny or power of Bonaparte, by the same events? Till we can offer something like a satisfactory answer to these questions, we shall in vain endeavour to anticipate with any degree of probability the future state of the continent of Europe. But in order to arrive at an answer

answer to these questions, it is absolutely necessary to take the retrospect which we propose, as the introduction to our historical narrative for the year 1814.

And first with respect to France itself. So much has been written on the subject of the nature and causes of the French revolution, that it may be deemed impossible, and therefore presumptuous, to endeavour to add any thing new or important. But it seems to us that, in contemplating this event, it is scarcely possible not to place it in some new light, which though in itself not of great consequence, yet, when taken in connection with other views of the same subject, may add to the stock of our political knowledge. By those who have written on this revolution, the character of the French has often been depicted: but though the spirit of military glory and ambition, which enters so largely into that character, has latterly become so conspicuous as to force itself on the notice of all; yet it does not appear to have been estimated sufficiently in accounting for some of the most important events at the commencement of the revolution. This spirit of military ambition and glory undoubtedly is closely connected, in the breast of a Frenchman, with the love of his country: he believes his country to be the best in the world; not however in that passive and uninfluential sense in which an Englishman or the inhabitant of any other nation believes their respective countries to be the best in the world. In a Frenchman's breast, this spirit leads to the firm belief that his own country, as the best in the world, is best calculated to conquer other countries, and best deserving of that conquest. It may indeed be said, that the love which the Frenchman feels, is not so much for his country, for the place which gave him birth, or for the habitation of his relations and friends, and the scene of his early joys, as for the person who rules over that country. But though formerly the Frenchman was most zealous and enthusiastic in his expressions of attachment and devotion to the grand monarch, yet those feelings were undoubtedly exercised towards him, because he was monarch of France. That this was the case, is made manifest by what happened not only at the commencement but during the progress of the revolution; for, had a Frenchman's love been for the monarch himself, independently of his being the sovereign of France, Louis XVI. certainly would not have been deserted by the men of the French nation. If these observations be correct, it will satisfactorily account for what by some was deemed a surprising and anomalous circumstance, viz. that the French should have deserted their grand monarch, a people almost proverbial for their blind and implicit admiration and attachment to him. Besides, during the progress of the revolution, we see that the French people, and especially the soldiery, were as devoted to whoever were at the head of the government; and that this devotion was most ardent towards those who most fully gratified the national thirst for glory and conquest.

Keeping then this characteristic feature of the French nation in mind, we shall not be at a loss, either to account for the leading events of the revolution, nor to anticipate what will probably be the permanent effects on them, produced by that revolution, and displaying themselves even under their old

old sovereigns. If a Frenchman thought his own country the best in the world, and best entitled to universal dominion, while he himself was the subject of a despotic government, how much must this feeling and persuasion have been strengthened, and how much more rational and justifiable must it have appeared, when he was freed from this despotism, and, in his own opinion at least, was become possessed of greater political and civil freedom than the subject of any other state in Europe! For this exaltation of feeling France is invaded. We shall not now inquire whether the invasion was neccessary or just, or not; nor is the inquiry of any importance to our present subject. There can be no doubt that the majority of the French nation considered the invasion as a most unprovoked and base attempt to subvert their newly acquired liberties. To defend their country, therefore, to secure their independence and liberty, and, perhaps more than all, to acquire military glory, the French became an armed nation; they soon repelled their invaders. But they were now taught their own strength; what they had long wished, the object at which they reached, but in vain, in the time of Louis XIV, seemed now within their grasp; and their endeavours and wish to attain this object, possessed now, in their apprehension, much more justification than had ever attended them at any former period. For, had they not been invaded? had not their country, in the very infancy of its liberty, been attacked? and were they not fully justified before God and man in securing themselves against all future attempts of this kind, by destroying their enemies, if possible? Besides, had not their object benefits in view to others as well as themselves? They were about to wage offensive war indeed; but it was only against kings, and not against the people. It is possible, too, that the love of retaliation, a love more prevalent and influential among mankind than we are willing to acknowledge, operated on this occasion.

Such appear to us to have been the principles and feelings on which the French proceeded to act, after they had succeeded in freeing France from invasion; and these principles and feelings were carefully nurtured and strengthened by all the different individuals, who in the course of the revolution obtained the reins of government: —by none, however, to such a degree, or with such effect, as Bonaparte. At the time when he attained the supreme power, the affairs of France were in an unpromising condition, and chiefly in that respect which was sure to bring after it the indifference of the French nation to their government; for they had been ingloriously unsuccessful in war. At this critical period Bonaparte appeared, and by a measure of vigour, lawless and unjustifiable indeed, he created a favourable impression on the French nation. In another point of view, also, he was fortunate in the crisis when he assumed the supreme power: for France had been long distracted by factions; the state grasped after national glory and conquest; but she perceived that the discipline and bravery of her troops and the enterprise and skill of her generals were rendered unavailing by the distraction, the intrigues and the imbecility of her councils at home. She had, with much less reluctance than any other nation would have done,

done, submitted to enormous and repeated drains on her population, by means of which she had been promised, and indeed had anticipated, the great object of her wishes: but, notwithstanding her sacrifices, this object was still far from her attainment. There were still other circumstances which operated in favour of Bonaparte's schemes: at the period of his elevation, France had long been a military nation; but the men who had hitherto directed her affairs had not been military: it was natural therefore that the soldiery themselves should wish that man at the head of government, who had often led them to victory, who would carry on the career of conquest and plunder with the most energy and effect, and from whom they might confidently expect advancement and reward. Nor could the mass of the nation be averse from the elevation of Bonaparte. Those who felt no other wish or desire but domestic and internal tranquillity, looked up to him as not only able to effect it, but disposed to do so for his own interest; while those who panted after war, and who, either from the education which they had received, or from the influence of warlike associations and habits, which was spread around them, anticipated conquest, promotion, or plunder, could not have wished for any event more gratifying and favourable to them than the elevation of Bonaparte.

It is on the character of the French nation as it existed when the Bourbons were restored to the throne, that we must fix our thoughts, if we are desirous of speculating on their future conduct and destiny; and indirectly on the future conduct and destiny of Europe; for France has unfortunately given too numerous and too decided proofs, that on her conduct the peace or warfare of Europe mainly depends. But the character of the French nation at the period of the restoration of the Bourbons, though in some measure made up of their natural character, and of those features which were superadded during the events that took place prior to the elevation of Bonaparte, still more distinctly and prominently displayed those features which were stamped upon it by the government of that man. He found them indeed a military nation, at least in their wishes, feelings, and in many of their habits. But it was his purpose and interest to render them still more decidedly and completely so; and at the same time to strip their military character entirely (for it had been partly stripped before) of that high and jealous sense of honour for which, in the splendid days of the monarchy, a French soldier had always been proudly and preeminently distinguished. This was indeed a difficult and delicate task; for, to a common and superficial observer of human nature, it would seem impossible to infuse into the breast of man a contempt of every thing that was allied to individual nobility and rectitude, without at the same time banishing all feeling of national honour, and implanting the most narrow and interested selfishness. Yet it would appear that Bonaparte not only attempted this, but in a great measure succeeded in the attempt; for in the French officer, and still more in the French soldier, during his reign, we find a strong love of national glory, not inferior perhaps to that which existed and operated in their breasts during the most splendid days of the monarchy: this love of

of national glory roused and animated them under every exertion and danger; comforted and consoled them in the arms of death, if that death had been met in the hour of victory; and stimulated them, not merely to the exertions of personal courage, but also to the attainment of professional knowledge and experience. Yet these very men, who were so very jealous of the honour of their country, did not scruple to sacrifice their personal honour on the slightest temptations: it was not merely that they sacrificed the latter to the former, wherever the two seemed incompatible or inconsistent with each other; though under the ancient military system of France, during which the sense of national honour and the love of national glory were carried to the highest possible pitch, no officer would have sacrificed his personal honour even on account of the grand monarch himself. But the modern French officers under the rule of Bonaparte committed base and unworthy actions, on the slightest temptations of plunder or personal ease and emolument. No French officer under the ancient regime would have broken his parole, however eager he might be again to participate in the dangers or glory of his countrymen: he loved military glory, but he loved personal reputation better; whereas, there have been many instances of modern French officers breaking their parole. But in other points also Bonaparte, aided by the nature of the events which occurred during the revolution, succeeded in changing the character of the French officer and soldier. They no longer displayed and exercised that courtesy for which they before had been celebrated: formerly, even during the heat and animosity of actual warfare, a French officer delighted in the manners and display of attention and civility; he fought against his foe with all his might and skill; his heart was in the cause he espoused: but he did not suffer rancour to enter his breast; and to his conquered foe he was most scrupulously delicate and forbearing. What a contrast did the behaviour of the generality of the officers of Bonaparte exhibit in these respects! With them, to conquer their foe was to obtain an opportunity, which they eagerly embraced, to manifest the most unmanly conduct towards him. It seemed, indeed, as if we had again fallen on times of barbarous hostility, when private revenge, or passions as rancorous, mixed up with public quarrels. At first sight it may appear not difficult to account for this wonderful and radical change in the character and conduct of the modern French soldier: it may be said that it evidently flowed from the circumstance, that those who held the chief military command, and Bonaparte himself, were of low origin, and therefore necessarily strangers to those high and delicate feelings which found their natural abode in the breasts of the French military under the ancient regime. Much, no doubt, must be attributed to this cause: but it seems to us that it will not entirely solve the difficulty; for, under the ancient regime, even the common soldiers in the French army very often exhibited as high a sense of honour, and as strong a disposition to carry on war in a manly and delicate manner against his opponent, as the highest officer. Some other cause therefore must be sought, and perhaps the following will be deemed adequate. It

was very early in the revolution a prevailing opinion, (and indeed it was an opinion in France before the revolution, to the influence of which, and other erroneous opinions, that event may, in a great degree, be ascribed,) it was a prevailing opinion that the end justified the means; that, if the former was good, the latter were also of the same description; in short, that actions derived their character, not so much from their intrinsic and essential nature, as from the consequences which they brought after them. This opinion, which, if properly understood and modified, is undoubtedly just and true, was carried to an unwarrantable length in France; and must have tended to produce that change in the behaviour, not only of the soldiery, but, as we shall afterwards have occasion to remark, of the mass of the people, which actually took place. But there were other causes: in the wars in which the French were engaged after their revolution, other feelings towards their foes existed and operated, from those that used to inhabit the breasts of their ancestors when engaged in hostility. With the latter, it was a contest of bravery and glory: they admired and respected at the same time that they combated their foes; they also looked forward to the period when they would be on terms of amity with those who were now their enemies. With the modern French military the case was widely different. At the beginning of the revolutionary war, they regarded it as a contest for life and death; as a contest, which could only be terminated by the overthrow of themselves or their opponents: they were not running the race of glory; no high and honourable feeling therefore could exist in their breasts towards those whom they regarded as the enemies of their national and individual liberty and independence. After they had secured these, other feelings towards their foes rose up, which were equally at variance with dignified and scrupulously honourable warfare: they fought now, not for national or individual liberty and independence, but in some degree for national honour, and still more for individual honour, emolument, and rank. The dignities and plunder of Europe were before them; and how feeble a barrier must principle be, especially such principle as warfare admits or sanctions, when opposed to these?—Besides, in the opinion of the French modern military, there was little or no prospect of their ever being at peace with their foes; at least they wished for no peace till they had completely humbled and conquered them; and in that case there would be no room nor any call for the exercise of those feelings which the French officer under the old regime, always, in the midst of warfare, recollected he should again have to display, and which he therefore, even at that time, never lost sight of.

But it is taking a very narrow and superficial view of the subject, to confine our notice and investigation to the effects produced by the revolution, and especially by the government of Bonaparte on the French military alone. If we rightly and completely estimate the change produced by these causes, and thus qualify ourselves to anticipate rationally, and with confidence, what will probably be the future character and fate of France, we must look to the mass of the people, to the change which has taken place in them, with respect to principles, manners, opinions, and conduct.

It has often been contended that Bonaparte

Bonaparte was, in a great measure, regardless of the mass of the people, except so far as they were necessary to supply him with soldiers, or to support his schemes of ambition and conquest by their contributions. But this was not the fact. Bonaparte was fully sensible of the importance of the mass of the people; and the influence which he exerted over their opinions and manners, both directly and indirectly, plainly proved this. His great and ultimate aim, undoubtedly, was to become the conqueror of Europe: perhaps this scheme or hope lay long only half cherished and formed in his mind, and was brought to maturity only towards the latter part of his career. But even while his ambition grasped a narrow object, while it confined its hopes within narrower bounds than the entire subjugation of Europe, it was absolutely necessary to his plans, that the moral feelings and habits of the French nation should undergo a yet greater change than they had experienced during the former stages of the revolution. The system of military education was extended and perfected: a large portion of the population were trained from their earliest youth to military feelings, wishes, and opinions. The effects of such an education on their moral principles and habits need scarcely be pointed out or insisted upon. Even during the most honourable period of the French military system, such an education must have rendered the objects of it ill qualified, and as little disposed, strictly and scrupulously to inquire into the justice or lawfulness of any war, or to deem very highly of the rights and liberties of the general mass of their fellow subjects. They were educated for war: from it they hoped to derive honour, rank, and emolument: in peace, they would be deprived of all chance of gaining these objects: war, therefore, must have been their wish; just war, perhaps, they would prefer, but any war in preference to peace. If such must have been the unavoidable effect of this military education, in the purest and most honourable times of the French military character, what must have been its effects when the system of education was more extended and more perfect; when the principles of warfare were less strict; and when were placed before the eyes of the candidates for military fame and rank, numerous examples of men who certainly had not been retarded, but rather to all appearance had been accelerated and assisted in their attainment of these objects, by throwing aside entirely, or in a great measure, all that had graced and dignified the ancient French military character.—But the influence of this military education could not be confined to those only who were the immediate objects of it; it must have spread, in some measure, over all who were related to them, or who were much with them. To the youth of all nations a military life has its charms, but most especially to the French.

The change in the moral feelings and habits of the French nation was, however, still rendered more complete by Bonaparte: it was necessary that they should not be startled at the unprovoked and unjust nature of any wars in which he might engage, and that the feelings of individual misery, which might arise from the loss of their relations and friends in these wars, should make as slight and transient an impression as possible. These effects he seems to have accomplished in a great degree; the splendour of his military

glory

glory and success, and the eminence of power and conquest to which he had raised the French nation, banished from the minds of the majority of his subjects all reflections on the means that he employed, and the objects which he had in view. Even his attack on Spain, perhaps the most unjustifiable and unprovoked of all his tyrannical proceedings, was condemned by them rather on the score of bad policy, and from the apprehension that it would terminate in disgrace and discomfiture, than because it was unjust and tyrannical. With respect to the sufferings of individuals from the effects of the conscriptions, they were undoubtedly, in many cases, very poignant: but it may be doubted whether they were very permanent: the grief of the father at being deprived of his son, often gave place to the hope and belief, that he would soon participate in that glory which had so long attended the armies of France, and rise to that military rank which others not more favoured had attained. The ties and felicity of domestic life were not nearly so powerful and so highly esteemed in France, even before the revolution, as they are in this country; and certainly the events which that revolution produced were by no means calculated to draw those ties closer, or to set a higher value on that felicity. A love of national glory; a fondness for show and pomp; the habit of rendering every thing that is said or done conducive to effect, must not only weaken the obligations of morality, but also the duties and pleasures of domestic life. Bonaparte was fully sensible of this: he well knew that the French nation possessed lively and acute, but not permanent feelings; not feelings grounded on reflection and principle.

In estimating, therefore, the effects of the revolution on the people of France, for the purpose of anticipating, if possible, how far those effects will remain, and give a bias and colouring to their future character, all these considerations must be taken into the account. It cannot be denied that, so far as we have hitherto considered these effects, the prospect is by no means consoling or gratifying to the friends of the dignity and purity of human nature; and that they do not promise such a state of feeling and principle among the French, as will be most conducive to their own good, or to the tranquillity of Europe. But the picture has yet been viewed only in one aspect: it would be lamentable, indeed, if the revolution had only engendered those dreadful and appalling evils which we have discovered; if they were not, in some degree, compensated by beneficial consequences, trifling indeed when contrasted with the evils, but still not to be overlooked or despised. One of the earliest consequences of the French revolution was the rousing and development of talent, which would otherwise have remained unknown and useless; and though in the after periods of the revolution all the same causes did not exist and operate, which in the early period had brought talent into action, yet some of them undoubtedly did. To the love of what was deemed the independence of their native country, succeeded the love of glory: to the desire and effort of securing the former, succeeded the desire and effort to obtain the latter: occasions nearly equally great, though not equally justifiable and meritorious, were presented, of which talents might take advantage: the barriers, which had during the ancient regime existed against the

the reward of merit, on account of the lowness of its origin, or its want of patronage, were never replaced after they were once broken down. From these circumstances, a more general development of talent and merit has taken place in France than possibly could, under the old government. It has indeed been asserted, that since the revolution literature and science have declined. The truth of this assertion may be allowed; literature and science may decline, and talent, or, in other words, the exercise and development of the mental faculties, may have advanced and extended. It is not meant to be maintained that the French revolution has given rise to the display of extraordinary talents; but that the intellectual character of the great men of the nation must have been improved by that event; and this effect is not so incompatible as may generally be supposed with that moral degradation which we have already described as another of the effects of the revolution. Perhaps the truth may be, that in the large cities of France, and especially in the metropolis, the latter effect is the most visible, whereas in the country, the former effect more generally displays itself: or, in other words, while the inhabitants of the cities have suffered, from the revolution, in their moral principles and habits, the inhabitants of the country have gained in respect to intellectual qualifications. Not but that the benefit which the latter have derived is counterbalanced, in some degree, by demoralization; and the evil which the former have suffered is, in some, though not in an equal degree, counterbalanced by the impulse which the revolution has given to talents.

Hitherto we have adverted only to the direct consequences of the French revolution on the moral and intellectual faculties of the people; but it will also be proper, for the full consideration of this subject, to take into our account and estimate its indirect consequences. The most important consequences of this description are those which flowed from the change in the state of property brought about since the commencement of the revolution: we do not, now, advert to the mere transfer of property from the emigrants to those who purchased it from the state; we shall afterwards have occasion to consider that transfer as connected with the probable permanency of the Bourbons on the throne of France, and the policy or practicability of any attempt they may make to re-establish the ancient government and usages. Our immediate object now is to consider the indirect consequences of the revolution on the intellectual and moral habits of the French, as arising from a change in the state, not in the possession of property. The principal and most important feature in this change is, that property now is much more divided than it was formerly; of course the class of people possessing landed property is much more numerous, while their individual possessions are of less value. It is easy to perceive that hence must arise a class of men nearly similar to what in England are called the middle class of society; and a middle class of society of the best description, that is, those who follow agriculture. This class will also be increased in a different mode. Before the revolution, a French farmer scarcely resembled in one single feature the farmer of this country: he was, generally speaking, the poor ignorant slave

of his landlord; destitute alike of sufficient skill or capital properly to cultivate the ground which he rented, and of all self-confidence and independence. But the scene is now changed: the farmers of France either cultivate their own ground, or hold it under leases, which leave them in possession of their political and civil rights, and with adequate capital and skill. It is abundantly evident, that this change in the condition of the agricultural population must ultimately be highly advantageous both to their intellectual and moral habits; the first consequence must be, that the land will be much better farmed; but this it cannot be, if the farmers remain as ignorant as heretofore. But they have now the most powerful motives to make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with their business, and to follow it with enterprise and industry.

But a middle class of society, numerous and important, will rise up, not only among the agricultural population of France, but in every other description of its population. A military despotism, while it exists, is undoubtedly the most dreadful of all despotisms: but from its nature and character it cannot exist long, and the evils it produces are in some degree compensated by its destroying, during its existence, all other despotisms. Thus, in France, room was made at the beginning of the revolution for a middle class of society, by the breaking up of the estates of the old noblesse; and though the military despotism which afterwards established itself, kept this as well as all other classes under the dominion of the most dreadful tyranny, yet it prevented that class from again sinking into their original insignificance, by the jealousy with which it guarded against large aggregations of property. The despotism is now destroyed, but the middle classes of society still remain; and where they are once firmly established and numerous, they flourish more and spread more extensively than any other class. Of their importance to the real welfare and the independence of a state, England has long afforded a most glorious and striking illustration and proof: it is not going too far to contend, that England has done what she has done within the last twenty years for herself and for the civilized world, principally from the circumstance, that she possessed a numerous and respectable middle class of society. Perhaps the national character of the French is not so well calculated as the national character of the English, to give to this class all the influence which they are capable of possessing, or to stamp them with their highest dignity and usefulness:—but, even under the disadvantage of the French national character, a middle class of society there must be highly useful; and if any circumstance can give to that national character that solidity, prospectiveness and steadiness in which it is deficient, it will be the circumstance of their raising up a numerous middle class of society. We have dwelt long on this subject; but not longer than its difficulty and importance deserve; nor longer than its connection with our subject seemed to demand. If our observations be true and well founded, we shall be at no loss to anticipate the immediate as well as the permanent consequences which the revolution will have on the French nation.

In the first place, the moral degradation, the extreme and unjustifiable fondness for military glory, however they may threaten the tran-

tranquillity of France and of Europe at first, cannot, if the new government act with prudence and wisdom, be permanent; they must soon die away, if they are not fed and cherished by the measures which produced them.

In the second place, there is good reason to believe and hope, that the more beneficial consequences of the revolution will be permanent in France: it is in the nature of man not to retrograde willingly, and without the operation of very powerful causes. As soon as ever the minds of the French are completely disengaged from their old habits and feelings, their natural vivacity and enterprise will be directed to those pursuits, which will strengthen and render permanent whatever good they may have derived from the revolution. They possess an excellent climate and soil: even ill conducted as their agriculture has hitherto been, it has been amply sufficient to support a numerous population. To the improvement of their agriculture, to the extension of their commerce, to the advancement of science, let us hope that those talents which the revolution has called forth, and which have hitherto been exclusively devoted to military exploits, will hereafter be zealously given. If such be the case, the revolution will not have been without its good, even to those among whom it originated; and France will exhibit another proof, that in the government of the moral, as well as the natural world, the supreme Disposer of events can bring good out of evil.

Having thus considered the revolution with respect to France itself, we shall next consider it in its effects on the other countries of Europe. These may be divided into such as never experienced the military effects of the revolution, but merely its political consequences on the opinions of the inhabitants; and those countries that were brought either directly or indirectly under the influence of France. Of the latter, some suffered entirely from the imbecility of their sovereigns, and some partly from this cause and partly from the spread of French principles.—England and Sweden are perhaps the only countries, at least with the exception of Russia, that have not come under the direct or indirect influence of France. Spain and Portugal fell through the imbecility of their government: Holland, Germany, and Italy, partly from that cause and partly from the spread of French principles.

CHAPTER IX.

Effects of the French Revolution on other Countries—on those which were not overrun by the French—on England—on the People there in general—on the Government—on the state of Parties. Effects on Sweden—on Russia—It has brought this Country into close Contact with the other European Powers—Probable Consequences of this—Effects of the Revolution on Holland and the Netherlands—on Germany—Italy—Spain.

THE French revolution was an event of such an extraordinary nature—so dazzling, and apparently full of the most sublime and brightest hopes to the friends of liberty and independence, and so

gloomy and threatening to those who were interested in keeping mankind in ignorance and bondage, that it is not surprising that its real causes, character, and probable consequences both on the French nation and on Europe, should not have been accurately foreseen. One circumstance, however, appears either to have been overlooked in estimating its real character and value, or at least not sufficiently attended to and estimated: viz. that neither in ancient nor modern times is there an instance of a nation suddenly and at once bursting free from the bondage of a despotic government, and adopting one of rational and practicable liberty. If we examine the history of those states, whether ancient or modern, which have possessed or do possess a free government, we shall find that this government was formed and established by degrees; in a gradual and almost imperceptible manner; and that those parts in the constitution which, on a superficial observation, would seem to be the cause of their freedom, are in part only the proofs that at the period they were established the people had attained such a degree of freedom as to require them. If we take the example of England, for instance, we shall find that the political and civil freedom which her inhabitants enjoy has grown up very slowly; and that it would be almost impossible to detect and ascertain the different stages of its growth; for we must not confound, as has been justly remarked, the establishment of those parts of her constitution, which manifest, and serve now they are established to secure, liberty, with the causes or origin of liberty. The fact is, that the mere form is worthless and without an animating soul, unless the thoughts, feelings, opinions, determinations, and habits of the people,—not among those who are governed, but those who govern,—are strongly in favour of liberty; and have become so, not suddenly and violently, but gradually and almost imperceptibly. The French revolution, therefore, exhibiting a people long habituated to a government under which the great mass could have no idea of freedom, all at once bursting out into a violent and intoxicating love of freedom, ought to have presented us with a spectacle rather alarming than encouraging: we ought to have anticipated those effects which, in the common events of life, we always dread from great and sudden changes. These effects were indeed dreaded by some; but even the enemies of the French revolution, while pointing out the probable consequences, betrayed such a dislike to freedom in general, that their well-founded predictions were disregarded, and attributed rather to violent prejudice than sagacious and comprehensive views. In no country was the French revolution likely to produce so strong a sensation as in England; several causes contributed to excite this sensation. In the first place, all who were very warmly devoted to the freedom of mankind, and who could not brook that their attachment to this cause should be full of suspicion or doubt, hailed the French revolution as an event that would soon place France by the side of England in respect to civil and religious freedom. But, in the second place, there were in England a class of men, who had imbibed speculative and impracticable notions on the subject of the perfectability of man; and who were anxious to persuade themselves that their ideas could be reduced to practice,

tice, in the case of France at first, and afterwards by their own country, and the world at large. These were well-meaning but not enlightened men. But they were joined by others of a very different character; men of desperate fortunes, and of equally desperate views, who were anxious, under the pretext of bringing about this impracticable perfection, of introducing violent and unnecessary changes in the English constitution. Such were the men who, either sincerely and from good motives, or insincerely and to serve their own bad purposes, hailed the French revolution with pleasure. But, in England, there were also men who regarded this event in a very different light: the motives by which they were actuated were doubtless different; it is not to be concealed that some were jealous of France; they did not trouble themselves with calling in the aid of history, or a knowledge of human nature, to determine whether the revolution was likely to be productive of advantages to France or mankind; but the very idea that France was taking measures to obtain a constitution as free as that of England, alarmed their jealousy. It may be said that this class of men could not possibly be numerous: but the reverse, we believe, was the case: they were not indeed numerous among the higher classes of society, but they were so among the middle and lower classes. There was however, in England, a dislike and opposition to the revolution from other motives, and among a very different description of people. All those who retained the high tory principles of government, either in church or state, were alarmed at what was taking place in France, and were desirous of crushing it: they did not manifest hostility to it because they thought it would not terminate in the real and permanent liberty of the French; but because they preferred the old French government even to a liberty of this description. The opinions of another class of people were hostile to this event, on account of the tendency which they discovered in England to imitate the most violent of the French revolutionists, and trench upon the most sacred and essential principles of the English constitution. Such in general were the feelings and sentiments of the people of England, with regard to the revolution, at the commencement of it; but they were soon destined to undergo a change. It is foreign to our purpose to enter into any discussion respecting the necessity or the justice of the war which ensued between France and the principal states of Europe; or to investigate whether the atrocities which the French committed, ought fairly to be ascribed to their own want of principle, and their unfitness for the situation into which they had been suddenly and precipitately thrown, or to the invasion of their country by the allied powers. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that the calm, sincere, and enlightened friends of liberty in England soon began to doubt, whether the termination of the French revolution would be as favourable as they had at first anticipated: they were still however willing to hope that it would, and to attribute the atrocities of the French to any cause but what threatened the destruction of their hopes. But when they saw them substituting a spirit of conquest for a spirit of liberty; when they saw them fighting with as much zeal and alacrity to conquer other countries, as they had done to defend their own; and quietly submitting to a succession of the most cruel tyrants at

home, provided they could be victorious abroad, they reluctantly abandoned all hope. In the mean time, the dread that similar scenes would be exhibited in England,—and the artfully attributing, by interested persons, those scenes in France to their newly acquired liberty, had rendered the very name of liberty unpopular in England; and, strange to say, in the height of their alarm and apprehension, Englishmen were disposed to prefer quiet tyranny to hazardous liberty. This state of thought and feeling, however, could not last long in England; and long before the termination of the French revolution the commonly received opinion seems to have been, that the atrocities committed by the French ought to be ascribed neither to the plans of the allies against her, as one party had contended, nor to the spirit of liberty, as the other party had believed; but, in fact, to the circumstance, that the French had entered, quite unprepared, into their new state; and, like all those who from external or accidental circumstances, and not by the long continued and enlightened efforts of their own, suddenly shake off the yoke of tyranny and oppression, were disposed to revenge themselves on their former oppressors, and even to be jealous of one another. The permanent effects produced in England by the French revolution, are on the whole salutary and beneficial: it may indeed be the case, that we still retain such an apprehension of any political change, that we shall prefer the continuance to the removal of real and acknowledged abuses; and that, in our dread of new tyrants, we shall not always oppose so unanimously and decidedly as we ought to do, any encroachments of power on the part of our rulers. In short, one consequence produced by the French revolution in England undoubtedly has been, to render us less jealous of our liberty, and more afraid of reforming abuses, than we previously were: but, on the other hand, we have derived great advantages from this event. In political matters we are better able, as well as more disposed, to separate what is really practicable from what is merely visionary, and to prefer the portion of good which we possess, to the danger of losing it in the attempt to increase it.—But it is principally as it regards the feelings and principles of those in whose hands the efficient government of this country must always be placed, that we ought to look for the chief benefits derived from the French revolution. It has been already remarked, that the people are now less disposed than they were before that event, to attempt the removal of political abuses and grievances; they dread the consequences: but, on the other hand, those who govern have also learnt that, by being more disposed to do away with what is wrong, unpopular, or oppressive, they will most effectually prevent the occurrence of those scenes from which France, and through her most of Europe, has suffered. Thus, though in future the people may do less in rendering the government under which they live, more perfect, and more conducive to their liberty and happiness, yet it is to be hoped that those who govern will do more: and certainly, in every respect, it is preferable that the necessary changes or removal of abuses should come from the latter, and not from the former.

There is still another point of view in which the effects of the French revolution, as they regard England,

England, may be considered; we mean the situation in which it has placed the great leading political parties of this country. At the beginning of the revolution there were only two parties, the tories and the whigs: that event called into existence, or at least materially contributed to call into existence, a third party, who carried their notions of liberty still further than the whigs, and who were disposed to make still greater alterations in the English constitution. On some points, however, these two parties agreed; and to both the French revolution was a gratifying event, as they hoped it would fulfil the promise of liberty with which in their opinion it commenced. Of course both the parties were decidedly averse from the war in which England joined the allies against France, and prophesied from it nothing but disgrace and discomfiture. For a very long period their prophecies were accomplished; and from this circumstance they acquired favour and partisans among the people: but, long before the real reverses of the French armies took place, both these parties had greatly fallen in the opinion of enlightened and impartial men.—For a short time the whigs obtained possession of power; and they, unfortunately for themselves, continued during that period to disappoint and disgust the real and rational friends of liberty, by pursuing a mode of conduct in most respects completely at variance with their former principles, professions, and promises;—while they did not secure, by their change of conduct, the approbation or support either of their sovereign or of the other party. But it is the fate of political parties in this kingdom, as more immediately affected by the French revolution, that we are now called upon particularly to consider.

We shall afterwards take occasion to examine, whether the issue of the French revolution ought to accredit that class of politicians in this country who foretold it could not last, as true prophets, and whether the catastrophe was brought about by the means and measures they had all along recommended, as what must ultimately be successful; or whether the destruction of French despotism, and consequent re-establishment of the independence and peace of Europe, were brought about by the adoption of those measures which the whig party had uniformly recommended. We shall also afterwards have occasion to inquire, whether in the issue of the revolution the principles of the whigs or their opponents have actually triumphed. At present, on this subject, it is only necessary to observe, that, as the mass of the people, from whose good opinion and favour, of course, all popularity flows, judge superficially and from appearances, they were induced, by the issue of the French revolution, to withdraw their confidence and good will from the whigs to their opponents;—from those who foretold nothing but continued and increasing disgrace and defeat from a contest with Bonaparte, to those who animated them to perseverance, and the hope of ultimate and complete success. But the influence of the whigs, and still more of that third party, who professed themselves more pure and ardent lovers of liberty than they would allow the whigs to be, declined very much with those who looked deeper than the great bulk of the people, from a cause to which we have already alluded in a former volume. They not only confidently predicted that a contest with Bonaparte was hopeless; that it was worse than hopeless; that it must

terminate in the establishment of his despotism over the whole continent of Europe, and probably in the ruin of our own finances:—they not only held out these alarming anticipations, which of themselves, if not fulfilled, could only indicate an ignorance of human and a want of political foresight;—but they were in a great measure blind to the despotism of Bonaparte. While they were quick sighted with respect to the slightest infringement by ministers on the constitution of England or the liberties of Englishmen, they shut their eyes to the work of destruction and despotism which Bonaparte was carrying on on the continent. It is a lamentable fact, and not easily accounted for, that those who were most loud in their professions of a love of liberty, and most violent against the most trifling violation of it at home, were not only silent respecting the tyranny of Bonaparte, but seemed even inclined to justify, or at least to palliate, all his enormities. This conduct, united to the total failure of all their prophecies respecting the issue of the war, has contracted the influence and the party of the whigs and the friends of sir Francis Burdett within a very narrow sphere;—while ministers, who always anticipated success, and reprobated the despotism of Bonaparte abroad, while at home they discovered a stronger disposition to reform abuses, and to protect the liberty of the subject, than most former ministers, rose in the opinion of the people.

Such appear to have been the most important effects of the French revolution in this country: it has done much to convince those who govern and those who are governed, that their real interest is one and the same; it has taught the former the dangers arising from sudden and violent changes, and consequently rendered them more content and satisfied; and it has taught the latter the dangers arising from blindly and obstinately contemning abuses till they reach such a pitch as to madden the people to rebellion; and consequently induced them, for their own sake, to remove in good time what is highly and generally objectionable and oppressive. The issue of the French revolution has also done much to destroy party in this kingdom,—an event which, all things considered, ought not to be deplored, and to put the people on their guard against those who, while they detest and oppose the slightest symptoms of oppression at home, applaud or overlook the most dreadful tyranny abroad. The insular situation of England, and her command of the ocean, preserved her safe from the hostile attempts of France: a situation nearly similar also preserved Sweden: but this latter country, in common with England, felt the effects of the French revolution. For a considerable length of time, the political relations between Sweden and France had been very close; and the views and measures of the former country, in many respects and on many occasions, had been directed by the opinion or the secret influence of the French court. The natural consequence was, that at the commencement of the French revolution considerable interest was excited in Sweden; and this interest was increased by the circumstance, that the nature of the Swedish government had not very long before undergone an essential change, by which the power of the sovereign was greatly increased, at the expense of the privileges and the authority of the nobility. As the discontent and dissatisfaction to which this

this change had given rise had not entirely subsided, it would have been politic and prudent in the sovereign not to have interfered in foreign concerns, but rather to have devoted himself entirely to the establishment of his newly acquired power. But the same spirit which led Gustavus to repress the aristocracy of Sweden, induced him to proffer his aid in the war which the allies were about to commence against France: the consequence is well known; he lost his life. Sweden had now an opportunity of escaping untouched from all the consequences of the French revolution, except such as might arise from the spread of French principles among her inhabitants.—But the successor of Gustavus was still more eager than he had been to join in the war against France; and unfortunately for himself and his country, his attempts discovered much more zeal than wisdom; and at the period when he was obliged to abandon the throne, he had reduced his country to a state of the greatest distress and poverty. The causes which led to the choice of Bernadotte as crown prince of Sweden are not accurately and fully known; but the result has certainly been favourable to Sweden; so that, on the whole, that country may be instanced as one of the very few that have not suffered any material change, in its political or moral condition, from the French revolution.

It has been the ambition, or the policy, of the sovereigns of Russia, ever since the time of Peter the Great, to bring themselves gradually, and without creating alarm, into close contact with the states of western Europe, and, if possible, to extend their dominion on this side the Vistula; but the resources of that vast empire are so widely scattered, and so little available at a distance, that the Russian sovereigns, though they have enlarged their empire on the south and on the east, have not been able to stretch it out towards the west; nor, with the exception of their wars with Frederick the Great, have they been able to interfere much with the concerns of Europe. It was supposed by many, that Catherine would have embraced the opportunity offered by the French revolution, of taking an active and principal part in the affairs of Europe: but this princess, though undoubtedly ambitious of making Russia a more distinguished and influential member of the European kingdoms, was too cautious and too wise to interfere in a warfare from which she anticipated no good or beneficial result. She knew that her own kingdom was completely safe from the armies of France, and that her subjects could not be seduced by French principles. Her successor acted differently, but only for a short period. The French government, sensible that they could make no impression on Russia by their arms, nor on the mass of the Russian people by their emissaries, succeeded, however, in seducing the sovereign to their cause. The present emperor has pursued very different and opposite lines of conduct. At one time, alarmed at the progress of the French armies, and apprehensive that those who had conquered Austria and Prussia, and thus weakened and nearly destroyed the barriers which lay between them and his empire, might be able at least to force him back within his more ancient limits, he fought against the French; but overcome in the cabinet, if not in the field, he, after a short warfare, yielded himself and his empire up to the plans

plans of Bonaparte. Russia, therefore, would probably not have experienced any very sensible or permanent alteration in her condition, from the French revolution, had not Bonaparte invaded her territories, and in that invasion lost that army, and reputation, which were the one the support and the other the talisman of his power. During this contest, the Russian emperor, as well as the Russian troops, exhibited to astonished and grateful Europe, qualities both of mind and body, which before they were not supposed to possess. The mortal blow which they gave to the power of revolutionary France, not only justified, but called upon them to take a more conspicuous and decided part than they had previously done in the affairs of Europe.—Thus has Russia by the French revolution,—by that very event which at one period threatened to drive her back to her most ancient and barbarous possessions, or at least to establish by the conquest of Germany an insurmountable barrier to her progress westward,—found herself placed in that very situation which has so long been the object of the ambition and the policy of her sovereigns. What will be the ultimate and permanent effects on the fate of Europe, of the commanding and extensive influence which Russia now possesses, it is impossible to foresee; but, whatever they may turn out to be, they must be ascribed to the French revolution: so that it is highly probable, that the future destinies of Russia will be more affected by it than those of any other European state.

We have now to trace the effects of the French revolution on the other states of Europe; on those states which were actually conquered by the French arms, and either incorporated with France, or virtually reduced under her control. The Netherlands and Holland were the first that were subjected; their conquest arose partly from their relative situation with respect to France, partly from their inadequate strength to cope with her, and partly from the disposition and principles of the inhabitants. The respective characters of the people of Holland and of the Netherlands were strongly marked, and in many respects very much at variance with the character of the French. The character of the Dutch was proverbially that of a people intent on nothing so much as gain. Phlegmatic, dull and slow both in their thoughts and in their actions, is it likely that any features of their character will have been changed by their having been so long under the dominion of the French? If we may believe the accounts of their reception of the English after the overthrow of the French power, and of the share which they themselves took in their own liberation, they are still distinguished for indifference and want of energy. Before the French conquered them, they were seldom stimulated to action by any prospect but that of gain; and the French having so long deprived them of all commerce, and consequently of their usual stimulus, it is highly probable that by the French revolution they will be sunk in the scale of political and moral existence; an easy prey to their former conquerors, if they should again be invaded.

The distinguishing feature in the character of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, when the French incorporated that country, was religious ignorance and bigotry: perhaps in no part of Europe,—not even

even excepting Spain and Portugal,—was the religious ignorance and bigotry so deep and firmly rooted. Such a people must have been benefited by their incorporation with France; for, whatever may have been the follies and the vices to which the French revolution gave birth, it undoubtedly had a strong and powerful tendency to shake the empire of superstition. The danger however is, that if by their incorporation with France the inhabitants of the Netherlands have got rid of their superstition, they may not have passed into the opposite extreme of scepticism and irreligion. In another point of view the Netherlands have been less equivocally benefited by the revolution; it has stirred up among the inhabitants a remembrance of their former commercial character and prosperity: so that there is reason to hope that, if the commercial advantages of this country are not sacrificed to Holland, the inhabitants will zealously and successfully make use of them.

It is not difficult to perceive what will be the most important effects of the French revolution on Germany: this country before that event laboured under two evils, which greatly retarded its advancement in political importance, as well as in political and civil liberty; and these evils contributed not a little to its subjugation;—we allude to the number of petty sovereigns which ruled over it, and the insurmountable obstacles which the want of noble birth presented to the employment and rise of talents. All the host of petty sovereigns has been swept away; and the changes which the French effected in Germany were so radical, and continued so long, that it is to be hoped no re-establishment of them can take place. With respect to the other evil to which we alluded, the French revolution has done much to destroy it, not only in Germany but over all Europe. But there is another effect, of a different description, which it is to be hoped will be produced in Germany by the consequences and issue of the French revolution. In no other country of Europe was there such an enthusiastic and general tendency to substitute what was beautiful in theory, for what was practicable, and to pull down existing institutions in the vain hope of replacing them by more perfect fabrics. As the Germans have suffered, perhaps more than any other people, from a revolution which owed its origin to these chimerical notions; and as they have witnessed the result of sudden, extreme and violent change, it is to be hoped that they, as well as those in England who were enthusiastic admirers of the French revolution at its commencement, will for the future entertain more sober and rational ideas on the subject of political reform.

In some respects Italy was similarly situated to Germany, prior to the French revolution. Great part of it being broken into a number of petty states; these cannot be restored, whatever other fate may be destined for their inhabitants; and it may be generally laid down as a sound maxim, that such petty states, in the present condition of Europe, are neither favourable to the liberty and happiness of the people, nor to the tranquillity and independence of Europe itself.—But there is one portion of this fine country, which will probably reap still greater benefit from the French revo-

revolution;—we allude to Naples: whether it remain under the dominion of Murat, or not, it must be bettered by his rule over it. Of all the ancient sovereigns of Europe, perhaps the king of the two Sicilies was the worst qualified to raise the Neapolitans to that rank which they were entitled to hold, from the richness of their country, and those qualities which nature had bestowed upon them, but which long had lain dormant, and overpowered by the imbecility and vices of their government. They required a sovereign who would infuse into them activity and energy; who would teach them their own capabilities. This, Murat, whatever be his crimes, has certainly done; and whether he retain possession of the throne of Naples or not, the Neapolitans must be benefited by having had him to reign over them.

Of all the countries of Europe, Spain in all probability will be the least affected, either with good or evil, by the French revolution. Her virtual subjection to Bonaparte (and, if he had been content with a virtual dominion over her, she would have offered no resistance,) was the consequence, not of the predilection of the inhabitants to French principles, but entirely of the imbecility and corruption of her government: and the event has fully proved, that her subsequent resistance, sprang not from any real love of independence and liberty, nor indicated any knowledge of their principles, or estimate of their worth and value, but principally, if not entirely, from national hatred to the French; from the influence of the priests on their superstitions, and from a blind and almost instinctive attachment to their own sovereign. It is a singular, but a lamentable fact, that a nation which fought during six years against the invaders of their country, associated with the soldiers of the freest nation on the face of the earth, and which for part of that period actually enjoyed the comparatively free constitution of their forefathers, should permit themselves to be thrown back into a still more grievous despotism than that under which they had previously groaned. But that this is too likely to be the fate of Spain, we shall have occasion to point out in a subsequent part of this volume.

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CHAPTER X.

Domestic History of England—Most important Questions discussed in Parliament during the Session of 1813-14.—*Proposed Alteration in the Corn Laws—The Subject of the Corn Trade very difficult as well as important—has engaged the Attention of the Legislatures of all Countries—Sketch of the different Laws, regulating the Commerce in Corn, which have been formed in this Country—Laws respecting Importation—respecting Exportation—Arguments and Opinions respecting the proposed Alteration in the Corn Laws—Concluding Remarks.*

THE most interesting and important of the domestic affairs and events of Great Britain, during the year 1814, now claim our notice; and according to our usual arrangement, we shall in the first place consider those subjects which were discussed in parliament. Of these, the most deeply and vitally important, and at the same time that which excited the most general and anxious attention and interest was the state of the corn laws. We are fully sensible of the difficulty of the question on this point; of the great variety, comprehensiveness, and abstruseness of the principles and points which it involves; and also of the liability to which we, in common with all who attempt to discuss it, are exposed, of thinking and deciding under the influence of prejudice. But nevertheless we shall endeavour to lay before our readers a concise and plain state of the question.

The legislature of every country, and of Great Britain in nearly an equal degree with other countries, has been at all times very fond of interfering in the commerce of the subject; and this interference has been continued even after experience, and a more complete and enlightened knowledge of political œconomy, had fully proved that it was much more likely to produce mischief than good. Those articles respecting which all legislatures have interfered the most frequently are grain and money; the latter they were extremely anxious to keep within the kingdom, considering it to be not the source and means of wealth merely, but wealth itself; and their laws for this purpose have remained on the statute book and been called into action, even after it had been proved that money was not wealth, that it only commanded wealth, that it was only useful when exchanged for real wealth; and that therefore it was actually curbing the tendency of a nation towards prosperity, instead of accelerating and assisting it, to endeavour to prevent the free commerce of money; and after it was moreover proved, that all laws on this subject were ineffectual; and that if private interest, or the necessities, comforts, or luxuries of a nation, required that money should be exported, new laws could prevent it.

In some respects the laws regarding grain stood on a different foundation; and the legislature seemed to be acting on wiser principles, as well as aiming at what was more practicable, when it endeavoured

deavoured to regulate the commerce of this commodity. In the first place, it seemed highly proper that the people of the country in which the grain was grown should be protected in the cheap and abundant purchase of it; and in the second place, the export of grain, it being a very bulky commodity could not possibly be carried on if the legislature chose to prevent it.

Accordingly the legislature of all countries, from a very early period, have interfered in the commerce of grain; and it may be proper, before we inquire into the necessity, the justice, or the advantage of altering the corn laws of Great Britain as they now stand, to give a short historical abstract of the principal laws which have been passed on this subject.

"Corn is to be considered both as food and merchandize." The providing it either by growing or importing; its preservation for use or sale; the preparation of it for food by grinding and baking; the fixing, or rather declaring, the price of bread, and what weight the same should be of, according to the price of corn, are particulars which have at all times, and in all places, been more or less the care of the legislature, and fallen under the direction of the civil magistrate. The parliaments of this kingdom, as appears by the statute book, have frequently had this matter under their consideration, and generally treated it, in the view we have mentioned above, both as food and merchandize. In almost every statute which attempts any regulation in this trade, we may visibly discern they have endeavoured to order it so, that, while they were guarding against any thing which might tend to distress the poor, tillage should not be discouraged. The preceding observations, from the author of the tracts on the corn trade, very briefly and impartially state the two great objects which the legislature in all their acts on this subject have had in view: and in our retrospect of the different laws that have been passed to regulate the commerce of grain, as well as in our investigation into the necessity or justice of a revision and alteration of those laws, it will be proper to recollect, that there are two objects which ought always carefully to be kept in view, viz. the encouragement of tillage, and the cheap and full and regular supply of the poor with bread.

It appears from the provisions of ancient statutes, and particularly from the preamble of statute 15 Henry VI. cap. 2, that it was not lawful to carry corn out of the kingdom without the license of the king. By this statute, permission was first given to export several sorts of corn out of the realm, whenever the price of each sort was at or below the prices therein mentioned; and in Madox's History of the Exchequer, there is an account of several fines imposed for exporting corn without license, in very early times. In the year 1548, the 5th of Edward VI. the price at which corn was allowed to be exported was fixed at 6*s.* 8*d.* of the money of that period; equivalent to at least 40*s.* of the money of the present time. Between the year 1548 and the year 1627, the 3d of Charles I., there were eight several acts passed, altering the exportation price; so that by the last act in 1627, it was raised to 32*s.* of the money of that period. There is no evidence that during the civil war the legislature interfered

fered in the commerce of grain; or, at least, altered the existing laws on this subject. But, on the Restoration, in 1660, the exportation price was immediately set at 40*s.* per quarter, and three years afterwards it was raised to 48. By this law it was enacted, that when wheat did not exceed that price, every person might buy, lay up, and keep the same, and sell it again, under such regulations as the act laid down. This was a virtual repeal of the acts 5 and 6 of Edward VI. and 5 of Elizabeth, at least so far as they regarded licensing, till wheat was at 48*s.* In the year 1670, an act was passed allowing wheat to be exported, even after it exceeded 48*s.*, on paying a certain duty. This was a great deviation from the former laws on this subject; but in 1688 a still greater deviation took place; for in that year an act was passed, repealing all duty, and giving a bounty of 5*s.* per quarter on exportation, till the home price should rise above 48*s.* per quarter. This act of king William seems to have arisen out of an act passed in the 22 Charles II. for the improvement of tillage. From the Revolution till the year 1766 the corn laws appear to have been framed for the purpose of encouraging the exportation of grain. It will now be proper to consider the laws previous to this latter period, which regulated the importation of that commodity. From several very ancient statutes, which it is unnecessary to particularize, it seems that it was generally lawful to import foreign corn into this kingdom; but by the statute 3 Edward IV. several sorts of foreign corn were, for the first time, prohibited to be imported, till the price of each in the home market exceeded the respective prices mentioned in the statute. This statute continued in force till the 21st of James I. when it was repealed, and the importation of foreign corn was again generally permitted: but corn so imported was always subject to a duty, that varied according to the law in each period.

We have thus ascertained the respective periods at which a bounty on exportation was given, and a duty on importation levied; the former took place at the time of the Revolution, in 1688; the latter, in the reign of James I.

The act formed in the 22d of Charles II. for the encouragement of tillage has been already noticed: by this act, the importation of foreign corn first began to be regulated in the manner that subsists at present; that is, by imposing high duties when the price of each sort of corn did not exceed certain prices, and low duties when it exceeded the said prices. By this statute, when wheat was at 53*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, it might be imported on paying a duty of 6*s.*; when above that price, but not exceeding 80*s.*, a duty of 8*s.* Till the first year of James II. no rule had been enacted for ascertaining the prices according to which the high or low duties on corn imported were to take place; but as it was then found by experience, that great quantities of corn had been imported, without paying the proper duties, rules were laid down by the 1st of James II. for ascertaining the average price of the English corn market. Since that period, the mode of ascertaining the prices has been frequently altered: but as this is a branch of our subject

ject of comparatively little moment, we shall not particularize the alterations.

Between the Revolution and the year 1766, when an essential alteration took place in the corn laws, exportation was for a short time prohibited four several times; viz. in the years 1699, 1709, 1741, and 1757; and by the 30th of George II. the duties on the importation of corn were suspended till the 24th of August 1757, and importation was allowed, duty free, in ships of foreign nations, in amity with Great Britain. But, with these exceptions, the corn trade was regulated from the Revolution till the year 1766 on the principle of granting bounties on exportation, and fixing duties on importation.

In the month of September 1766, a sudden apprehension of a scarcity gave rise to an embargo on all the ships loaded with grain. That this apprehension was unfounded, was sufficiently proved by the fact, that after all, during the year 1766, less grain was imported than exported. In the following year, however, the feeling of alarm seems to have extended itself to parliament; for laws were made prohibiting the exportation of grain, and allowing the importation free of all duty: these were renewed in the year 1768; and the legislature now annually passed laws to enact the same regulations during each of the five subsequent years, in the last of which the prohibition to export, and the privilege of importing, grain duty free was continued till the 1st of February 1774. Before that time arrived, however, a new permanent system of corn laws was established; for by the 13th of George III. wheat was allowed to be imported, on paying the low duty of 6*d.* whenever the price in the home market was 48*s.* per quarter, and a bounty of 5*s.* per quarter was granted on exportation, whenever the price of wheat in the home market was under 44*s.* per quarter. This act continued in force till the 31st of George III. 1791, when the importation price as well as the duty on importation were raised; the former being fixed at 50*s.* instead of 48*s.* per quarter; and the latter at 2*s.* 6*d.* instead of 6*d.* By the same act, the exportation price of wheat and the bounty on exportation were continued the same as they had been fixed by the act of 1773. In the year 1804 the corn laws were again revised: by this act, the importation price of wheat was raised to 63*s.* per quarter; but the duty payable on importation, when wheat was at that price, was continued at 2*s.* 6*d.* By the same law, the exportation price of wheat was raised to 48*s.* a quarter, while the bounty payable on wheat exported at that price was continued at 5*s.* per quarter.

During the session of 1812-13, a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the corn laws, which had continued unaltered since the year 1804. This committee consisted principally of Irish members; and the evidence they examined, as well as the report which they drew up, related principally to the agricultural state and interests of Ireland, and was besides very meagre and unsatisfactory. The appointment of this committee, however, excited very great alarm throughout the kingdom; and as it was naturally supposed that the corn laws would again come before parliament, during

during the session of 1813-14, meetings were held in almost every part of the kingdom, and petitions presented to the house of commons and lords against any alteration in them.

We have already seen that the object of the legislature, in all the acts which they passed for regulating the commerce of corn, had two distinct objects in view: the encouragement of tillage, or arable husbandry; and the supply of the poor with a sufficiency of corn at a reasonable rate. Now the landowners and the farmers, who were desirous of an alteration of the corn laws of the year 1804, contended that the first object, the encouragement of arable husbandry, could not be completely and permanently secured, unless these laws were altered; for though 63s. per quarter for wheat, the price at which by the law of 1804 it was permitted to be imported—might, in conjunction with the duty of 4Cs. per quarter at that time, have been a sufficient protection of the farmer against the foreign grower of that grain, yet it was a very inadequate protection in the year 1814: they further contended, that in order to give the same encouragement to the landed interest of this country in 1814, which had been granted in 1804, it would be necessary to fix the importation price of wheat at least as high as 80s. per quarter. With respect to any alteration in the export prices, they seemed less anxious; though they maintained that no injury to the country could arise from allowing, at all times, the unrestrained exportation of grain.

In the latter opinion the legislature coincided with them; and accordingly an act was passed to that effect. At first sight this act may appear fraught with alarming consequences; but a little reflection will convince that, circumstanced as Britain is, it can have no bad effects. The growers of corn, as well as all who deal in it, will naturally look out for the best market for their commodity; and of course they will not send it abroad so long as they can get a price for it at home, even less than what it would command abroad, by the whole amount of the expense of freight, insurance, &c. Now the corn market of Great Britain has long been that in which the highest prices have been given: to allow therefore free exportation, is, in other words, to allow those interested in the commerce of grain to carry it abroad to a worse market than they can find at home. But it may be said that, in times of great scarcity abroad, the prices there may rise so much above the prices of the home market, as to render it the interest of the corn merchants to export corn; and thus, by this new law, the price of corn will be raised to the inhabitants of the country in which it is grown, while foreigners will obtain it at a cheaper rate. But as the king in council possesses the authority of putting a stop to exportation whenever it may be deemed necessary, there is no danger that such occurrences will take place: the new law therefore, respecting free exportation, appears to us to be a nugatory law,—a law which can do neither good nor harm.

But though the legislature altered the corn laws of 1804 as they respected exportation, they did not deem it proper during the session of 1813-14 to alter those laws as they respected the importation of corn. Much discussion nevertheless took place on the subject; and

evidence was examined by committees, both of the house of lords and house of commons. There were several points which those committees endeavoured to ascertain by means of the persons whom they examined: the principal of these points regarded, first, the expense of cultivating wheat in this kingdom, and consequently the price at which the farmer could afford to sell it;—secondly, the expense of cultivating wheat in those countries from which it was commonly imported into Great Britain, and the expense of importing it; and consequently the price at which foreign grain could be sold in this market; and lastly, the connection between the price of corn and the price of agricultural and manufacturing labour. The landed interest contended that corn could not be sold in this country, so as to repay all the expenses of its cultivation, and leave a proper profit to the farmer, unless the price averaged at least 80*s.* per quarter; and that, as foreign corn could be brought into this market at a lower price than 80*s.* the landed interest, as well as the arable husbandry of Britain, would be eventually injured, unless the farmers were secured by duties on importation, as well as by raising the importation price in the average receipt of at least 80*s.* per quarter for their wheat. It was further contended on this side of the question, that though by this alteration of the corn laws the price of wheat would undoubtedly be raised at first, yet ultimately and permanently it would be rendered lower; and thus both the great objects which the legislature had always had in their view, in the different corn laws which they had passed, viz. the encouragement of tillage, and a steady and regular supply of grain at a moderate and reasonable price, would be effectually obtained and secured. The opponents to any alteration of the corn laws may be divided into two classes; into those who, willing to give legislative encouragement to agriculture, and to secure a market for home-grown grain, yet maintained that the importation price of 1804 was amply sufficient for both these objects, and that to raise the importation price from 63*s.* to 80*s.* would only be to enrich the land owners at the expense of the community, without either protecting or encouraging tillage, or really benefiting the farmer by placing him in a better condition than he was placed in by the corn laws of 1804. The other class went much further: they were averse to all legislation on the subject of corn; they would permit free importation as well as free exportation, and buy foreign corn in preference to home-grown corn, if it could be purchased cheaper.

The first point which the advocates for a new corn bill were called upon to prove, was, that a higher importation price was necessary for the protection and encouragement of our agriculture;—the next point, that, by fixing a higher importation price, corn would ultimately and permanently be rendered more plentiful and cheaper. If they could succeed in proving the last point, there was no necessity to go into the question respecting the connection between the price of labour and the price of corn; but if they failed in their proof of this point, and if they could only prove that though a higher importation price might render grain permanently dearer, yet it was absolutely necessary for the encouragement of domestic

domestic agriculture, then it was indispensable in them to attempt the proof, that high-priced corn would not produce high-priced labour; since, if they failed to prove this, it might be a matter of great doubt whether agriculture ought to be protected, at the expense not only of obliging the inhabitants to pay a high price for their bread, but also of our manufactures, which could not possibly stand a competition in the foreign market, if the rate of wages paid to the manufacturers rose in proportion to that high price of corn which the proposed new corn bill was calculated and intended to produce.

No doubt could be entertained that the agriculture of this country had greatly improved in the course of the last half century; and that this improvement consisted in two very important articles: in the first place, more corn was produced, partly by more land having been improved, and partly by more skilful management; and in the second place, agricultural operations were carried on with less labour. On both these accounts, therefore, the presumption was, that though the farmer now paid a higher rent for his land, greater wages to his workmen, bought his stock at a higher rate, and laboured under a much heavier taxation than he did half a century ago; yet by reaping a more abundant produce, and employing less labour in obtaining that produce, than he did half a century ago, he would at least be on as favourable a footing as he had been at that period. The farmer, therefore, had a difficult case to make out. Nevertheless all the witnesses examined were consonant and decided in their opinion (and that opinion they corroborated and illustrated by facts and calculations) that unless 80*s.* per quarter were secured to the farmer for his wheat, he would not be able to carry on his business. It does not appear that, either in parliament or out of it, any objections were made to these statements of the witnesses: but the general reply to them was, that the farmers had too high rents; and that, if the rents were as moderate as they ought to be, they could afford to sell their wheat much below 80*s.* per quarter. The fact was notorious, that ever since the dear years of 1795 and 1799, and especially since the latter period, agricultural speculations had been carried on in the most absurd and extravagant manner; and farmers, in the expectation that the very high price which corn brought at those seasons would continue, had eagerly overbid one another, and advanced the rent of land to an enormous amount. These facts, however, were not so strong against the case and statements of the farmers as they at first sight appeared; for, in the first place, their calculations showed, that in estimating 80*s.* per quarter as a necessary price to reimburse the farmer, they had not taken the rents of land nearly so high as the rash and blameable speculations alluded to had raised them: they had certainly stated them higher than they were when the corn bill passed in 1804, but not higher in proportion than the price of almost all commodities had advanced: in the second place, the rent assumed in the calculations of the farmers who were examined, formed comparatively a very small part of the expense of cultivating their land; so that some of them maintained that, even on the supposition that they paid *no rent*, they should not be able to compete with

the foreign grower of corn in the home market. Still, however, it was contended that the price of corn and the rent of land were at war prices; that during the war we were forced to endure these prices, because we either could not get corn from abroad, or it would not have been prudent and safe to have depended on foreigners for our supply of this necessary article; but that now, the nation being at peace, the prices ought to be forced down to their natural level, by allowing foreign corn to be imported at the price fixed in 1804. It was further contended, that even if the price of corn were kept up to 100*s.* per quarter, the farmer would be in no better condition than he was at present; because the rent of land would rise in proportion, in the same manner as it had risen with the increased price of corn in 1795 and 1799; and the price of the labour which the farmer employed, and of all the articles which he bought, would also undergo a similar and proportionate rise. The last part of this argument was also made use of by the opponents of any alteration in the corn laws, in another point of view, which has been already hinted at. They maintained that, as the price of labour was regulated by the price of corn, to raise the importation price of foreign grain would be fatal to our manufactories, as the immediate consequence would be a rise in the price of grain, and the indirect though equally certain consequence, a rise in the wages of labour, which would of course render us incapable of competing with foreign manufactures in their own market.

To these observations the advocates for the alteration in the corn laws urged the following replies: in the first place, on the supposition that by means of this alteration the price of wheat per quarter were kept up to 80*s.* this price could not possibly tempt farmers to give a higher rent for their land, since it had been shown in evidence, that 80*s.* per quarter was necessary to pay the rent of those farmers, which had not been taken on rash and extravagant terms. With respect to what was urged by some on this part of the subject, that if 63*s.* per quarter, the old importation price, were not sufficient to enable the farmer to cultivate his farm properly, pay his rent, and gain a fair profit on his capital, the landlord must lower his rent, it was replied, that the farmer himself would be the first sufferer; for it was not to be expected that, while he possessed any capital, the landlord would give up any part of his rent: the consequences therefore would be, that agricultural capital would be diminished, and agriculture itself would suffer. In the second place, the advocates for the alteration maintained that, though by it the price of corn would at first be increased, yet by the encouragement it held out to agriculture the price would ultimately and permanently be lowered. In support of this assertion, they appealed to the fact, that so long as the importation prices had been high, and a bounty had been given on exportation, that is, so long as the British farmer was protected in his own market, and also enabled to compete with the foreign grower in a foreign market, so long the price of corn had been steadily low; and therefore that it was no paradox to assert, that to encourage agriculture by securing to the farmer a high price for his corn, was the most effectual mode of supplying the nation with

grain

grain in regular abundance and at a moderate price. But the fact appealed to is of very questionable application: so many circumstances affect the price of corn, that it is hardly safe or fair to attribute it positively to any particular cause: it is not difficult, however, to perceive in what manner an ample market and high price secured to the farmer for his corn, should operate ultimately in producing a more abundant supply, and consequently a lower price; for supply necessarily follows demand; and if, either by keeping the foreign grower out of the home market, or by enabling by means of a bounty the home grower to go to a foreign market, or by both these circumstances combined, there is a greater demand than usual for home-grown grain, there can be no doubt that more home-grown grain will be grown. But it may be said that, if the price falls in consequence of an increased supply, the farmer will be reduced to his former state; and that therefore it is impossible that the same measure should protect his interest and benefit the nation by an abundant and cheap supply of corn. But it should be considered that a greater supply may be provided two ways; either by taking more land into cultivation, or by such improved modes of agriculture as will enable the farmer either to reduce his expenses and have the same produce, or to have a greater produce at the same expense, or to combine both advantages of diminished expenses and increased produce. There are other circumstances connected with this branch of the subject, which we shall consider before we proceed to the third topic, the alleged connection between the price of labour and the price of corn; and these circumstances are of no small importance in coming to a thorough knowledge of this most difficult and important subject.

"Notwithstanding the utmost foresight concerning the quantity of wheat sown, and the greatest industry in the cultivation of land, the nature of the season always has and always will have such a share in deciding the amount of the produce, that an attempt to command an average supply, which is the interest and must therefore be the aim of the farmer, will in an unfavourable season give rise to a fatal degree of scarcity; a circumstance which can only be avoided by artificially creating an augmentation of demand sufficient to induce the grower of grain to calculate upon an increased average supply." Let us suppose, for instance, that the population of England requires eight million quarters of wheat annually, on the average of a series of years,—that quantity of land will be sown with wheat, which with a fair crop will produce as nearly as possible eight million quarters; for it is surprising, wherever the demand is steady and regular, how nicely the supply adapts itself to it. But the quantity of land which in a fair season will produce eight millions of quarters, will in an unfavourable season probably not produce two-thirds of that quantity; or perhaps not more than will supply the population eight months at their usual rate of allowance. The dreadful consequences which would otherwise result from such a great failure, are partly obviated by the natural tendency of a high price to diminish consumption: but as this would only in part lessen the evil, it is desirable that some scheme should be adopted to render its

pressure still lighter. Now it is evident, that if a demand were secured to the farmer for one-fourth more than what we have supposed to be the average demand, or for ten million instead of eight million quarters, the produce of the country in a season as unfavourable as that supposed would, at the usual rate of consumption, last ten months instead of eight. But this increased demand must come from a foreign market, in which the home grower may be enabled to sell with profit at a reduced price. By this increase of demand an augmentation of the supply of grain is ensured; whilst in years of scarcity, by shutting the ports, this increased produce becomes available to the home consumer, and supplies that deficiency to which the hand of nature has given rise.

But we must now advert to the third objection urged against raising the importation price of corn; viz. that the wages of labour will be raised, and consequently our manufacturers will be rendered unable to find a foreign market for their goods; while the farmer, paying dearer for every thing, will not in fact be benefited by raising the importation price. The opinion, that there is a necessary and inseparable connection between the price of corn and the wages of labour, is very general: but setting aside for the present all appeal to facts, the justice of this opinion may well be questioned; for, let us see what naturally takes place with respect to the demand for labour, and the supply of it, when provisions are dear, and when they are cheap: and first, with respect to the demand for labour when provisions are cheap: if it is for an article of home consumption, the demand will be increased; but will the supply of labour be equally increased? By no means, quite the reverse: whoever is in the smallest degree acquainted with our manufacturing towns must know, that when the workmen can support themselves with the labour of four days in the week, few of them will work six days; so that, generally speaking, whenever the wages are high, or provisions are cheap, there is comparatively little industry. Whereas when provisions are high, not only those who before would work only four days a week, offer to work six days, or even by working extra hours to make out seven days in the week, and thus in fact produce a great increased supply of labour; but many who before, from age, infirmity, or other causes, did no work, now press forward to be supplied; while, on the other hand, if the manufacture is for home consumption, the same increased price of provisions, which created a greater supply of labour, will create a lessened demand for it, by creating a diminished demand for the commodities produced by it.

But there is no occasion to consider this topic generally: if on any point the evidence laid before the committee on the corn laws was satisfactory and complete, it was on this, that the wages, at least of manufacturing labour, and the price of corn are totally unconnected: tables exhibiting the wages of manufacturing labour in different parts of the kingdom, during a series of years, and the price of corn during the same series of years, were given in; from which if any general conclusion could be drawn it was this, that so far from the wages of labour rising with the high price of corn, and falling when corn falls, the reverse was the case;—the price of labour, like the

the price of every thing else, depending entirely on the proportion between the supply and demand.

Hitherto we have considered the controversy respecting the corn laws, as entirely between those who contended that the importation price should be raised, as necessary to protect British agriculture; and those who, while they allowed that British agriculture ought to be protected by legislative interference, agreed that its real interests were sufficiently protected by the importation price of 1801, and that to raise it higher could not benefit it, while it would enrich the land owners at the expense of the nation. We shall now briefly state the arguments of those who were of opinion that the commerce in corn ought to be entirely free, and the replies given to these arguments by the advocates for the corn laws.

The advocates for a free trade in corn contend, that it must always be for the benefit of the great mass of the people, to procure corn, as well as every other commodity, from those places where it can be afforded at the cheapest rate; and that it seems the dictate of common sense, as well as of sound policy, to act in this manner, instead of giving a higher price for any article merely because it is grown or manufactured at home. In reply to the observation, that it is of the utmost consequence, that, in the supply of corn, at least, we should be independent of foreign nations, they observe that corn may always be obtained for its equivalent;—that if it be the fact that the labour and capital of this country can be rendered more available and productive when employed in a different manner from the raising of corn, the produce of the labour and capital, thus employed, will exchange for more corn than could be got by the direct application of that labour and capital to the raising it. All laws therefore which prevent the free importation of corn at all times, only benefit the landowner, while they oblige the consumer to pay a higher price, and have a less supply of corn than he otherwise could. Bounties, on the other hand, not only take out of the home market what would probably otherwise remain there, but oblige the consumer to be at the expense of taking away corn from himself. On these accounts they would leave the corn trade quite free and open.

To these arguments it has been replied, that as corn is undoubtedly a most essential article, we ought not to depend for our regular and sufficient supply of it, on foreign nations; and that it is much better to be certain of a regular and full supply within ourselves, even though we pay a higher price for it, than to be thus dependent. Besides, it is not fair to the land-owner to propose to make the corn trade free, while almost all the productions of British industry are protected from foreign competition, either by the absolute prohibition of foreign articles, or by high duties on their importation; while many of our manufactures are enabled to compete with foreign manufactures in their own markets, by bounties or drawbacks on exportation. Let therefore, it is urged, the corn trade be put on the same footing with the other branches of our industry; otherwise capital will be naturally drawn from the unprotected to the protected branch of industry. "It is certain then that perfect freedom of intercourse, however salutary, when extended generally to every branch of commerce, would be

attended with fatal effects, either to the corn trade, or to a trade in any other commodity to which it was exclusively confined, whilst all other branches of industry continued to enjoy the advantages arising from bounties and prohibitory duties."

The general conclusions to which on this difficult and important subject we should be disposed to come, and which are borne out by the evidence laid before parliament, are, —that the high price of corn, which the farmers declare they ought to have in order to reimburse themselves and protect British agriculture, arises not so much from the general prevalence of exorbitant rents, or of exorbitant profits by the farmer, as from the great expense of taxation, and the consequent advance in the wages of labour and the price of all commodities;—that the rents of lands, and the profits of farmers, and the price of grain, have not risen in a greater proportion than the rate of taxation and the price of commodities have increased;—and that therefore, to lower the price of corn considerably, by allowing the free competition of foreign corn, would be to reduce the land owners and farmers below their proper level in society, and thus both directly and indirectly to injure domestic agriculture.—At any rate, if the price of the produce of land is to be materially lowered, it would be but fair and just that the poor rates, which at present cannot be rated at less than 8,000,000*l.* per annum, and which are paid entirely by the land, should be paid by commercial and manufacturing as well as landed capital.

CHAPTER XI.

History of the Political Œconomy of Great Britain during 1814 *continued—Question respecting the Assize of Bread—Evidence before Parliament respecting East India Shipping—Remarks on that Subject—Its different Bearings—State of the Finances—Question respecting the Necessity or Justice of continuing the Income Tax discussed—The Advantages and Disadvantages of this Tax examined—Proposed Changes in it, if it be continued—State of Commerce; and future Prospect of it.*

IN our last chapter we stated the opinions of those political œconomists who were decidedly averse to all legislative interference in the concerns of commerce, and especially to all such interference in the commerce of corn. We shall now advert to a subject, which though as a matter worthy of the notice and record of the historian it may seem of comparatively little magnitude and importance, yet deserves to be attended to, as pointing out and illustrating a very material and interesting part of the history of British finance as well as political œconomy. We allude to the high price of bread; a subject which not only early in the year 1814, but also during the preceding year, called forth a very general and deep interest in the public mind. In the same manner as the legislature considered it their duty, and for the good and protection of the people, to pass laws regarding the exportation and importation of corn, they also thought it necessary, for the same reasons, to interfere in pointing out the mode in which the price of bread

bread was to be fixed and regulated. This indeed was first done in the very earliest and darkest ages of British legislation, when the government thought it proper or necessary to interfere on every point of purchase, and that it would be wrong to permit the prices of commodities to settle, of their own accord, at that rate which the proportion between the supply and demand must always determine; and also at a period when the concerns of British commerce were comparatively very confined, simple, and trifling in amount. But it is worthy of remark, and we have introduced this subject in some degree to call the attention of our readers to the fact, that while the government of this country has been advancing rapidly, and in a more steady and regular pace than the government of any other country, at least in Europe, towards very liberal views, and very wise and patriotic measures, with respect to the security and political, civil and religious freedom of the people; it has scarcely advanced one step beyond other governments in the comprehensiveness and solidity of the principles on which it legislates and acts with regard to commerce; and this is the more extraordinary, since it might naturally be supposed that, in a country like Britain, where commerce had been carried on so long to a much greater extent, and in all the varieties of its most complicated and most important relations, it would long before this have been discovered that commerce flourishes best, and attains to the most lengthened and vigorous duration, when left entirely to itself; and that the sagacity of no government can be so acute in discovering what is beneficial to it, as the interest of those engaged in its concerns.

However extraordinary the circumstance may be, it is nevertheless undoubtedly true, that the legislature of Britain still interferes too much in matters of trade and commerce: in one respect, indeed, this interference may be deemed necessary, and within its immediate and peculiar province; we allude to the large amount of the taxes which are derived from articles of commerce; but it is still questionable, in our opinion, whether it might not be practicable for the legislature to enact in such a manner as to secure taxes of this description, without stepping beyond their legitimate province, and attempting to regulate, to protect, or to extend the commerce of the country. At any rate, the excuse for this interference, which we have just hinted at, will not avail them respecting their legislating in fixing the price of bread; they must be defended here, on the plea, that such interference is necessary in order to prevent the community from being forced to pay a higher price for this necessary of life, than they ought to do, and than they will do, when their interference is exercised. Though we are still too apt to confound what is right or necessary with what has been long established, yet we should ridicule the idea of fixing the price of meat, or of woollen or cotton cloth, in the same manner as the price of bread is fixed; and when we read that in ancient times our government interfered with the sale and the price of almost every commodity, and established a monopoly of some of the most essential articles of life, we cannot help pitying the fate of our ancestors, and condemning the absurd, mischievous, and selfish policy of their rulers. And yet, to the

the eye of common sense and impartiality, it is not easy to perceive how it can be just, or advantageous to the community, to fix the price of bread, and unjust or prejudicial to the community for the legislature to interfere in regulating the price of meat, or woollen or cotton cloth.

We have already stated that we have introduced this subject, not so much because it falls immediately within our province, or because of itself it is of great importance; but because we consider it the duty of the historian and the annalist, to take every opportunity to give his readers an insight, not merely into the manners and habits of the age of which he treats, but also into the state of their knowledge on subjects both of general policy and political œconomy; and yet this branch of the duty of the annalist and historian is too frequently neglected or despised, especially in so far as it relates to the marking of the progress which governments, as well as the governed, have made in those most important branches of knowledge to which we have just alluded. Influenced by this consideration, we shall briefly state the arguments that were advanced, during the discussion on the price of bread, by those who were of opinion that government ought to continue its interference in fixing it, and by those who thought that the price of bread, like the price of many other things, ought to be left to find its own level.

It is hardly necessary to inform our readers, that in London, and in other parts of the kingdom, the magistrates are empowered, but not obliged, to fix the price of bread according to the average price of flour, for a certain period: the complaint, especially in London, was, that the price of flour was during the year 1813 more especially much higher than the price of wheat warranted, and consequently that the magistrate was under the necessity of fixing the price of bread much higher than it ought to be. The excessive and disproportioned price of flour, it was contended, arose from the combinations of the flour-merchants, and from the circumstance that the bakers, from whose returns the magistrate fixed the assize of bread, being either interested themselves, or under the influence of the flour-merchants, gave in false returns, or at least only returned the best kinds of flour, which they of course bought at the highest prices. This was the complaint: we shall afterwards consider to what cause, if it was well founded, the subject of it ought to be ascribed: we are now to consider the remedy that was proposed by it; and this we do, principally for the purpose of pointing out the small advances which we have hitherto made in the science of political œconomy. Those who were of opinion that the legislature acted wisely in fixing the price of bread, but who at the same time complained that their interference was by no means effectual in securing to the public that article at a reasonable rate, proposed to remedy the evil by extending the interference of government: but when it became necessary to point out the advantages, and even the practicability, of further interference, they exhibited only the most crude, prejudiced and illiberal notions on the subject. The fact was, that the evil complained of originated principally, if not entirely, from the interference of the legislature already exercised, and that by extending that interference it would have been confirmed and increased instead of being removed.

It

It might be supposed, that experience had sufficiently established the general principle in political œconomy, that free and general competition is the best and indeed the only security for a regular, sufficient and cheap supply; and that it is impossible for all the wisdom and vigilance which government can exercise, to effect this desirable purpose, with the same certainty as free and general competition. When government interferes to fix the price of any commodity, it is the interest of all who deal in it, to combine for the purpose of eluding the enactments of government; and thus the community suffers; whereas, when government does not interfere, there is so far from being a common interest in the dealers, that the reverse is the case; each of them is convinced, that he can succeed in his business only by selling his commodity of the best quality, and on the cheapest possible terms.

The peculiar circumstances of the country, overloaded as it is with taxation; the necessity of freeing ourselves as much as possible from dependence on foreign nations for our grain; the importance of protecting domestic agriculture; and the just claim which the land owners seem to have on the government for this protection, may perhaps demand or excuse the interference of the legislature in regulating the importation and exportation of grain:—but there does not appear to us the same reason for such interference in regulating what may be called purely a domestic commerce,—the price of bread.

On this subject, the prejudices and supposed interests of the consumers called for legislative interference, and opposed the application of liberal and enlightened principles of political œconomy: but on the next subject to which we are about to revert, the interference of the legislature was called for by those who were the producers or proprietors, and not by the bulk of the nation; and it generally happens in all cases of commercial legislation, that the trade and interests of a few are protected at the expense of the interests of the many.

The subject to which we are now about to advert, relates to the question agitated in parliament, and on which very full and detailed evidence was taken, viz. whether the navigation laws should be suspended in favour of ships built in the East Indies.

The utility or necessity of the navigation laws at the period when they were first practically enacted, viz. in the reign of Charles II, has been generally admitted, even by those political œconomists who are on principle and decidedly averse to all attempts, on the part of the government, to force into existence, or to foster to maturity, any species of trade, or to direct the enterprise and capital of a nation to any particular branch of industry; and upon this ground chiefly has the utility or the necessity of those laws been admitted;—that their object was not primarily, or principally, much less exclusively, to encourage ship-building in this country, or to compel by legislative interference the British merchants to import or export their goods only in British ships, even though at a much greater expense of freight;—but there was another and higher object in view; an object which looked to and embraced the safety and protection of the nation at large, and in comparison with which all objects of partial or temporary interest sunk into nothing. It was evident that Britain, from her insular situation, could

could not be safe from the invasion of the continental powers, nor, in case of a war, protect her own commerce, unless she were powerful at sea: it was therefore of the utmost importance that she should as speedily as possible have at her command, at all times, a supply of experienced sailors; and that, moreover, she should be capable of building her ships of war with skill.—Now these objects, it was supposed, at the period when the navigation acts were passed, could best be effected by these acts, by which, generally speaking, in the first place, no trade could be carried on between the mother country and her colonies, except in British built and manned ships; and in the second place, no foreign goods could be imported into Great Britain, except either in the ships belonging to the particular country of which the goods were the produce or manufacture, or else in British built and manned ships.

It is not, however, very obvious that there was any necessity, in order to secure the main object of these laws, that the ships should be built in Britain, as well as manned by British sailors; for, provided the latter were effectually secured, a supply of good sailors was certain; and it may also be remarked, that the preventing the colonies from exporting in ships built and manned by themselves, their own produce, savoured much more of the narrow, illiberal and impolitic prejudice, with which even yet colonies are looked upon and treated by the mother country, than of any regard for the maritime power of Britain.

Latterly, since the navy of Britain has become so very formidable, and since our merchant ships have become so very numerous;—while, on the other hand, it has become of much more importance, than it was formerly, to œconomize in every thing relative to the expense of carrying our produce to market, or of bringing foreign produce here, it has been contended by many, that the navigation laws should be entirely done away: it is certain that, during war, they are frequently and to such an extent suspended, that then they are of little benefit to those most interested in their continuance. But the reason, or rather the necessity, of this suspension is obvious: in time of war, they have answered the purpose desired; they have supplied our navy with seamen, and that so sufficiently, that, unless the navigation laws were suspended in favour of foreign seamen, our commerce could not be carried on; and besides, so many merchant vessels are then employed as transports, that, unless foreign vessels were taken out of the action of the navigation laws, there would also, in this respect, be a difficulty in carrying on our commerce. These considerations, besides the important one, that by employing neutral ships our commerce will be exposed to hostile depredations, have always induced the legislature to suspend the navigation laws, in some respects, during war.

While our colonies continued in their infancy, they were not likely, either from inclination or ability, to object strongly to the navigation laws, so far as they were affected by them; nor did those most interested in the total or partial abolition of these laws, at home, at that time, look to the colonies as likely to afford them any relief in this respect. But the case was altered as the colonies advanced in prosperity, wealth and importance; and this was the case especially with our possessions

possessions in the East Indies. Besides, the trade to the East Indies being entirely in the power of an exclusive company, who were also the lords of the territories there, it was natural that they should act with more unanimity as well as effect, in every thing that concerned their interest, than individual merchants, totally unconnected, however rich and powerful. Accordingly, the East India company, employing a number of ships, which from their size and equipment cost very large sums in building and fitting out for sea, were naturally desirous to get these ships built in the cheapest manner possible: it was in the next place highly desirable that these ships should be so skilfully and substantially built, as that they would endure the common number of voyages in seas where they were particularly exposed to tempestuous weather; and lastly, it was desirable that they should be manned as cheaply as possible: this latter they had in a great measure effected, by having on board a large proportion of the natives of the East Indies.

It is several years since a species of wood called teak, which grows abundantly in the East Indies, was ascertained to be fit for the building of the largest ships which the East India company require, and even for men of war: this wood is equally hard as oak, lasts longer, and is not so subject to the worm. In what is called the country trade, *i. e.* the trade between different parts of the company's possessions in the East Indies, ships built of teak have been long employed, and have been found to answer extremely well. In consequence of this, the company were permitted, in particular instances, to have some of their regular trading ships built of this wood; and a few men of war were also built of it in the East Indies. Experience still proving that it was superior to oak, the company naturally became desirous of getting the suspension, or, to speak more correctly, the alteration, of the navigation laws so far as regarded East India built shipping.

One of their principal arguments, in favour of this measure, of course was deduced from the fact which has been just mentioned, viz. that teak was better fitted, in point of quality, to build ships than oak: to this other arguments were added; that teak was not only better in quality, but cheaper than oak; that labour also was cheaper in the East Indies than in England; consequently that it would be very greatly for the interest of the company to have their ships built of teak wood in the East Indies in preference to their having them built of oak wood in England, since thus they would procure better ships at a cheaper rate.

But they did not rest their arguments here: they strengthened them still further, by endeavouring to prove, that the ships built for them in England were, either from a defect in the materials, or from the fault in the builders, unequal to the frequent, long and tempestuous voyages which the company required. These arguments, it is evident, were all founded on the interest of the company exclusively: but their next argument embraced the interest of the nation at large; for, in the evidence which they brought before parliament, they endeavoured to prove that the quantity of oak timber growing in these kingdoms, fit for naval purposes, had very much diminished, and that this deficiency was not likely to be supplied by the growth of new woods.

woods. On this point we shall offer only one observation:—but this we think an important one, especially if it is connected with the view we have given, and the remarks which we have offered, respecting the state of arable husbandry in this kingdom: the observation is this, that in a country where corn is so dear as in this, and which hitherto has been not equal to its own full and regular supply in that essential article, not only should the immense tracts of waste land,—some of them of very good quality, and, to our disgrace, situated almost in the immediate vicinity of our largest towns;—not only should these tracts be improved, but as little land as possible capable of bearing tolerable crops of corn should be suffered to grow timber. If this observation be true;—if it be desirable that as much of our soil as possible should be given up to the plough, then should the nation at large view their interests as essentially the same as those of the East India company, with respect to building ships of teak, in India, instead of building them of oak in England. With such a strong case in their favour, it might be supposed that the East India company were met with facts and arguments equally strong by their opponents. Here it might be asked, on what ground they called upon the legislature still to compel the company, or even private merchants, to build their ships of oak in Britain, when they could be built so much cheaper and better, of teak, in India. They could, indeed, bring forward no facts or arguments but such as touched exclusively on their own individual interests: they hitherto had received the protection of the legislature; and if that protection were withdrawn, they and the numerous people dependent upon them would be ruined. But, certainly, these arguments ought not to have any weight, even if the counter interests of the East India company had been put in the scale against them, and the interests of the nation at large had been entirely out of the question; for it appears hard and unjust to compel the company to employ British built ships merely because by this means British shipbuilders will be benefited: and yet do not many of our monopolies, or rather our protecting duties, or commercial prohibitions, proceed solely on this ground? Many would undoubtedly be thrown out of employment; many might be absolutely ruined by the total or partial repeal of the navigation laws. Many were ruined, or at least thrown out of employ, by the reformation and by the abolition of the slave trade; so that this fact alone will not constitute an argument. Besides, it should be remembered, in deciding on this question, that what the East India company require, is not the repeal of the navigation laws in their most essential points, *i. e.* in what respects the manning of the ships they employ; but solely the building of them; so that, if what they asked for was granted to the nation at large, these laws would only be brought into that state in which, according to many political œconomists, they ought to have been from the beginning; that is, they would secure a supply of seamen, but not interfere with the ships themselves.

In this chapter, which is devoted to the political œconomy of Britain during the year 1814, it would be improper to pass over a question which was discussed towards the close

close of the year, with very great interest, and which will in all probability create a more deep and general interest before this volume comes into the hands of our readers:—we allude to the continuance of the property or rather the income tax.

Before the time of king William, wars were carried on by money raised during the continuance of the war: but in his reign, loans and consequently the national debt began:—as he was by no means securely fixed on the throne, it was desirable to give the moneyed part of the nation an interest in supporting them; and there was no fear that those who had lent government money would be backward in supporting that government. Thus, by loans, one object of great importance; not only to the new sovereign but also to the religious and civil liberties of the nation which depended so much on that sovereign, was secured; and so far the new system was good: and this consequence of it, in giving to a great portion of the nation a more immediate and deep interest in the government than even the land owners possess, has continued and increased in proportion to the increase of the national debt, and has thus given a character to the population of this country, which the population of no other country exhibits. But, in another point of view, the loan system was most dreadfully mischievous: before it, wars were necessarily limited in their expenditure and duration by the ability of the nation to pay the principal sums necessary to carry them on; but afterwards, if the nation could pay the interest of the sums necessary to carry them on, they were continued.

At last, however, the French revolution, that wonderful event, the effects of which either immediate or indirect penetrated almost every where, calling on the part of this country for unparalleled pecuniary exertions, it became not very easy for the minister to raise loans on advantageous terms: besides, perhaps, he did not deem it quite fair, that by such an immense accumulation of national debt we should press so very heavily on posterity, while the quarrel for which the expense was incurred was more particularly our own. An attempt, therefore, was to be made to raise part of the expenditure within the year, or, in other words, to have recourse again to those financial plans for raising money which were customary before king William's time. The taxes laid on for this purpose were called war taxes; because they were expressly declared to be for the support of the war, and not for the payment of the interest of the national debt, and therefore were to terminate with the war: of these war taxes, that on property or income was the principal: at first it was levied at the rate of 5 per cent.; but afterwards it was raised to 10 per cent.

In consequence of the termination of the war with France, it was naturally expected that the income tax would cease; and many questions were put to ministers on this subject, especially in the house of commons. They were asked, whether they did not agree with the public opinion, that the income tax necessarily terminated with the termination of the war? To this there seemed at first some inclination to demur, and it was apprehended that, as we were still at war with America, ministers would urge that the tax did not legally expire: but having ascertained that the words of the act by which the income

come tax was laid on were express, and that the war in which we were then engaged, and not any future war which might arise before the French war were terminated, was most unquestionably meant, they declared that in their opinion the income tax must terminate at the period after the war fixed by the act.

The opposition, either suspecting the intentions of ministry, or glad of any opportunity of harassing them, and of exciting against them the suspicions and ill-will of the nation, were not content with this answer; but pressed ministry to declare whether they meant to renew the tax. This measure, ministers replied, would depend on such uncertain circumstances, that they could not give a decided answer to the question. Alarm, deep and general, was instantly excited by this reply of ministers; for few people had considered, that though the income tax should expire, yet ministers might renew it. The first place which took measures to petition parliament against it was the city of London; and their example will probably be followed by most other parts of the kingdom: at the meeting, both of the common council and the common hall of the city of London, there was scarcely a dissentient voice to the resolutions which reprobated the tax; and nearly all the arguments which can be advanced against its continuance were brought forward.

In considering this subject, two distinct points ought to be adverted to; and these points ought carefully to be kept separate. In the first place, inquiry ought to be made whether the peace taxes are adequate to the expenses of the peace establishment; and if they are not, whether there is no other mode of supplying the deficiency, or, at least, part of the deficiency, but by taxation:—and in the second place, if the peace taxes are found unequal to the expenses of the peace establishment, and if the whole or part of the deficiency must be supplied by taxation, whether the income tax should be continued, or some other tax substituted; and if it is found that the income tax on the whole is preferable, in what respect it may be rendered either more productive, or less oppressive and unequal.

Now, in the first place, with respect to the adequacy of our peace taxes to the support of our peace establishment, it was contended, in the house of commons, and not denied by the chancellor of the exchequer, that our peace taxes exceeded our lowest peace establishment by such a mere trifle, that, taking unexpected and extraordinary expenditure into the account, they ought not by a wise and provident statesman to be considered equal to that establishment:—nor can this be wondered at, when we reflect that our national debt is fast approaching to the enormous sum of one thousand millions, the interest of which, of itself, would require the produce of the greater part of our regular and permanent taxes. Besides this, we must take into our account, that, in consequence of the high price of every thing, our peace establishment, even allowing it to be on the same moderate scale on which it was previous to the commencement of the first French revolutionary war, must cost much more than it did at that period:—but, in the present circumstances of Europe, and in the circumstances in which Europe is too likely to be for some time, it would not be safe or prudent to reduce

duce our peace establishment so low as it was prior to 1793. It seems, therefore, abundantly evident that our permanent taxes are by no means adequate to the expenditure to which we must necessarily be subject during peace.

The next thing to be considered is, whether the necessity of additional taxation in peace may be avoided entirely or in part. That it may be avoided was strongly contended for, both at the common council and common hall: and the unnecessary and extravagant pensions given to a number of people were pointed out as affording a source of public income, which would render additional taxation unnecessary. We are far from feeling the slightest wish to defend, or even to palliate, the giving or receiving of many pensions which appear in our red book, considering them not only a shameful waste of the public money, but objectionable in a still higher point of view, as lowering the confidence of the public in the purity of their statesmen, and as manifesting too strong a desire on the part of ministers to depend for support, rather on those who are paid for supporting them, than those who could be won to that object solely by a conviction of their ability and patriotism. But, while we thus most decidedly and unequivocally join in the reprobation of almost all pensions that are granted, we think it unfair and imprudent to lead the public to believe, that the amount of these pensions is so very great, that, if they were abolished, a considerable diminution of taxation would take place; whereas the truth is, that all the pensions granted are but as a drop of water compared to the ocean. They should be objected to, therefore, on proper grounds; certainly in some degree as tending to increase our expenditure, at a period when the most rigid œconomy in every particular, however trifling, is essentially necessary, and the highest duty of ministers;—but more pointedly and especially on the grounds to which we before alluded. Patriots complain that ministers delude the public; they should take care not to delude them also; and yet that they will certainly do, if they lead them to expect that, by the abolition even of all pensions, any considerable portion of their taxes could be taken off.

It must however be admitted, that much might be effected, with respect to a diminution of public expenditure, by a more strict and regular œconomy, and also by conducting public business, and more especially by keeping public accounts as nearly as possible in the mode which merchants are accustomed to; instead of retaining with most blind and bigoted attachment the modes of our forefathers, adopted at a time when public business was trifling, and before experience had given system to the management of it. Yet, after all that could be saved in these ways, there is too much reason to apprehend, that our permanent taxes would by no means defray our peace expenditure, and that therefore there would be an absolute necessity of laying on fresh burthens.

We come therefore to the consideration of the next point; viz. as new taxes must be laid on, whether the income tax ought to be continued, or its place supplied by other taxes.

The amount of the war taxes for the year ended the 5th of April 1814 was twenty-one millions; of which sum the income tax formed

about fourteen millions: the other permanent taxes, therefore, are trifling in comparison with this, and probably would not be sufficient to raise the permanent taxes up to the average amount of our peace establishment, and also to leave an adequate and prudent surplus.—In considering the question respecting the justice or propriety of continuing the income tax, it becomes us most carefully to guard against a misapprehension of the nature of a *desirable* tax, in a public and patriotic point of view, and also against the admission of our interests, or of partial and comparatively trifling objections, into the decision or investigation of the subject. People who suffer under taxation so much as the people of this country do, are too apt to consider any tax as unjust and oppressive, which is very productive; whereas this very circumstance ought to be one of the strongest recommendations of a tax to the adoption of government, and the cheerful payment of it, provided there be no other serious and well grounded complaint against it. This is so very obvious, that, if it were not for the interference and influence of our interests, we should not hesitate one moment to acknowledge the truth of it: but, as our interests do interfere so much on this subject, it may be well to offer some observations and arguments in support of it. We take it all along for granted, that taxes to a certain amount must be raised: now certainly, if any tax is unproductive to the amount calculated upon, either by its being easily or generally evaded, or from any other cause, there must be a necessity for laying on other taxes in order to make up the calculated amount; and thus the public will be burthened with all the vexation and expense of collecting two taxes instead of one. If, therefore, the objection to the income tax arises from the circumstance that it is very productive, and consequently draws a great deal of money out of the pockets of the people, that objection ought not to be suffered to weigh against it; in fact, it is the very circumstance which ought to recommend it.

Against the principle of the tax, therefore, it appears to us that little or no objection can be made: it has been urged, Lay taxes to a similar amount on articles of consumption, and then every person can pay his part of them or not, according to his pleasure or convenience. But the very recommendation of such a tax ought to be a most serious objection; for, arguing all along on the assumption that the fair and necessary expenses of government require a certain sum, it is the duty of every individual to contribute his proportion according to his means towards that sum; and any mode of taxation by which he would be enabled to evade paying his due proportion would be unfair, because, by thus rendering the tax not so productive as it was calculated it would be, it would create the necessity of laying on a new tax.—Taxes on those articles of consumption, therefore, the use of which cannot well be dispensed with, are proper and fair taxes; but this character cannot be applied to taxes on such articles of consumption as may be dispensed with.

If, therefore, the income tax could be laid on and raised in such a manner as that every person should pay his due proportion of it, it would have another recommendation in its favour; for, besides being so very productive, it would not press unequally on any part of the community, nor would it render another

another tax necessary, by any description of people being able to evade the payment of it.

In the debates which took place in the common council and common hall respecting the probable renewal of this tax, it seems to us that objections were urged to it not nearly of so strong a nature as those which might be brought against it. These objections related principally to two points, and merely proved (on the supposition that they were well founded) that in all modes of taxation there must be some oppression, otherwise the tax would be evaded, since a large proportion of people will evade taxes if they possibly can, and consequently measures must be taken by government to prevent such evasion; and these measures being necessarily general, are oppressive or disagreeable to such as do not wish to evade the payment. The other point, to which the objections brought forward in the city of London related, merely proved that there must be partial mischief to individuals resulting from most other taxes.

In the first place, it was objected that the income tax gave the commissioners under it an inquisitorial power; they had a right to scrutinize most narrowly into the incomes of individuals, which of course could not be very agreeable to their feelings, and in many cases could not be beneficial to the state of their affairs. This undoubtedly is a serious objection; and if there is no mode of removing it, of appointing commissioners who will and can discharge their duty to government, and to the people at large, (for let it not be forgotten that, on the supposition that taxes are necessary, the people are more interested than the government that they should be productive and fairly collected): if such commissioners cannot be appointed as will discharge their duty and at the same time carefully abstain from all unnecessary proceeding of an inquisitorial and harsh character, then, indeed, the tax though so very productive cannot be defended. But it appears to us, that by a different mode of appointing commissioners, and by being more select and careful in the appointment, this objection might in a great degree be obviated: it ought also to be remembered, that in many cases their inquisitorial and harsh behaviour is rendered necessary, and therefore ought to be excused on the ground that constant attempts are making to evade the tax, and that, if these attempts were discontinued, there would be no occasion for such conduct on their parts.

In the second place it was urged against the tax, that in many cases it was highly prejudicial to the interests of creditors: for instance, a person is deeply involved; his income, in fact, is next to nothing; but being justly apprehensive that, if his circumstances were known, his creditors would make him a bankrupt, and besides being desirous of still getting credit, he returns a large income: the consequence is, that he is suffered to go on, contracting more debts, and thus involving more people in his own ruin. This undoubtedly also is an evil; but even if it could not be removed, it is not an evil so generally diffused, or of such magnitude, as to call for the abolition of a tax that produces fourteen millions annually:—this evil, it is evident, would not exist, if the commissioners and those concerned in the collection of the tax were secret; that is, if they discharged their duty in a conscientious manner;

ner: and certainly with proper care on the part of government, this evil might in a great measure be removed. Any how, as we just observed, it is of too trivial and partial a nature to be urged as a sufficient reason to abolish the income tax, if no other more serious and fatal objections lie against it.

On these two points therefore, though undoubtedly capable of furnishing ample topics for declamation, there does not seem to us to rest much ground for solid objection; for we cannot too frequently and coolly recollect, that all taxes must be grievous and unacceptable; that in the mode of collecting many there must be an infringement on individual liberty and secrecy; and above all, that in taxation government have only a choice of evils, and that the productiveness of any tax will and ought in their opinion to weigh against many temporary and partial evils. If the sum or part of the sum raised by the income tax is necessary to carry on the peace establishment of the country, those who object to the income tax should show that there are other modes of taxation which would be productive to the necessary and desired amount, and that at the same time would be less oppressive and unfair.

The most serious and formidable objections to this tax, in our opinion, are not to its principle, nor to the oppressions and evils to which in some instances it gives rise, but to the partiality of some of its leading regulations.

In the first place, it makes no distinction between property and income: it might, perhaps, in some cases be difficult to draw the line between; but surely this is no good reason for not attempting to draw the line at all: in many cases, and those too of great importance, the distinction between property and income is sufficiently broad and obvious. That such a distinction ought to be made; that it ought to be one of the leading features of the act, is undoubted; for what can be more unfair, than to oblige a man who makes 500*l.* a year by his own personal exertions or talents,—who has no property,—to pay the same proportion of his income annually to the expenses of the state, as the man who derives 500*l.* from land, or from a principal sum of money? In the first case, a man is worth a very few years purchase of his income according to his age, health, &c.; and out of his income he is obliged to provide entirely for his children, as well as for his own old age: in the other case, the real value of the man's property does not depend in the slightest degree on his age or health; whatever they be, his land or money will fetch exactly the same, and it forms a fund for his old age and his children. It seems therefore very obvious that, according to all principles of justice and the fair principle of all taxation, mere income ought not to be taxed at such a rate as property.—There is, however, one objection urged against this view of the question which it may be well to consider: it is said that the income tax only looks to one year, that it has nothing to do with any future or permanent property of the person taxed; and that, looking thus to one year, 500*l.* derived in the course of that time from personal exertion or talent is equal in real value to 500*l.* derived from land; that the security and protection of the former, for that period, is as desirable (or rather more so) as the security and protection of the latter; and therefore the former ought to pay as largely to government as the latter.

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This objection however is merely plausible: it will not bear close examination;—for it assumes that, with respect to the income tax, which is in fact the evil in it complained of: the complaint is, that the tax looks only to one year; that it does not look to future or rather to permanent property, and that thus it is unequal; for certainly it is one of the most essential principles of just and equitable taxation, that every person ought to be taxed according to his means, or the real worth of his fortune; and it can never be contended that the means or real worth of 500*l.* derived from personal exertion or talents, is no more than that derived from land. In this respect, therefore, if the income tax is continued, it ought to be amended.

In the next place, the rates of taxation ought to vary, not only according as income is personal or permanent, but also according to the amount of the income: it should not be that a man possessing 200*l.* per annum should pay the same proportion out of it, as a man possessing 20,000*l.* per annum; certainly the latter ought to contribute a much greater proportion of his income to the exigencies of the state than the former. To this proposed alteration, however, there are some objections: it is urged that the very nature and meaning of a fair and equitable tax is, that by it every individual should pay in exact proportion to his means; but that if the man of 20,000*l.* per annum paid more than 10 per cent., while the man of 200*l.* per annum paid only 10 per cent., the former would in fact be contributing more than his due proportion, and therefore the tax would not be just and equitable. But we must look more narrowly into the case, if we would accurately and fully ascertain its real nature. In the present state of expenditure and society in Britain, a man worth 200*l.* a year with a family can barely supply himself and them with the necessaries of life, and give his children a proper education;—whereas a man of 20,000*l.* a year with the same family can supply himself and them, not only with the necessaries but with all the comforts and most if not all the luxuries of life. Why then should the former be deprived by taxation of any of the necessaries of life, or rendered unable to educate his children properly, while the latter is merely deprived probably of only one luxury, and suffered to retain all the rest, and all the comforts and necessaries of life? Incomes below a certain amount, and weekly wages if they do not reach 30*s.* are exempt from the income tax. Why stop here? Why not make an ascending scale? and if 5 per cent. is taken from 200*l.* per annum, take 7, 10, 15, and even 20, from 1000*l.*, 15,000, 20,000 and larger incomes?

If then there is a necessity for an additional tax to the permanent taxes;—if the abolition of unmerited pensions, and the most rigid œconomy in all the branches of public expenditure, will not supply a sum equal to the deficiency; it appears to us that the income tax, provided its necessary evils are softened as much as possible, and its incidental and partial evils removed, and provided property were taxed at a higher rate than mere income, and large incomes in a greater proportion than small incomes; and provided moreover, some less essential alterations were made with respect to deductions for children;—we say that it appears to us, that the income tax, on the whole, is preferable

to any other tax; and that for two reasons, very essential in considering the propriety and advantages of taxes; viz. that it is very productive, and that it is collected at very little expense. The sum which is raised by it, might, however, be spread more equally over the nation, even if no alteration took place in the tax, provided the commissioners were equally strict and impartial every where; for every person's knowledge must inform him, that though in some cases more is paid than the real income ought to pay, either owing to the commissioners or to the person himself, yet in many more instances not two thirds of the income are returned or taxed; consequently, if measures could be taken to levy the tax equally, either the fourteen millions now collected would be more equally distributed, or a much larger sum if necessary might be collected.

We have dwelt thus long on this topic, because, every year, whatever relates to the finances of Britain becomes of more serious interest and importance; and because there is no feature in the taxation of the country which more plainly proves its great resources, and which has given rise to more discussion, both in a financial and general point of view, than the income tax.

We shall conclude this chapter, and what we have to offer on the political œconomy of Great Britain during 1814, with a slight and general sketch of its trade and commerce for that year, and with some anticipations on the probable effects which peace will produce on them. It is well known that the principal reason which induced Bonaparte to declare that war with Russia which produced his ruin, was his desire to force that empire to adhere to the continental system, as it was called. Nearly the whole of the rest of Europe he had so completely brought under his sway, that British produce and manufactures could be introduced into it only in an indirect and clandestine manner: and yet so penetrating and active is the spirit of commerce, that it contrived to find its way, even into France itself, in spite of the decrees of the emperor. The trade, however, which the merchants of Britain carried on while Bonaparte was in the zenith of his power, was of a very different description from that to which they had been accustomed prior to the first French revolutionary war, and to which they hoped to resort at the period of a continental peace. As soon as the French armies were driven from the shores of the Baltic and the ports in the north of Europe, the productions and manufactures of Britain were poured into the continent; and the hopes of her merchants were roused that the demand for them would soon make up for the unsteady, harassing and partial trade which they had so long carried on: these hopes were raised still higher when peace took place; and undoubtedly to all appearance they were well founded. In the first place, the continent had been long deprived of many articles, which either were real necessaries, or which custom had rendered so: these, therefore, it was expected they would be again most anxious to possess. In the second place, Britain had formerly been the best customer for the superfluous produce of the continent: thus, the renewal of a commerce which promised such great mutual advantages was calculated upon as certain. But, lastly, Britain expected that, as she had done so much for

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Europe, Europe would discover her gratitude by admitting her merchandize on the most liberal terms.

Such were the grounds of the hopes entertained by our commercial men, that the trade of this country would by the peace be rendered more flourishing than it had ever been; and led on by these hopes, they were disposed to enter on most extensive speculations. But in a very short time it was ascertained that these hopes were by no means built on a good foundation. Bonaparte, indeed, had not been able to exclude our merchandize from the continent; but he had rendered the importation of it so hazardous and expensive, that, the price of it being greatly raised, the consumption was also greatly diminished; while this circumstance, and the encouragement he gave to the domestic manufacture of articles which used to be got from this country, had rendered the continent much less dependent upon us than it formerly had been. But, moreover, the inhabitants were so impoverished by war, that they were not able to purchase our commodities so extensively as they had done; and the devastations of war had also put a stop to, or greatly checked, the production of those articles which used to be exchanged for our goods.

Such were the obstacles in the way of renewed commercial intercourse, arising from the state, disposition, and habits of the people: but there were also obstacles thrown in the way of this intercourse by the governments themselves; by those governments which had been re-established by the money and the armies of Britain.

Our merchants, therefore, at least that part of them who look forward with impartial and comprehensive eyes, not only were disappointed, in the first result of peace, with regard to commerce, but they also were apprehensive that, in the present state of this country, our commerce with the continent could never arise to that pitch which the more sanguine anticipated. And in this opinion we are disposed to coincide; for, when we reflect that the price at which we sell our merchandize must enable our merchants to pay their portion of an enormous taxation, besides leaving them such profits as are necessary to the support of a much higher rank in society than the merchants on the continent in general aim at, and that too in a country where every article is exorbitantly dear, (independently of the effects of taxation on its price,) we must be convinced that not all our capital, aided as it is by most wonderful savings of labour, and by skill and industry as yet unrivalled, will long enable us to undersell in their own markets, goods the produce or manufacture of countries comparatively untaxed, where labour is cheap; and into which, moreover, it will be absolutely impossible to prevent the introduction of every improvement with which we are acquainted. This, to any nation, can be no encouraging prospect; but it is peculiarly gloomy to a nation like Britain, which requires a flourishing and extended commerce, not only to support the pressure of her national debt, but also to preserve her dominion on the seas.

CHAPTER XII.

Domestic History of Great Britain and Ireland—Introductory Remarks on the Unsteadiness of the British People—Their Interest easily excited, and soon lost—Instances of this, in the Cases of the Duke of York, the Expedition to Walcheren, Sir Francis Burdett, and the Princess of Wales—Circumstances respecting her during 1814—*Her Letters to the Queen and the Regent—Remarks on her accepting an increased Allowance, and leaving the Country—The Princess Charlotte—State of Ireland—Quarantotti's Letter—Justice Fletcher's Address.*

IT has been frequently remarked, and not without considerable truth and justice, that the people of this country have their feelings and interests on political topics easily roused, and as easily and speedily laid; to a stranger it would appear, when they are roused, such is the degree of agitation and violence to which they give birth, at least among the populace, that some fatal and overwhelming commotion was at hand; but, to his surprise and astonishment, in a very short time every thing is calm, every grievance seems forgotten, till again some new event excites the same apparently deep and threatening interest as before. This character of the English is not peculiar to them in its nature; but it certainly is in the degree in which it appears; and in this respect it is worthy of notice, both by the philosopher and the statesman: the latter it more particularly instructs, not to be exceedingly alarmed at these appearances of dissatisfaction and tumult; not to irritate them by violent measures, but to be almost heedless spectators of them, in the firm confidence that they will soon subside.

If it were necessary to illustrate and justify the truth of this remark by an appeal to facts, the principal difficulty would be in the selection of the most recent and striking: we might appeal to the case of the duke of York; the agitation of the public mind on this subject was so great and general, that many symptoms of determined dissatisfaction made their appearance; but how soon was all tranquil; how soon was all forgotten! It may indeed be said, that the public mind was tranquillized by the resignation of the commander-in-chief: undoubtedly it was; but if the feelings and opinions so loudly and generally expressed by the nation had been as sincere and deeply grounded as they seemed to be, would not his reappointment, after a very short period, have again excited nearly as great a sensation? and yet it passed over almost unheeded. The case of Walcheren is still more in point: in the expedition to this place, more circumstances had combined to disappoint, irritate, and influence the public mind than perhaps had ever met before: an armament unparalleled in magnitude had returned, after a total failure in its object, at a period when its co-operation in another part of the continent would probably have been attended with most essential benefit to the cause of England, and of all Europe: and this failure had principally arisen from the appointment of a man known

known to every body to be totally incompetent to the command to which he had been raised by ministers; from an almost total ignorance of the nature and strength of the places to be attacked, and from the scanty and inadequate supply of the necessary means. Not only, however, had our troops returned without the accomplishment of their object; but they had returned, also, labouring under disorders which the climate always inflicted on strangers, but which had not been foreseen or guarded against. As usual, the failure of this expedition excited a very general and str ng displeasure among the people; but what was the issue? While the investigation was going on in parliament, the case of sir Francis Burdett occurred; the disgrace of Walcheren was forgotten; the case of the baronet gave rise to a still more alarming degree of irritation, which certainly at one period threatened the safety of the metropolis, but which in the space of a very few weeks was itself lost in some new cause of popular curiosity or complaint. But it is needless to multiply instances; we shall therefore advert only to one more, viz. to the case of the princess of Wales: in her case, feelings were enlisted which could not enter into any of the former cases. She was a woman, and a stranger;—the mother of the presumptive heir to the throne; she had been, in the opinion of the nation, most grossly calumniated; this calumny, her husband, her natural protector, had not repelled; it was even suspected that he did not feel that indignation at it which the people felt: feelings arising from these causes mixed themselves up with feelings of a public nature; and for a time the princess of Wales interested the public so much, that a stranger to them might have supposed that they would not have subsided till the object that had roused them was fully revenged on her calumniators by their punishment, and her own restoration to the protection and favour of her husband. Certainly, neither of these effects took place; a reluctant, qualified, indecisive, and inconsequential acknowledgement of the innocence of the princess was indeed given, in parliament, by the ministers of the regent; but the conduct which she still experienced, proved that this acknowledgement did not receive an echo in the regent's breast, and that it had been extorted rather by the feelings and interest which the public manifested on the occasion, than by a conviction of its real truth. Long before the close of the year the princess was forgotten; and we shall perceive shortly, that even fresh indignities offered to her, during 1814, could produce only a very feeble and partial rising of public interest in her favour. The year 1814 brought forth very few occasions of manifesting the strong but fleeting interest to which the public are liable, and to which we have just alluded: the only cases of importance were those of lord Cochrane, and of the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte; and on these we shall make a few remarks, both as matters of history, and more especially as illustrative of our manners and character.

It is needless, and would be uninteresting, to enter into a detailed account of lord Cochrane's case; as our readers will find the whole transaction explained, as far at least as the mystery has yet been unfolded,

unfolded, in our Principal Occurrences, and also in the debates to which it gave rise in the house of commons: we shall therefore content ourselves with a bare outline of it.

We have frequently remarked, that one of the consequences of the wars in which we were engaged with revolutionary France, was an almost total change in the character of our mercantile transactions: our merchants, unlike their ancestors, instead of looking forward to the accumulation of a fortune, after a lapse of years, and the exertion of long and unwearied industry; instead of being contented with the hope that each year would add a little to their stock of wealth, trusted almost entirely to speculation; and in a very short space of time were generally speaking, either men of very large or of no property. All wars, by rendering regular trade difficult and uncertain, must in some degree produce this change in the character of mercantile transactions; but the late French wars, from causes which are too obvious and recent to need particular statement or illustration, rendered this change much greater and more general than it ever had been before. It was not to be expected that the transactions of the Stock-exchange would be untainted by this spirit: speculation, to use the mildest and less appropriate name, was the very element in which the men of the Stock-exchange lived; and therefore the French wars were particularly serviceable to them.

At no period was there such room for speculation as in the spring of 1814: at this time the power and the very existence of the French government seemed on the very verge of destruction; and, consequently, that event appeared to be at hand which would restore tranquillity to Europe. This, however, was not so much what the people on the Stock-exchange looked to, as the result of the fall of Bonaparte; its influence on the price of stocks was what more immediately and deeply concerned them. If he was driven from the throne of France, and much more if his death took place, stocks would rise; and many speculations which had been entered into would prove advantageous and lucrative. It was, therefore, the interest of many stock-holders or stock-jobbers to give circulation and evidence to every report concerning the fall or death of the French emperor; and more particularly in the existing circumstances of the loan. At no former period had *omnium*, as it is called in the vulgar and paltry language of the Stock-exchange, risen to so high a premium; and yet, high as it was, there were numerous and eager purchasers of it, which of course raised the premium still higher. These purchasers bought it under the idea and hope that, before long, it would again rise to such a height as would render their speculation a lucrative one; but if it did not, by a certain time, rise to that height, and much more if it fell, they would have serious cause to regret their speculation; since, being unable and not expecting to pay the instalments when due, they would be under the necessity of selling the omnium which they held, even at a loss, in order to get rid of it before the instalment became due.

Thus we perceive the temptation there was, not only to give credit and currency to all the reports of Bonaparte's death, but also

also to invent them: his fall, or destruction, had long seemed inevitable; there could be little reason to doubt that it would soon happen. But the speculations of the jobbers in omnium would not admit of delay; they might be ruined before the expected and desirable event happened; unless it happened so as to raise the price of omnium before the instalment became due, it would be of no service to them. They therefore resolved to raise the price by a false report of Bonaparte's death.

Accordingly a plan was laid with considerable impudence and adroitness to propagate a seemingly official report that Bonaparte was assassinated: the scheme succeeded; a belief in the event, thus communicated, prevailed a sufficient length of time, before its falsehood was detected, to enable many who had purchased omnium at a very high rate to sell it again a ta still higher. As soon however as the fraud was discovered, great indignation was excited on the Stock-exchange, and measures were immediately taken to discover, if possible, all those who were concerned in it. We have stated that the scheme was conducted with considerable adroitness; but the machinery employed was so complicated, that it was scarcely possible that every part of it should elude the vigilant and active scrutiny of the Stock-exchange. Accordingly it was soon ascertained, that the person who represented the official bearer of the dispatches announcing the death of Bonaparte had gone to the house of lord Cochrane; and it was also found that, on the rise of the funds occasioned by the false rumour, his broker had sold out stock to a considerable amount. These circumstances combined, left no doubt in the minds of the Stock-exchange that he was a party in the scheme; and they also fixed suspicious circumstances on his uncle the honourable Cochrane Johnstone, De Berenger, who had represented the official bearer of the dispatches, and others. A true bill having been found against them by the grand jury, they were tried for a conspiracy, found guilty, and lord Cochrane with De Berenger and another were sentenced to stand in the pillory, as well as to suffer the penalty and punishment inflicted on the rest. Cochrane Johnstone had fled from the country before the trial.

The sentence of lord Cochrane to the pillory excited very general surprise and indignation throughout the country: and these feelings were increased from several causes: in the first place, great doubts were entertained by many respecting his guilt: it is not our intention to enter on a discussion or examination of the probabilities for or against this point; as we must candidly confess, that most of the papers published by his lordship for the purpose of proving his innocence, tend in our opinion only to render the question more involved and intricate. It must however be admitted, that either from his own fault, or the fault of his counsel, his trial was not ably conducted; there were deficiencies in the evidence, as well as apparent contradictions in it, which it afterwards was proved might have been filled up and removed. On these grounds lord Cochrane moved for a new trial; but it was refused him on grounds no doubt sanctioned by law and precedent, but which we must nevertheless think very insufficient: a new trial was refused

refused him because all the parties did not join in the application for it; so that, as Cochrane Johnstone was absent, it was impossible to obtain it. But can any thing be more absurd and at the same time more unjust than this, to refuse a man a new trial, not because he does not show he is now in possession of evidence to prove his innocence which he could not produce before, but because those who were connected with him in the supposed conspiracy do not join with him in the application? Besides the circumstance of one of the parties having fled from justice, as in the case of Cochrane Johnstone, may it not happen in a conspiracy, that one is innocent, while the others are guilty; and consequently that one may have reasons and hopes from a new trial, which the others have not? Indeed it is not necessary to dwell any longer on this part of the business: so general was the conviction that the ground on which lord Cochrane was refused a new trial was at variance with justice, that even those who thought the sentence of the pillory not too severe, were of opinion that a new trial ought to have been granted.

We shall now consider the circumstances which led a great many to feel an interest in lord Cochrane, independently of the interest excited by a belief or suspicion of his innocence. In the first instance, the nature of the fraud itself, and the place where it was committed: it was alleged that it was extremely harsh to punish so severely the propagation of false intelligence on the Stock-exchange among stock jobbers, for the purpose of raising or depressing the stock, when it was notorious that scarcely a day passed, in the course of which some members of the Stock-exchange did not either countenance or create false intelligence, for the same purpose as lord Cochrane was accused of, its influence on the funds. It was well known (it was moreover urged) that nearly the whole transactions on the Stock-exchange were of a speculative nature, and some of them what blunt and rude persons would not hesitate to call gambling transactions: consequently it was to be supposed, that every person who transacted business there, being acquainted with the character of the place, and the mode in which custom had rendered it common to transact business, would be upon his guard, and examine into the truth of every report likely to influence the funds, before he acted upon that report in buying or selling stock. It seemed hard, therefore, in the opinion of very many, that lord Cochrane should be punished for doing that which had been often done before with impunity by the persons themselves who brought him to punishment, and which also seemed an essential part of the transactions of the place itself. In the second place, the committee of the Stock-exchange, who were appointed to take measures for the purpose of detecting and bringing to punishment the propagators of the false report, it was alleged, stepped beyond the line of their duty or their right, for they almost assumed to themselves the powers and functions of judge and jury; examining witnesses, and giving publicity to their opinion in such a manner as could not but be prejudicial to the cause of the supposed delinquents. Thirdly, a strong impression was made on the public mind in favour of lord Cochrane, (for the other persons concerned did not excite nearly

so deep or general interests,) from the idea that the lord chief justice of the king's bench, before whom they were tried, did not conduct himself with that coolness and impartiality which became a person in his situation; and this want of coolness and impartiality was attributed to political causes—lord Cochrane having been long remarkable for the violence of his attachment to the opinions of sir Francis Burdett, while lord Ellenborough was attached to the ministerial side. This account of the judge's behaviour on the trial, was however proved afterwards to be void of foundation, or at least greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, in a case like that of lord Cochrane, in which the public took a great interest, and to which very many attached themselves, from their politics coinciding with those of his lordship, the belief that lord Ellenborough had conducted himself improperly remained, and lord Cochrane was the more pitied and defended on that account.

But lastly, the chief reason which induced the most cool and impartial part of the public to interest themselves in lord Cochrane's fate, was the conviction that his punishment, even on the supposition that he was guilty, was very disproportionate to his crime; especially that part of his punishment which sentenced him to the pillory. To this mode of punishment there are undoubtedly many very serious and well founded objections, not only of a general nature, but applicable to it when it is inflicted on particular persons: the principal objection to it of a general nature is, that it places the degree of punishment entirely in the hands of the populace. A person is put in the pillory: if the populace think him innocent, they have it in their power almost to make it a triumph, instead of a punishment:—if they are not incensed against the criminal, they are indifferent and inactive, and he in fact suffers nothing but the disgrace of having stood in the pillory; whereas if they are incensed against him, severe bodily punishment, and in some cases death itself, is superadded to the disgrace. Besides, such kinds of punishment contribute to brutalize those who attend them, instead of serving as warnings, as must always be the case where the people instead of being the witnesses are the inflicters of punishment. But there are also objections to the pillory in particular cases, since to some persons the disgrace, the only punishment contemplated by the law, is harmless; while to others it is a punishment greater than death itself: and this consideration ought to be sufficient to do away the pillory altogether, if the only defensible object of punishment be the deterring others from the commission of crime, and if all punishment which is more than sufficient for that, is indefensible.

It was soon perceived that it would by no means be prudent or even safe to put lord Cochrane in the pillory: meetings were held by his constituents in Palace-yard, Westminster, at which his colleague sir Francis Burdett declared that, if lord Cochrane was put in the pillory, he would attend him, and consider it an honour instead of a disgrace; and in this resolution he was joined by nearly all who were present. His lordship's case was also taken up in the house of commons: but though several members expressed a belief in his innocence, and many more condemned the punishment of the pillory, yet the majority were decidedly of opinion that he was guilty; and he was

was accordingly expelled the house, after having been heard in his defence. His speech, on this occasion was more remarkable for its violence and extraneous matter, than for the proofs or presumption it afforded of his innocence. One thing however was gained by this discussion, and by the deep and general interest which the public took in his fate: the punishment of the pillory was remitted, both in respect to him and to the others who had been condemned to it.

Very soon after he was expelled the house of commons, another meeting of the electors of Westminster was held, at which he was again chosen their representative. As he has not yet taken his seat, in consequence of the period of his confinement not being yet expired, it is impossible to say what course the house of commons mean to pursue with regard to him;—whether they will declare him ineligible; again expel him; or quietly suffer him to retain his seat. The right of the house of commons in cases of this nature is not well known or defined; as the case of Wilkes can hardly be adduced as a precedent, the proceedings respecting his expulsion, as well as those respecting the erasing out of the journals of the house of commons the resolutions against him, having been conducted too much in the spirit of party to form proper precedents.

We have already stated that the interest in the public mind which the princess of Wales had so strongly roused in the year 1813 soon subsided; and probably but for the indiscreet conduct of the prince, it would never have been again revived. But a short time previous to the arrival of the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia in this country, when of course it was to be expected that the levees and drawing-rooms would be particularly splendid, and it was natural that the princess of Wales should wish to be present at them, she received a letter from the queen, in which her majesty stated, that she considered it her duty to lose no time in acquainting the princess of Wales that she had received a communication from her son, the prince regent, in which he declared that he considered his presence at his own court could not be dispensed with; and desired it might be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone could be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the princess of Wales, upon any occasion, either in public or private. The queen added, that she was thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the princess of Wales the impossibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at her drawing-room.

To this letter the princess of Wales replied, by recalling to the recollection of her majesty the affectionate regard with which the king had honoured her; at the same time bestowing upon her the most gratifying and unequivocal proofs of his attachment and approbation, by his public reception of her at his court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to her. She was now without appeal or protection; but she could not so far forget her duty to the king and to herself, as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by her majesty: yet, that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her majesty's situation, she yielded in the present instance to the will

will of his royal highness the prince regent. "It would appear presumptuous in me (she adds) to inquire of your majesty the reasons of his royal highness the prince regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his royal highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience;—even for this, the last, the most unexpected and severe: the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will in all probability be assembled at your majesty's court, with which I am so closely connected by birth and marriage."

Her royal highness concluded her letter by beseeching her majesty to acquaint the illustrious strangers with the reasons which alone induced her to abstain from the exercise of her right to appear before her majesty;—and by an intimation that she herself would make public the cause of her absence from court.

Two days after this letter was sent to the queen, the princess of Wales wrote to the prince regent: after stating that she inclosed copies of the note from the queen, and her own answer, she adds that it would be in vain further to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by his royal highness, that he had taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her upon any occasion, either in public or private, since of these his royal highness was pleased to state himself to be the only judge.

"But, sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed, that the words of your royal highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your royal highness what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?

"I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know; that after open persecution, and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal. Since his majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared innocent—I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

"Sir, your royal highness may possibly refuse to read this letter. But the world must know that I have written it; and they will see my real motives for forgoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank. Occasions however may arise (one I trust is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation?

"I wave my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your royal highness; not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence

existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.

"Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law. From their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in the peace of Europe. My daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire. This season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity: and of all his majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented by your royal highness from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me. I am, sir,

Your royal highness's faithful wife,

"CAROLINE, P.

"*Connaught House, May 26, 1814.*"

No notice being taken of this letter, the princess of Wales, about a week afterwards, addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons to the following purport: that his royal highness the prince regent had been advised to take steps for preventing her appearance at court; and to state his unalterable determination never to meet the princess, either in public or private. The proceedings of 1807, and of last year, her royal highness considered to be in the perfect recollection of the house, as well as the ample vindication of her conduct, to which those proceedings led. It was impossible for her royal highness to conceal from herself what was the intention of the advice given to the prince regent, or the probability of other objects pregnant with danger to the future succession of the throne, and to the domestic peace and tranquillity of the realm. Whatever might be her own feelings, a sense of what was due to her daughter, and to the interests of the country, induced her to communicate what had passed to the house of commons. Her royal highness therefore inclosed copies of the communication between her majesty and herself.

The proceedings in parliament on this subject have already been stated at sufficient length; we shall not therefore recapitulate them, but our readers cannot fail to have been struck with the nature of the termination of the complaints of the princess of Wales to the house of commons. She complains that she has been treated in an unfair and degrading manner by the prince regent; that she is excluded from court, at a period when it more than ever was necessary that she should appear there; and that this behaviour towards her was continued notwithstanding her innocence had been established, and his majesty had permitted her to come to court. It must be supposed that, by laying these complaints before the house of commons, she meant to appeal to them as the representatives of the nation, and to call upon them to rescue her from the indignity and injustice under which she was suffering. Accordingly, at first a motion was made to address the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house, by whose advice he had been induced

duced to form the unalterable resolution of never meeting her royal highness the princess of Wales, either in public or in private. This motion was however withdrawn, to be afterwards brought forward in case her royal highness was still excluded from the drawing-room. But when the subject was again introduced in the house of commons, the necessity of increasing the establishment of her royal highness was much more insisted upon than the indignity and injustice under which she still laboured; and the conclusion of the business was, that the prince regent consented to give her an increased allowance.

It is impossible not to entertain a slight suspicion that an increased allowance entered into the motives for bringing forward the case of the princess of Wales: certainly her receiving this allowance before she was restored to her privileges, had very much the appearance that she was not averse to compromise her rights for money. The result was, that her royal highness fell very much in the public opinion; and when afterwards she left the kingdom, suspicion was increased that her principal object in all that had passed was to gain an increased allowance for the purpose of going abroad. Certainly, if she considered herself an injured woman, and if she looked for redress only from making her cause popular, the most impolitic step she could have taken was that which she actually took, for her absence will most effectually banish her from the minds of the people. Her real friends, as well as those who, besides viewing her as an injured and oppressed woman, considered her as very useful to them for their political purposes, strongly objected to her leaving the country; while the ministers, and probably also the prince regent, most gladly consented to silence her complaints by increasing her establishment, and beheld her departure with satisfaction.

In the discussions which took place in parliament respecting the conduct of the prince regent to the princess of Wales, it was strongly contended, that neither the nation at large nor parliament ought to interfere in the business; that a quarrel between man and wife, which this undoubtedly was, was totally without the province of the public; and that interference, even if it were within their province, could only serve to irritate, and could not possibly smooth the way to a reconciliation between the illustrious personages. With respect to the latter part of this observation, it must be admitted that it is perfectly true: public interference could not be of service in reconciling them; and if there had been the slightest chance of this desirable event, it ought most scrupulously to have been abstained from. But the object of public interference was not to reconcile them, that being well known to be hopeless; but to induce the regent to alter his treatment of the princess, and to allow her to intermix in those circles to which her rank as his consort entitled her. This alone was the real object of public interference; and that the public had a right to interfere on this occasion, and from this motive, will be sufficiently evident on the slightest reflection. The prince and princess of Wales are not private persons; nor can they be considered as such; every part of their conduct ought to be regulated by them with a strict reference to their public character and functions: for it is ab-

solutely impossible that what is usually called the private conduct of sovereigns, or of those who are likely to be sovereigns, should not influence their public conduct. On this ground, therefore, the interference of parliament in the dispute between the prince and princess of Wales was perfectly justifiable, even setting aside other considerations, such as that the person complaining was a foreigner, a female, and one who had already been followed by almost unremitted harsh treatment.——But, whatever opinion may be formed respecting the propriety of public interference in this case, there can be little doubt that in what occurred with regard to the princess Charlotte of Wales the public were justified in feeling a more deep interest. This young princess, it was generally understood, had taken the part of her mother in the dispute between the regent and her; and in consequence of this, as well (it is rumoured) as of the political bias of the princess Charlotte not being perfectly such as her father approved, she has been kept much more retired and private than her rank and age gave her a right to expect she should be. Those who were appointed to superintend and direct her education were very often changed; and it was understood that, from these and other causes, her situation was by no means agreeable to herself. Although the princess Charlotte had been hitherto educated in this retired manner, which, however it might have been favourable to her acquisition of knowledge, and to her freedom from the fashionable follies of high life, could by no means be calculated to render her fit to reign, by giving her a knowledge of mankind, yet it was determined that she should marry. The choice of a proper husband for her was necessarily confined to a few, as it was necessary he should be a protestant, and many of the protestant princes of Germany had been completely stripped of their territories and rank by Bonaparte. The person fixed upon was the young prince of Orange: he was recommended by having been long in England, and consequently acquainted with the government and with the habits and manners of the people; by having received his education at an English university; and by the connection between his family and that of the reigning family of Great Britain. Besides, he was favourably known to the British public by the courage which he had displayed in the campaign of the peninsula under lord Wellington. It never appeared, however, that he was very acceptable to the princess Charlotte of Wales: but as mutual attachment is seldom deemed a requisite in royal marriages, it was imagined the match would go on, notwithstanding any repugnance or indifference on her side. The real objections of the princess to her intended husband have never been satisfactorily given to the public: she certainly expressed a strong unwillingness to leave the country, especially at a time when her mother required her countenance and consolation. This objection it was endeavoured to get over, by promising that her absence should be by no means permanent, but only for a very short time, and that she should never be asked to go to Holland again. In this the princess appeared at first to acquiesce, and the marriage settlements were nearly drawn. Suddenly however the princess is said to have expressed doubts as to the

security

security tendered to her, that she should not be obliged to reside longer than she wished in Holland, and to have demanded that a clause should be inserted in the marriage contract, prohibiting her ever quitting the kingdom on any account, or for any time however short. To this the prince of Orange could not consent, as he was already engaged to the Dutch to take the princess among them for a short time.

Such is the account which was given, and is generally believed to be correct; but we must confess it appears to us very unlikely, either that the princess could be really apprehensive that she would not be allowed to return to England; or that the prince of Orange had it not in his power, or was not inclined, to agree to the condition of the princess, rather than that the match should be broken off. However this may be, the fact undoubtedly was that the match was broken off; and the natural consequence was, that the princess and her royal father were not disposed to look on one another so favourably or affectionately as they did before. As it was also rumoured, that some condition respecting her being allowed to visit her mother had been submitted and refused, and as the princess Charlotte, under the circumstances in which she was placed, naturally looked to her mother for protection and advice, this too rendered the breach between the father and daughter still wider. We have already mentioned that those who had the superintendance of the young princess's education were very often changed. On this occasion it was deemed proper to remove the principal persons about her, either because they were suspected of forwarding her views, or because they were not disposed or qualified to exercise that influence over her, which was deemed necessary in order to render her more obedient to the will of her father. While the prince was engaged at Warwick House, the residence of the princess Charlotte, giving instructions to those whom he intended to place over her, the princess took an opportunity of leaving the house in a private manner; threw herself into a hackney coach, and sought refuge with her mother. She was however induced the next day to return, and was immediately removed from Warwick House to Carlton House; and has since been under the more immediate superintendance of the prince, and of those whom he thought proper to place about her.

In consequence of this transaction, the duke of Sussex, in the house of lords, put several questions to the earl of Liverpool, as prime minister, respecting the communication with her friends which the princess was permitted to keep up since her removal to Carlton House; whether since her residence there she had been in the same state of liberty; whether the use of the sea baths, which had been recommended by the physicians last year, had been or would be allowed her; and lastly, whether, as her royal highness was now above 18 years of age, and past the age at which parliament recognised the capability of persons of the royal family to exercise the functions of government without assistance, there existed any intention of forming an establishment for her royal highness suited to her station, and calculated to promote her communication with persons of high rank, with whom she must at some time associate, and over whom it might be her fate at a future period to

reign? The earl of Liverpool refused to answer those questions; and his refusal was approved and sanctioned by the lord chancellor. In consequence of this the duke of Sussex gave notice of a regular and formal motion on the subject; but he was afterwards induced to withdraw it.

As the public were on many accounts very much interested in whatever related to the princess Charlotte, these circumstances were much and generally canvassed: by some her royal highness was greatly blamed on account of the violence of her temper, and her disinclination to accommodate herself to the wishes and the views of her father; by others, while the truth of this was admitted, it was contended that the measures adopted were by no means calculated to soften a violent temper, or to recall or create a spirit of obedience and filial affection; while others again thought that the princess had only acted as became her age and rank, and augured well from her firm and determined conduct.

Whatever opinion may be formed on this delicate subject, especially while many particulars are unknown, or partially stated, all must agree in lamenting that each year instead of healing exasperated the differences among the royal family; and those who were accustomed only to the domestic peace and union which generally exist in the middle ranks of life, thought it strange that, in the royal family, there should not be a strong desire to exhibit to the nation a better example. At this time, too, there were reasons for not bringing forward these lamentable and degrading differences, which did not previously exist: we allude to the visit of the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the other illustrious strangers, to this country.

It is not our intention to describe the manner in which they were received, either by the prince or the people; suffice it to say, that the former seemed, to use a common but rather a vulgar phrase, quite in his element while these illustrious strangers were with him: fêtes were given, more remarkable certainly for the extravagance than for the taste with which they were conducted; and the people of the metropolis and its vicinity were entertained in a manner which we should not have expected on the conclusion of a war which had been carried on for "social order and our holy religion;" as the entertainment given to the people could contribute only to their profligacy and dissipation.

The impression left on the minds of the people of England by these monarchs, especially by the emperor of Russia, was highly favourable: there was in him little of the outward show of royalty: not but that they could assume it when it was necessary; but so far were they from being fond of it for its own sake, that they seemed never better pleased than when they could lay it aside. There was likewise about them a wonderful degree of activity, both of body and mind: the emperor of Russia, in particular, visited every place where he could see any of those mechanical improvements for which this country is so famed; and he did not carelessly and ignorantly inspect them; on the contrary, he examined them minutely; he inquired into their construction, uses, and advantages; and the benefiting his own country by introducing these improvements into it, seemed always the object most near and interesting

teresting to his thoughts. The impressions which these monarchs received during their residence here, must on the whole have been favourable to the English character; for, though they were fatigued with the boisterous and overpowering manner in which the populace crowded round them wherever they went, they must have witnessed a greater degree of downright and warm honesty of heart, of consciousness of the real rank of man, and of comfort and cleanliness, than any part of the continent exhibits.

Whatever relates to Ireland must always be interesting to those who know what the inhabitants of that country might be made, and what they actually are. Some persons, indeed, affect to believe that the Irish are naturally so vicious, that no measures of government, no length of time, could reform them: but how these people would ridicule the notion that the Turks were naturally so bad that they could not be made better! If such an opinion were broached, would they not immediately reply, that the fault was with the government, not with nature? At the same time it must be admitted that the Irish catholics (for in speaking of the Irish they are to be principally if not exclusively considered) in many respects conduct themselves as if they thought that it would be better to irritate than to sooth the English government,—better to augment than to diminish the evils of which they complain. This character applies more particularly to the catholic committee of Ireland, whose proceedings have already alienated from their cause many of their most conscientious and respectable advocates. In our last volume we mentioned that the violent Irish catholics rejoiced at the failure of the bill brought into parliament for their relief, which they represented as an insult to the religion whose professors it was intended to relieve.

In this opinion of the bill they expected they would receive the sanction of the pope: but if his opinion were to be gathered from that of monsignore Quarantotti, president of the sacred missions in his absence, it was strongly adverse to them. In an official and public letter he styled the bill which was rejected, a most desirable measure, which, if it were to be passed into a law, the catholics ought not only to receive with pleasure, but to yield to their sovereign and to both houses of parliament unfeigned gratitude, and to show themselves by their future conduct worthy of so great an indulgence. In his letter he lays down this maxim,—upon which, however, it is vain and absurd to expect that the Irish will act while they labour under civil as well as religious oppression,—that they should not mix themselves with civil affairs: he admits that the government ought to be freed from every reasonable doubt of the fidelity, submission and allegiance of those who profess the catholic religion; and more especially of those who are admitted to holy orders, or raised to the episcopal rank; that, with respect to the latter, it would be reasonable and just that the king should name commissioners to examine whether the candidates were perfectly unexceptionable in point of loyalty and obedience to the laws; that foreigners, or those who had not resided within the realm for five years, should not be admitted to the exercise of ecclesiastical functions; that, on the death or promotion of a bishop, the clergy of the diocese should recommend to

the king a person as successor, and, if disapproved, should recommend others until the king should be satisfied; and that the king's commissioners should inspect all letters which might pass between the Roman see and the catholic clergy in the British dominions, under such restrictions only as were suggested in the late bill.

It is easy to perceive that the writer of this letter is, in fact, disposed to concede the *veto*; and it was therefore not to be expected that he would have much influence with the Irish catholics. Such was the case; and those men who were represented as so devoted to the pope, and so entirely governed by the authority of the church, were found refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope's representative. This difference of opinion necessarily weakened their cause; and as the catholic committee still went on in the same violent manner, refusing that liberty and toleration to others which they claimed for themselves, and at the same time accusing one another of insincerity, it is not to be wondered at if the catholic cause in Ireland rather retroceded than advanced during the year 1814.

The only circumstances in which the condition of Ireland appeared to be improved, was its agriculture: it was ascertained by the evidence and the documents laid before the committee of the house of commons on the corn trade, that the importation of wheat from Ireland into Great Britain had very much increased within these few years; and that this increased importation was owing to a spirit of agricultural improvement which had pervaded many parts of that island. But much still remains to be done, even for the agriculture of Ireland; for how can improvements be permanent, or carried on with that spirit and to that extent which will render them advantageous both to the individuals concerned and to the nation at large, while it is actually dangerous in many parts to take a farm, since the dispossession of a native, or an advance of rent, will expose the new comer to assassination? In fact, till the minds and the morals of the Irish nation are improved, it is in vain to expect, either that the soil will be as productive as nature seems to have intended it should be, or that the inhabitants will be as happy in themselves, and as high among European nations, as their warm hearts and excellent talents entitle them to be.

But we cannot unfold the causes of the low condition in which Ireland has so long been placed, or of the discontents that constantly agitate her peasantry, more fully or satisfactorily than by laying before our readers the substance of the charge of justice Fletcher at the Tipperary assizes:—in it there undoubtedly are some exaggerations, and some partial and unfounded statements; but on the whole it lays open many of the most fruitful sources of Ireland's grievances, which the British government ought to redress, not merely from a wish to benefit that country alone, but Britain also; for the strength and happiness of Ireland will most materially add to the strength and happiness of Britain.

His lordship made some preliminary observations on the general duty of the grand juror's office; bound as he was from the station in which he was placed, between the government and the people, to a scrupulous inquiry into the ground of every matter of presentment.—After his lordship had expatiated on this

this topic, he proceeded to notice more particularly the state of the country. From the appearance of the calendar, although the quantity of criminal business was very great, he found it had been exceeded on recent occasions, and hoped he might congratulate the country, from this comparison, that some improvement had fortunately taken place in the public manners. If, however, unhappily, the country continued to be disturbed, notwithstanding the enactment of law after law, enforcing a coercion unknown to the constitution, it showed most clearly that the check against this contagion was to be found only in the exertions of the upper classes. He had often heard it sneeringly observed of the Irish character, that, contrary to all other countries, they had become more barbarous as they increased in that wealth and those comforts which tended to civilise all the rest of the world. How the system of outrage which took place among the lower orders here was to be accounted for, he did not know. It could not be extenuated or justified any where; but in other places with which he was familiar there were many natural causes to which this unfortunate spirit of insubordination could naturally be referred. The severe and heavy burdens to which the peasantry were liable excited that irritation and ferocity, against which the state of ignorance they were suffered to grovel in, without care or education, offered little correction to prevent a deluded people from exposing themselves to the punishment of those laws which they set at defiance. Much also was to be attributed to the enormous rise of lands, occasioned by the deluge of paper money, and extraordinary calls occasioned by the war for all the produce of the earth, by which every necessary of life increased so much in its value. He repeated, that the prosperity of the country brought mischief to the peasant: after his landlord and his taxes he had the clergyman and the proctor; the latter, who was paid, with execrations, for an agency that was odious; and the former paid with reluctance by those to whom, as a pastor, they looked for no spiritual comfort. It was not, his lordship emphatically said, to be understood, that in any case the established clergyman got the full value of his tithes; but it was not to be wondered at that much dissatisfaction should be excited by the tithes-farmer, who kept to himself so great a portion of what he exacted from the poor under the title of the clergyman. This latter class, his lordship said, ought, for their own sakes, to establish a system as moderate as consisted with their situation; for surely, in point of personal interest, it was wise in them to secure a certain income by encouraging tillage under moderate charges, rather than drive the farmer to a system of pasturage, by which, under the agistment law, the tithes would be lost altogether. From this countenance and kindness, from a wise liberality in the landlords, the tenantry would naturally be led, during the present state of depression in the value of their produce, to look for assistance and encouragement; and the landlords could not well set up any argument to resist this appeal to their consideration, when they reflected on the failure of the corn bill, to the protection of which the farmer had looked with so much hope and anxiety. But no man on these accounts, or any of them, was to violate the laws: and it was only by the exertions of such men as he

then addressed, that the advantages and blessings of that peace and obedience were to be expected, in the improvement of which they had no excuse for apathy or relaxation. In other counties, his lordship said, he found also that murmurs and discontent arose from the conduct of the clergy, not of the established church, looking for an increase of those voluntary contributions from which they derived their only support; and in some of those places the lower orders had not been refrained from acts of violence to prevent exactions. But if every man in the higher ranks of life would individually exert himself, it would be easy to come at the root of all those evils of which we complained. To effect this, the great and opulent landholder, instead of standing at his post ready at all times to support the laws of his country and to promote its peace and prosperity, should not desert that country to spend its produce in another, and leave his tenantry to the management of a griping agent, whose only object was by misrepresentation and deception to grasp all he could for the gratification of his own avarice. It was to men such as he was addressing that it particularly belonged to have a close and watchful eye on the conduct of the magistracy, in the exercise of those powers which, in fact, superseded the old constitution. They were on the spot, and could trace every mischief that arose from zeal or supineness. The latter was, in all cases, reprehensible and disgraceful: the former became baneful only when it brought an over vigilance of power into action to administer to some private purpose; when men cram the gaols with their miserable fellow-creatures, merely to show the extravagance of their loyalty. Nothing, said his lordship, could beget amongst the multitude a proper respect for the laws, more than the observation that the scales of justice were too steadily and firmly placed to be warped by any little feelings of cabal or party. But of the two descriptions of men to whom he alluded, he did not know whether the apathy of the one or the vigilance of the other was more criminal or mischievous. His lordship earnestly recommended a strict frugality in the admeasuring of those public burdens which it was compulsory for them to lay upon the country; and not a shilling which was not imperiously called for, would, he hoped, be imposed by them: he trusted that not a single pound would be raised upon the country to gratify that vile spirit of *jobbing*, which he had witnessed in other counties; but, on the contrary, that the gentlemen whom he addressed would be governed by the most conscientious scruple in levying the public money, and by the minutest scrutiny in inquiring into its fair and just expenditure. This part of their duty was one, his lordship said, in which the capacity even of the peasant was capable of forming a proper estimate; and every man's reasoning would point out to him where grants were made for the purpose of public convenience and accommodation, or to put money into the private pockets of individuals; for it was impossible that the peasant should not feel, at the means which should administer to the hunger and nakedness of his children, being diverted to any of those improper purposes, or submit to the discontented sentiment, that all law was made against him, and no law for him. Let him, said his lordship, have, from bodies such as you, the protection he claims at your hands, and no such unworthy idea

idea will ever arise in his mind.—Let him see that all public grants are for public purposes, and to promote general intercourse, and you encourage him to bear up against his burdens. His lordship was glad to bear testimony, that he no where found, accompanying the most disgraceful outrages, any thing like a conspiracy against the government, or a correspondence with that great bad power, whose state was fallen, he hoped, never to rise again. His lordship directed the most particular attention of the grand jury to the subject of private distillation—an evil which struck at the revenue, which it defrauded to the amount of *two millions* of money in the year; at the comforts of all classes of life, by rendering it necessary to resort to other sources of taxation in order to meet the losses occasioned by this fraud; and at the morals of the poor, who were become so perfectly familiarized with perjury in defending themselves and their neighbours against prosecutions for this offence, that all the sanction of an oath was obliterated in the districts where it was practised. His lordship again adverted to the situation of the lower orders, and the ample means possessed by the higher classes of ameliorating their condition; and of rendering them at home as valuable for the domestic virtues of peace and industry, as they were eminent and exemplary in every other country for their bravery, their generosity, and their talent. Unfortunately, said his lordship, hitherto there had been a concurrence of too many causes to brutalize the Irish character, and we think ourselves justified in treating them as brutes. Instead of feeling surprise at finding them so wild, so thoughtless, and so ungovernable as they were, the wonder seemed to be that their character was not worse.

CHAPTER XIII.

Enterprises of the Allies against France—Introductory Remarks—The Allies cross the Rhine—Their Address to the French Nation—Their first Successes—Bonaparte's Measures—State of Affairs towards the latter End of January—Bonaparte leaves Paris—Situation of the two Armies, and Preparations for Battle—Battle of the 1st of February at Brienne—Indefatigable Exertions of Blucher—Battle of Laon—Remarks on the Conduct of the Austrians—Negotiations at Chatillon broken off—Bonaparte defeated.

IN the great and unparalleled drama which was to decide the fate of Europe, there were two momentous pauses, during which all who felt an interest in the peace, independence and happiness of this most valuable portion of the world could not but experience considerable uneasiness and alarm:—we allude to the pause which took place after the expulsion of the French from Russia; and to the subsequent pause that took place when the French were driven across the Rhine into their own country.

Many, who were deemed well-informed, cool, and even impartial judges, were of opinion that, after the most disastrous and disgraceful campaign in Russia, Bonaparte would never be able again to face the allies, but must rely entirely

tirely on their forbearance, if he continued in possession of the French throne. This opinion they grounded on several circumstances: they argued, that as Bonaparte possessed a hold on the French nation solely through their national vanity and love of military reputation and dominion, as soon as he had experienced disgraceful defeat to such a degree as he had done in Russia, he would necessarily lose the support and zeal of the French nation; and moreover, that, even if he did not lose this support and zeal, he would be totally unable to replace the army which he had lost in Russia; while the allies, on the contrary, accumulating numbers as they advanced through Germany, would be more than ever a match for France. When, however, Bonaparte did succeed in collecting a large army, and advanced into Saxony and Prussia, while the allies, apparently, were far behind him in military force, apprehension was again excited, that he would recover his ascendency, and that the slavery and misery of Europe would be riveted in stronger chains than those which before existed. And it is indeed probable, that, if Bonaparte had learnt experience by his Russian campaign,—if he had learned to soften the obstinacy and countroul the impetuosity of his character, he might have regained his superiority. But he had only become more obstinate and impetuous by defeat; and acting at Dresden and Leipzig exactly in the same manner in which he had done in Russia, he experienced the same fate: his second army was annihilated; Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, and Italy, were freed: he was deserted by one of his most celebrated generals, whom he had raised to the throne of Naples; and the close of the year 1813 saw him, stript of military power and in a great degree of military reputation, confined within the limits of ancient France.

Still it was to be apprehended that, before he was finally and completely subdued, the struggle would be arduous and dreadful; he might revive, like Antæus when he touched his native earth; and within France itself, the allies might again experience all those calamities and disasters which they had experienced at the commencement of the revolution. This, however, evidently depended upon several circumstances; particularly on the conduct of Bonaparte himself, on the disposition of the French nation towards him, and on the behaviour of the allies. If Bonaparte moderated his ambition—if he displayed a readiness to restore the blessings of peace to France—only called upon them to continue the war till an honourable peace might be obtained—he might, perhaps, could they be convinced of his sincerity, have roused the French nation to fresh exertions. But, on the other hand, it was to be considered that France was exhausted in every respect; she was stripped almost entirely of her military population; the war, hitherto little burdensome to her in a pecuniary point of view, was now coming within her own territories, and therefore must be supported by herself; while past experience forbad the French people from giving any credence to the protestations of Bonaparte, that he now was desirous of peace. Most, however, depended on the behaviour of the allies: if they acted as they had done at the commencement of the revolution; if it was apprehended in France, that they wished to force the old dynasty upon

upon them, or to restore the confiscated and sold property of the emigrants, it was naturally to be expected that the French, notwithstanding all their sufferings, would rally round Bonaparte; and the consequences of a whole nation rising up in arms, especially such a nation as the French, had already been wofully experienced. The campaign of the year 1814 was therefore looked forward to with great interest, not unmingled with apprehension. In the opinion of some, the allies tarried too long after the battle of Leipzig before they advanced towards France: but it ought to have been recollected, that in the campaign they had suffered much; that they were now about to carry the war into the country of an enemy; and that therefore many preparations as well as well disposed and combined plans were indispensably necessary. At length, on the 20th of December 1813 the allies crossed the Rhine, and entered the French territory, with an invading army of 150,000 men; and the next day they issued a proclamation well calculated to answer the purposes of their invasion: in this proclamation they declared that, though victory had conducted them into France, they had not come to make war upon her; their wish and object were, simply, to repel far from them the yoke that the French government endeavoured to impose on their respective countries; countries which possessed the same rights to independence and happiness as France. As conquest and splendour were not their objects, they therefore called upon the magistrates, land owners, and cultivators, to remain at their homes; as the progress and stay of the allied armies would be characterized by the maintenance of public order, respect to private property, and the most severe discipline: notwithstanding all they had suffered, they were not animated by a spirit of vengeance; they knew how to distinguish and separate the ruler of France from France herself; to him they attributed all their calamities; and not even were they disposed to retaliate on the French nation any of those calamities which the revolution had brought on Europe. While Bonaparte never made war but for the purpose of conquest, and to gratify his ambition, other counsels presided over the allied monarchs: they indeed were ambitious; they indeed sought glory: but their ambition and glory were of a very opposite character from those of Bonaparte; the only conquest which was the object of their ambition and glory was that of peace; but not such a peace as Bonaparte had often mocked Europe with; but a peace which should secure to their own people, to France and to Europe, a state of real repose. "We hoped to find it before touching the soil of France; we come hither in quest of it!"

Much was naturally expected from this proclamation; especially if the allies, on their first entrance into France, acted strictly and conscientiously up to the spirit of it. They had been accused of dilatoriness in their motions: but no sooner had they crossed the Rhine, than this accusation could no longer justly be made. Marshal Blucher's army crossed this river in three columns; general St. Priest at Coblentz, who made himself master of that town, and took 500 prisoners: generals Langeron and D'Yorck passed at Caub, and took Bingen, forcing a strong position, and

and defeating a corps of the enemy; and general Sacken passed at Manheim, and drove the enemy from an entrenched position. The whole amount of Blucher's army was 80,000 men; while at the same time Brabant was entered by an army of 50,000 men, to co-operate with which a considerable force was sent from England. But it was not only with her troops and money that this country was determined to assist the allies in their glorious purpose of restoring peace and tranquillity to Europe: as it was natural to suppose that the downfall of Bonaparte, or, if he displayed a sincere desire for peace, a treaty with him would take place, it was proper, in either case, that Britain, who had done so much, and who was so much interested in the result, should have a person well acquainted with her real interests, present with the allied armies. Lord Castlereagh was accordingly selected for this purpose; and we shall afterwards have abundant proofs, that no other person could have been selected, better qualified for this high and arduous mission.

Let us now turn our attention to Bonaparte in Paris. He still remained there, notwithstanding the sacred territory of France was invaded; nor was there any evidence that he was effectually preparing to meet the allied armies: he did not even boast of his means: it was indeed stated that there were 12,000 men at Metz, but that was the largest number stated to be any where, except at Paris. Indeed he seemed to be reduced to the necessity of adopting language, in his address to the French nation, very different from that which he had formerly employed;—"Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comté, are invaded. I call upon the French to succour the French. Peace, and the deliverance of our territory, ought to be our rallying cry: *the question is now no more to recover the conquests we have made.*"

Notwithstanding, however, this change of tone in Bonaparte, he found the French nation very reluctant in coming forward against the allies; and the regular armies which still remained to him were by no means equal to cope with them: they therefore advanced into France with little or no opposition or resistance. By the middle of January, part of the allied army occupied Langres, an ancient and considerable town 100 miles within the French frontier: until the allies reached this town, there was not a shot fired at them by any but the military; but here the inhabitants fired at them, though without effect. The principal French armies which Bonaparte had been able to collect, were under the command of marshals Victor and Marmont: the former advanced into Alsace, where he met the Bavarians under general De Wrede: the French, however, were compelled to evacuate this province, and, being pursued by the Bavarians, they were brought to action in Lorraine; the engagement was severe, and long contested: but at length the French were defeated with great loss, and retreated on Luneville. The Cossacks, according to their usual custom, were greatly in advance, and by the middle of January had pushed on between Epinal and Nancy. That these troops should have been able to come so near Paris, is a convincing proof of the inadequacy of Bonaparte's means effectually to repel the allies. The second French army, under the command

command of Marmont, was ordered to oppose the advance of Blucher; but neither in relative force nor equipment was it equal to this object. Marmont therefore retreated before the Prussian general to the Saare, behind which river, and within the frontiers of Old France, he took up a position: his retreat was much harassed on one flank by count Sacken, who occupied Worms, Spires, and Deux Ponts; while on the other flank he was approached by general D'Yorck, who occupied Treves and Saar-Louis. From this sketch it is evident, that even within a month after the allies had crossed the Rhine they had approached within no considerable distance of Paris, while the French armies which Bonaparte had hitherto been able to collect were by no means adequate to resist them.

Before the end of January the situation of Bonaparte was still more desperate and degrading: at that time, Marmont had fled to Verdun; Victor to Commercy; Mortier to Chaumont, and Macdonald to Namur; while the allies occupied Lorraine, as far as the Meuse; all Alsace, Franche Comté, and great part of Burgundy. Under these circumstances Bonaparte still remained at Paris; and, being unable to rouse the French nation, at last determined to sue for peace. The allied sovereigns had taken up their headquarters at Chatillon; and thither Caulincourt was ordered by Bonaparte to proceed, to negotiate a peace: but as lord Castlereagh had not yet joined the allied sovereigns, the French ambassador was obliged to await his arrival.

In consequence of the rapid advance of the allies, and the total indifference of the French nation to the apparently approaching fate of Bonaparte, the Bourbon family naturally began to be reanimated with the hopes that they would at last be restored to their country. The allies, indeed, had carefully abstained from even intimating to the French nation that they wished the restoration of the Bourbons; on the contrary, at this period there was reason to believe that they were willing to treat with Bonaparte. The English government, though more averse to make peace with him, yet were not disposed to go against the plans of the allies; but it was generally believed that the prince regent was strongly inclined to support the cause of the Bourbons. Louis the XVIIIth himself was unable, from age and infirmity, to take an active part in the restoration of himself and family: but Monsieur, the duke d'Angoulême, and the duke de Berri, more young, active, and enterprising, embarked for the continent towards the end of January.

In the midst of these difficulties and dangers, Bonaparte still remained at Paris. His stay there was accounted for in different ways: some were disposed to think that he was so completely bewildered and astounded at the imminence and magnitude of his danger, as to be totally deprived of all his faculties; others conceived that he was engaged at Paris in preparing those measures that would effectually serve to defeat the allies: and in this idea they were confirmed by the recollection, that on many former occasions he had been silent, and apparently inactive, at the very period when he was about to burst forth with renewed energy. The truth probably was, that he was afraid to leave Paris: he well knew that at this city the seeds of dis-

discontent and dissatisfaction were not only more abundant, but of more rapid vegetation, than in any other part of France; and that if, on his leaving Paris, that city rose against him, his fate was inevitably sealed. That he had lost his usual energy, in the midst of his dangers, was by no means true; as, while he continued in Paris, he was constantly employed in endeavouring to recruit his armies, and to replenish his finances: in the former he was not so unsuccessful as in the latter; troops he obtained, though not in sufficient numbers, nor of the best description; but his finances were in a most deplorable state; and to add to his disasters in this respect, before the end of January the national bank of France encountered such difficulties as amounted nearly to a stoppage. This evil Bonaparte was by no means calculated to remedy, even under more favourable circumstances; he had no idea of any thing but force; or if force could not possibly be applied, as in the present instance, his measures displayed the profoundest ignorance of political œconomy. By the report of the directors of the bank, it appeared that their ready money amounted only to 600,000*l.*, which, from the eagerness of the holders of notes to obtain payment, would be exhausted in a few days. In order, therefore, to prevent the draining of the bank, it was announced that, whatever number of notes might be presented for payment in the course of a day, not more than 20,000*l.* would be paid; and that no one could apply to the bank to change bank notes, unless he were the bearer of a number which had been delivered to him by the mayor of his quarter.

At length on the 25th of January Bonaparte left Paris, having been preceded on the 19th by Berthier, and having previously confided the regency, during his absence, to Maria Louisa.——The French armies about this time were assembling within the line of the Meuse; Chalons on the Marne being the point towards which Macdonald, Marmont, Victor and Mortier were retreating from different quarters. The allied armies at the same time were concentrating and pressing on the same point: Blucher by the way of Nancy and Toul; and Schwartzenberg, who had the chief command of the Austrian and Russian armies, by Langres and Chaumont. About the end of this month the two grand armies of the allies came entirely into communication; when it was determined by the allied sovereigns, as a mark of their special confidence in marshal Blucher, to place at his disposal the Austrian corps of general Giulay and of the prince of Wurtemberg. The French army at this time were strongly posted, with their right at Dienville, about three miles above Brienne; their centre at the village of La Rotherie, and their left towards Tremilly; a village and wood in front of their left being also occupied. Marshal Blucher, having been reinforced, made his dispositions to attack the enemy; and on the 1st of February general Sacken moved from Trannes in two columns; the first on Dienville, the second on La Rotherie, while a reserve of 6000 Russians was posted on the heights between Trannes and Maison. The whole of the force of the allies which they brought into action on this occasion amounted to between 70 and 80,000 men; that of the enemy was about the same strength, consisting of the corps of Victor, Marmont, and Mortier.

ier. Both Bonaparte and Berthier were engaged in the contest; and on the other side the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg were spectators of it: it was indeed the first grand engagement within the French territory.

After some skirmishing and cannonading in the plain, an obstinate contest began on the left, for the position of La Giberie, which the prince of Wurtemberg at length succeeded in carrying. Bonaparte, fully aware of the importance of this position, endeavoured to remedy the disaster by moving a corps to the left; but in this movement he was prevented by the watchfulness and skill of marshal Blucher, who drew the whole of the force under Sacken towards the centre, leaving count Giulay alone to attack Dienville. In consequence of this movement on the part of Blucher, a most desperate engagement took place at La Rotherie, which formed the key of the enemy's disposition. At this place Bonaparte led on his troops in person, and at first was successful: but the allies fought with most determined perseverance and courage; they knew that they fought under the eye of their sovereigns; and they were moreover animated by the example of Blucher, whose great prowess and skill were on this occasion whetted by his deadly antipathy to Bonaparte.

At La Rotherie the combat lasted till ten at night, when the Russians remained masters of the town; though the French held the ground beyond it, and at midnight of the 1st of February were in possession of the heights of Brienne. It was not, however, till two hours after the Russians became masters of La Rotherie that general Giulay succeeded in gaining possession of Dienville. Such was the result of the battle of the 1st of February.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 2d, Bonaparte, being completely baffled in all his attempts to reoccupy the village of La Rotherie, notwithstanding he himself directed the attack of the young guards on that place, where he was opposed in person by marshal Blucher, decided upon a retreat, with the loss of 73 pieces of cannon and 4000 prisoners. He drew off his troops in two columns, one upon Lesmont, and the other upon Lassicourt. They were followed at day-break by part of the allied army; and the French were compelled to continue their retreat on Troyes, and thence on Nogent. On the 5th of February the corps of Macdonald was defeated by D'Yorck, between Vitry and Chalons, with the loss of 3 cannon and several hundred prisoners.

The allies were determined not to lose the fruits of their victories by delay: on the 7th they occupied Troyes, one of the richest and most considerable towns in France. The circumstances attending their occupation of this town fully confirmed his opinion that the people of France were indifferent to the fate of their emperor; for, notwithstanding all his promises of peace, all his representations of the cruelties of the allies, and especially of the Cossacks, and notwithstanding he invoked them by every thing which he thought dear to Frenchmen to rise *en masse*, they were in almost every instance immoveable, maintaining a most rigid and inflexible neutrality.

In this disposition they were undoubtedly confirmed by the behaviour of the allied troops, as well as by the conduct of the allied sovereigns; for the most strict and orderly

derly discipline was preserved; and in no cases, except where the inhabitants fired on them, did they retaliate on Frenchmen the cruelties which their respective countries had suffered from them. That the sovereigns were sincere in their desire for peace, was sufficiently manifested by their treating with Bonaparte at the very time that their armies were victorious in the very heart of France; for the negotiations still continued; and it was afterwards known that the ambition and madness of Bonaparte were the only causes which prevented them from terminating in peace.

After the battle of Brienne, the prince of Schwartzenberg fixed his head-quarters at Troyes, and marshal Blucher at a place about twenty miles to the north of Troyes.—It was naturally supposed that the latter would follow the course of the river Aube, until he united his army with that under the prince in the neighbourhood of Nogent, and after the junction force Bonaparte to fight. But the plan of Blucher was different: from the banks of the Aube he marched northwards in the direction of the Lower Marne. About the same time Bonaparte, accompanied by Ney, Mortier and Marmont, left Nogent, and, proceeding 30 miles to the north, attacked a Russian corps and took the whole of them prisoners. On the following day the head-quarters of Blucher were at Bergeres: on the 13th he advanced to attack Marmont at Etoges, who had between 8 and 9000 men. The enemy however gradually retired, his rear suffering very considerably from the Cossacks. In the mean time Bonaparte marched from Chateau Thierry, generals D'Yorck and Sacken having retired from that place behind the Marne. On the 14th Bonaparte, having joined Marmont, made a sudden and very impetuous attack on Blucher, who was inferior in numbers, and particularly in cavalry: he therefore determined on a retreat, and for this purpose formed his infantry into squares.—On these the enemy made the most desperate attacks; but they were received with such undaunted firmness, that not one of the squares was broken. After a very severe and unequal contest, which continued for upwards of four hours, marshal Blucher, observing a large corps of cavalry posted in his rear, resolved to force his way through it: this he effected by opening a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. But when he reached Etoges at night, he was assailed by a body of infantry, which had penetrated through by-roads, on his flanks and rear: he was therefore again under the necessity of renewing the attack; and this obstacle being also overcome, two divisions of Blucher's army occupied for the night the position of Bergeres. The total loss which he sustained during this incessant fighting was nearly 4000, in killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss of the French, however, was stated to be much greater, as Blucher was very superior to them in point of artillery, from which he poured on them a tremendous and most destructive fire.

While these events were going on in this part of France, general Winzingerode, who had already made himself master of Rheims, advanced against Soissons: at this place Bonaparte had fixed a reserve camp, which the general attacked with great impetuosity. The contest was sharp, but not of long duration: the issue was, that 2 generals and 3000 men were taken, as well as the

town

town itself, not quite seventy miles north-east of Paris.

Such were the operations on the right of the allies: at the same time the grand army put itself in motion on the left. On the 11th of February the prince of Wurtemberg carried by assault the town of Sens, 82 miles south-east of Paris; and afterwards having crossed the river on which this place stands, he advanced to Bray on the Seine, where he was joined by the Bavarians under general Wrede. Other corps of the allies advanced nearly in the same direction, so that by the middle of February they had spread themselves about 40 miles along the course of the Seine. The protection of this important river had been intrusted to Victor and Oudinot, who, alarmed at the advance and strength of the allies, abandoned the left bank and destroyed the bridges: these however were soon re-established, and prince Schwartzenberg fixed his head-quarters at Bray. On the 17th of February the imperial residence of Fontainbleau, only 41 miles from Paris, was carried by assault. It would appear, however, that the allies had divided themselves too much; and Bonaparte having gained some partial advantages, prince Schwartzenberg called in all his detachments on the right of the Seine, and united his whole army behind that river. On the 18th Bonaparte made a most desperate attack on one part of the allied army which was posted near a bridge over the Seine; in this attack he was foiled: he renewed it, and was again defeated: again he attacked the position, and a third time he was repulsed with dreadful loss. Still, as it was of vital importance for him to gain this position, he made a fourth attack, in which he succeeded, obtained possession of the bridge, and passed over a considerable part of his army.

But the most indefatigable of all the allies was Blucher: his first and grand object was to reach Paris and though by not being properly seconded in this object he had suffered seriously, as we have already seen, yet he was not daunted, but resolved to renew his attempt. On the 19th of February the whole of his army was united about 40 miles to the north of Troyes: on the 21st he moved to a place on the Seine for the purpose of preventing Oudinot from crossing that river: during the night of the 23d his army was again put in motion against Marmont, who retreated, and was followed by Blucher nearly 30 miles. Marmont having been joined by Macdonald, Blucher resolved if they made a stand to alter his plans; but as they precipitately abandoned their position, he pushed forward in such a manner as to render the allies masters of the whole line of the Marne for above 80 miles.

As one of the principal objects of Blucher was to unite his army with that of Winzingerode, Bonaparte moved in such a direction as he thought would prevent the junction; but, being foiled in this project, he could not retreat without a battle. On the 4th of March he reached Fismes, on the road from Soissons to Rheims: from that period various affairs took place between detached parties of the adverse armies. On the 9th Blucher resolved to give battle at Laon: he was however anticipated by Bonaparte, who, taking advantage of a thick mist, attacked the right and centre of the allies, who were under the necessity of falling back to the very walls of Laon. About mid-

day the mist cleared up; the right and centre of the allies regained the ground which they had lost; and a severe contest ensued in this quarter, which was only terminated by night-fall. The most important part of the engagement, however, was that which took place on the left of Blucher's army, where the corps of Kleist and D'Yorck were posted. These were attacked by a heavy cannonade about three o'clock in the afternoon; but Blucher, having anticipated the probability of this attack, immediately reinforced his left with two divisions, and ordered the whole to advance upon the enemy. Their attack was irresistible; they bore down all before them. Prisoners, artillery, ammunition waggons, &c. fell into the hands of the victors; and the French fled in the greatest confusion and disorder towards Rheims. In this engagement, so honourable to the courage and skill of Blucher, so fatal to the hopes of Bonaparte, upwards of 70 pieces of cannon were captured; and the number of prisoners was immense.

A rumour had for some time been circulated, that the Austrians were much better disposed towards Bonaparte than any other of the allied powers; and the continuance of the negotiations at Chatillon, notwithstanding his defeats and his persisting in demanding extravagant terms, countenanced this rumour. If, indeed, the French nation had discovered any strong predilection for Bonaparte; if they had risen *en masse*, or opposed the allies, the continuance of the negotiation might have been defended on the ground that the allies wished to adhere strictly and conscientiously to their address to the French nation; that it was by no means their wish or object to deprive Bonaparte of his throne, if the French people desired that he should retain possession of it. It was not difficult to conjecture the cause of the predilection of the court of Austria to Bonaparte: that court, perhaps the proudest in Europe, had been degraded by an intermarriage with him; but it would be still more degraded if he were deprived of his throne, and reduced to the condition of a private individual.

But it was not merely from the continuance of the negotiations at Chatillon that the views of Austria with respect to Bonaparte were conjectured: the movements of the Austrian commander-in-chief were very slow, and by no means in unison with the rapid motions of Blucher. It was naturally to be expected that prince Schwartzenberg would take advantage of the defeat which the enemy had sustained at Laon, and advance towards Paris: but from the 4th to the 13th of March he remained at Troyes, and when he did move it was towards Chalons.

While Blucher remained at Laon, he issued an address to the French nation, written with great force and spirit: he began by telling them, that he was induced once more to address them, merely from a regard to their own preservation: attempts had been made to mislead them by proclamations, in which the allies were represented as having no other object but the division and desolation of France; they were also deceived in the accounts which Bonaparte published of the consequences of the various battles which had been fought. To repel the first assertion, compare our conduct since we entered France, with the conduct of the French armies in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Spain; and recollect that the allies

allies have suffered so much that vengeance would be excusable: yet they have not inflicted it. Why should they wish to divide or desolate France? They know that the interests of Frenchmen and of Bonaparte are quite different: against him, as the enemy of mankind; as the foe to the peace not only of the nations which he had conquered, but also of that very nation who had been the instruments of his conquests, they waged war; but not against France.—But you are afraid to rise against him, because he gives out that he has been victorious: if he had been victorious, would the allies be at this moment so near the capital of France? "In order to judge of the events of the war, you have only to inquire of the inhabitants of Laon concerning what happened on the 9th and 10th of March, on which days the French army, commanded by the emperor Napoleon in person, was totally defeated under the walls of that town; ask them, if they did not see the army fly before our victorious troops;—if they have not seen the trophies of our victory."—"We desire nothing else, I repeat to you, than the peace and repose of Europe. The negotiations at Chatillon, when they are once published, will convince you that it is your sovereign alone, who in spite of what he says to you continually throws fresh obstacles in the way. All the nations of Europe combat for one end. The event cannot be doubtful: a longer resistance, and even some advantages if you may flatter yourselves with them, will merely serve to render you more unhappy than you already are."

In the critical situation in which he was placed, Bonaparte by no means displayed those great talents as a general, for which he had gained credit: he was indeed remarkably active, and made many very rapid marches; but he had no well digested plan which promised to deliver France from the allies.—It may however be said that his affairs were desperate; that no talents however great could have extricated him from his difficulties: but allowing this representation to be correct, (which indeed it undoubtedly was,) what opinion must we form of this man, who, under these desperate circumstances, refused to accede to the terms which the allies were yet willing to grant him? For, notwithstanding his defeats and his pertinacity in continuing the war, the allies were willing to treat with him as sovereign of France, and even to extend the boundaries of that kingdom beyond what they were at the commencement of the revolution.

That the allies carried their self-denial too far, can hardly be doubted; for there is every reason to believe that, if they had even called upon the inhabitants of France to express their sentiments and wishes with regard to Bonaparte, they would have been almost unanimous for his deposition. But, by continuing to treat with him, the people of France were virtually given to understand that the allied sovereigns would not countenance and encourage any rising against him; and in this opinion they were confirmed by the members of the Bourbon family not being publicly received at the head-quarters of the allies. It is impossible to attribute this conduct to any other cause than a wish to consult Austria; and indeed, as we have already mentioned, it is generally understood that, had it not been for this power, the negotiations at Chatillon would not have continued so long as they did,

and the allied armies would have been at Paris soon after the commencement of the campaign.

At length, however, even Austria was convinced that no peace could be made with Bonaparte; and that it was absolutely necessary to break off the negotiations, and to carry on the war in the most vigorous and determined manner. Accordingly on the 18th of March the final and complete rupture of negotiation for peace with Bonaparte took place. Immediately after this event, Bonaparte again directed all his efforts in a most desperate manner against Blucher; for two days he poured his numbers against the immoveable battalions of that general at Laon: but finding that he could make not the slightest impression, he bent his efforts southwards against Schwartzenberg. It was not however till the 21st that he was able to take up a position at Arcis on the Aube, while the allies had taken up a position in his front. The two armies remained opposite to each other, ready for battle, until half-past one in the afternoon; when Bonaparte abandoned his scheme, which he had come from Rheims to execute, and began to move off his columns on the road to Vitry, leaving however a powerful rear-guard in possession of Arcis. This was attacked about three o'clock in the afternoon, and after an obstinate defence was driven from the town, and pursued to a distance, leaving the ground covered with killed and wounded. Bonaparte at first proceeded in a northern direction; but afterwards turned to the east on St. Dizier, and thus found himself on the 24th of March exactly where he was on the 26th of January when he opened the campaign.

The design of Bonaparte in this movement evidently was to frighten the allies from advancing to Paris; for he hoped by getting in their rear to induce them to give up that intention: but they were now too confident in their own strength, and too well convinced of the inadequacy of his means to do them any serious mischief in their rear, to be induced to alter their plan. It is probable also, that long before this they knew that the measures which Bonaparte had concerted for the defence of Paris could either not be effectual, or would be carried into execution by men who were no longer bound to him either by fear or inclination.—Before, however, we proceed with our narrative of the transactions of the allied army, it will be proper to notice the movements of the other armies which were employed in the same cause, but not in immediate co-operation with it.

CHAPTER XIV.

Transactions of Lord Wellington—Battle of Orthes—Consequences of that Battle—Counter-revolution at Bourdeaux—Address of the Mayor to the Inhabitants—Deputies sent to Louis XVIII.—Lord Wellington pursues Soult to Toulouse—Battle before that City—Cessation of Hostilities between the two Armies—Remarks on the military Characters of Lord Wellington and Soult—Sir John Hope taken Prisoner at Bayonne.

IN the great work of the liberation of France, and through it of Europe, no country had acted a more honourable and conspicuous part than Great Britain; for many years, indeed, her co-operation had been almost entirely confined to the supply of money; or, if she did send troops to the continent, their courage was rendered of no avail, by incapacity either in the plan or execution of the purpose for which they were sent. At last the campaign in the peninsula commenced; and the British soldiers displayed what they were capable of doing when led on by a general worthy to command them, and taught the nations of Europe that the generals and soldiers of France were not invincible.

It was not to be supposed that lord Wellington, who had accomplished so much against all the power that Bonaparte could send against him, would be inactive when the contest was carried into the heart of France, though from his local situation he could not directly co-operate with the allies.—During the whole of the month of January, and the greater part of February, the state of the weather in the south of France was so bad, that lord Wellington could not commence offensive operations: but as soon as the weather became tolerably favourable, he resolved to pass the Adour. In this his first movement he was greatly assisted by admiral Penrose; in the night of the 23d of February a breeze sprung up: this was the first that had offered itself since the necessary preparations had been in forwardness to enable the vessels to reach the mouth of the river; and early on the following morning admiral Penrose was off the bar, with the vessels and boats collected for the service. The enterprise was attended with considerable danger; it being in the first place necessary to find a passage through the surf, as the British troops were at this time crossing over to the north side of the river, but greatly in want of boats intended for their assistance. The first boat which attempted to enter the harbour was overset, the second succeeded in reaching the beach; but the surf was still so heavy and constant that it was scarcely possible that one boat in fifty could have crossed: they were therefore obliged to await the result of the next tide. This being at length at a proper height, and rewards being offered to the leading vessel, all the boats succeeded in crossing the river, the zeal and science of the officers triumphing over all the difficulties of the navigation.

Besides the Adour, lord Wellington had two other rivers to pass,

and it was of the utmost importance that the enemy should be ignorant of the points where he intended to pass them: he fully succeeded in every instance; and on the 26th of February the third division, commanded by sir Thomas Picton, forded the Gave de Pau, drove in the advanced posts of the enemy, and took up a position within four miles of their main army, which marshal Soult had concentrated, on a strong commanding ground of very difficult access, in front of the town of Orthes. On the morning of the following day the light, 4th, 6th, and 7th divisions passed the river; but, in consequence of the badness of the roads, it was nearly one o'clock before all the corps had taken up their appointed positions.

As soon as his army was properly posted, lord Wellington resolved to attack the enemy: we have already stated that his position was very strong, his centre being thrown back, and both of his flanks advanced on very commanding heights, the right extending to the village of St. Bocs, and the left occupying Orthes. According to the original plan, marshal Beresford was to attack and turn the enemy's right, and sir Rowland Hill was to turn his left, while the third and sixth divisions attacked his left and centre: but the fourth division, which attacked on the right, meeting with an obstinate resistance, and being unable to possess itself of the heights, lord Wellington with his characteristic promptitude instantly changed his plan, and turned the third and sixth divisions against the right of the enemy, so as to compel him to abandon the heights lest he should be entirely surrounded. In his retreat from these heights the enemy lost two pieces of cannon.

During this operation, seven battalions of the third division moved on the enemy's centre; and sir Rowland Hill, who had forced the passage of the river, seeing the state of the action, moved rapidly on the left of the enemy, and carried a strong position on which it appuyed. As the enemy had a numerous artillery on this point, (which might be considered as one of the keys of his position,) the resistance was obstinate, and our loss in storming it very considerable. The enemy's position was in the form of a triangle, of considerable elevation, which had the command of all the ground in the neighbourhood: the two points of the base line were hard pressed by the flank attacks, and the seven battalions of the third division were gradually gaining ground in the centre. Under these circumstances, marshal Soult gave orders for the retreat to commence: at first, it was carried on in great regularity, the retreating troops being supported by solid masses of infantry in succession: but on the approach of night they fell into great disorder, and made off in the utmost confusion, dispersing and making the best of their way in the same manner as they had done at the battle of Vittoria.

The British troops were so fatigued with the operations of the day, especially with moving up the mountain and over the ravines, that they were unable immediately to pursue them to any great distance; and as they were in motion during the whole of the night, the British could not get sight of them again till the following evening, when it was too late to attack them, they retiring across the Adour and destroying the bridge.

On the 28th the pursuit was continued to St. Sevre, where general

neral Beresford crossed the upper part of the Adour, and advanced to the chief town in the department of the Landes: this place he occupied, and captured there a large magazine of provisions. The heavy rains which fell on the 1st of March in some degree impeded the advance of the main army: sir Rowland Hill, however, proceeded up the Adour to Aire, which he attacked on the 2d. As the enemy had here his last magazine, he made a most desperate resistance; but he was again put to flight, leaving the road to Bourdeaux entirely open. The retreat of Soult's army was in the direction of Toulouse, whither the main body of the British pursued him; Bayonne being closely invested by sir John Hope.

The battle of Orthes was certainly one of the most general affairs that took place during the whole campaigns between lord Wellington and the French. Soult not only posted his army most advantageously, but during the battle manœuvred his divisions with great skill; nor was the skill of lord Wellington less conspicuous, while it was much more successful, and he was well supported by his troops: the third division had, as usual, its full share of danger and glory; and its loss was very great, amounting to 823, of which 53 were officers. In its attack on the left flank it was very ably supported by the eighth division.

Bonaparte must have been dreadfully disappointed and mortified at the result of the battle of Orthes; for he had sent senators and generals to raise the levy *en masse* in this as well as in other parts of France; and his official paper the Moniteur had endeavoured to rouse the people, by representing the behaviour of the English army under lord Wellington, as worse in point of plunder and atrocity than even that of the Cossacks and Russians was stated to be. But all his efforts were completely fruitless; the peasantry would not come forward against the English; on the contrary, they every where received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, while they expressed the utmost detestation of the government and person of Bonaparte, though each individual was afraid to take the lead, and commit himself with support.

As the allies at this time were still carrying on the negotiation with Bonaparte, lord Wellington, however well inclined to the restoration of the Bourbons, could not openly proclaim or support them, notwithstanding one of the family was with his army. But it was naturally to be expected that the people of the south of France, who had suffered in many respects more dreadfully and generally from the revolution, and especially from the measures of Bonaparte, should be anxious for the restoration of the Bourbons. In this part of France Bourdeaux was the principal town, which by the retreat of Soult in the direction of Toulouse was left at liberty to declare itself: and it had suffered, perhaps, more than any other commercial town; for before the revolution its harbour was full of shipping, the river was then covered with a forest of masts the whole length of the Chartrons, (which extends 4 miles in the form of a crescent,) and its quays presented an almost unparalleled scene of activity and bustle; whereas in 1814 the few ships that were lying in the river were unrigged, and their hulls rotting; not a boat was to be seen, except those which were plying for passengers; and, in short,

the quay and harbour evinced a total stagnation of business.—Nor was the situation of the adjoining country any better: the produce on which the inhabitants principally depended was their wine; but not having been able to dispose of it for many years, the stock on hand was very large, while they had neither capital nor inclination to keep the vineyards in proper condition. Under these circumstances, and being assured that the army of Soult could not reach them, the inhabitants of Bourdeaux determined to declare for the Bourbons: it happened fortunately for this determination, that the mayor of this city was a friend of the old family; had in fact emigrated early in the revolution, and on his return had been unaccountably appointed to this important situation by Bonaparte: he was moreover descended from an Irish family, and had a brother a merchant in London. His name was Lynch.

On the 12th of March he addressed a proclamation to his fellow-citizens; in this he declared that he considered himself fortunate that it fell to his lot to be the interpreter of their long-suspended wishes: the duke d'Angoulême, the nephew and son-in-law of Louis XVI., was among them; his presence had converted into allies irritated nations, who almost to the gates of Bourdeaux had borne the name of enemies. The English, Spanish and Portuguese were not advancing to subject the provinces of France to a foreign yoke; their object, their wish, was the same as that of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, the restoration of the Bourbons, and, along with their restoration, the restoration of industry, of plenty, of peace, of good morals, of liberty. Could the people of Bourdeaux for one moment refuse to admit the bearers of these blessings? could they for a moment believe, that those armies who had given protection to one of the Bourbon family were the real enemies of France? No: they were enemies only to Bonaparte, enemies only to the enemy of France. The English, Portuguese and Spaniards had assembled in the south, as the people of other countries had done in the north, to destroy the scourge of nations, and to replace him by a monarch the father of his people. But apprehensions might be entertained that the Bourbons, on their restoration, would indulge in vindictive feelings: these apprehensions were totally void of foundation; for the Bourbons knew what Frenchmen had already sustained, and it was far from their wish, as it was at variance with their real interest and policy, to be vindictive, or even to carry punishment further than was absolutely necessary.—With the testament of Louis XVI. in their hands they forget all resentment: every where they proclaim and they prove that tolerance is the first wish of their soul; and they promise equal protection to every faith which invokes a God of peace and reconciliation. Every liberal institution shall be maintained: the prince will be the first to devise, with the representatives of the people, the most legal mode of taxation, in order that they may not be oppressed.

There was yet another subject on which it was necessary to quiet the apprehensions of the people of Bourdeaux, and that respected the state of property: on this, therefore, the mayor gave them the most perfect and explicit assurance. "Already his majesty has twice proclaimed, in the face of Europe, that

that the interest of the state made it a law with him to confirm the sales, which by innumerable changes interested so many families, in estates henceforward guarantied." "People of Bourdeaux, I have obtained assurance, that it is the firm determination of his majesty to favour industry, and to recall among us that impartial liberty of commerce which, prior to 1789, had diffused comfort among all the labouring classes. Your harvests shall cease to be ruinous; the colonies, too, long separated from the mother country, shall be restored to you: the sea, which had become nearly useless to you, is about to bring back friendly flags into your port: the laborious artisan will no longer be idle; and the mariner, restored to his noble profession, is about to navigate the seas anew, to purchase repose for his old age, and to bequeath his experience to his sons." The husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. is within your walls: he himself will soon communicate to you the expression of the sentiments which animate him, and those of the monarch whose representative and interpreter he is." The mayor concluded this animated address, so well calculated to make an impression on the people of Bourdeaux, by reminding them, that it was to the patriotism of merchants that the Stadtholder owed his re-establishment; and that they had it now in their power to be the first to give a similar example in France.

As soon as lord Wellington was made acquainted with what had taken place at Bourdeaux, he gave directions for the march of part of his army to be hastened thither; the duke d'Angoulême, as appears from the proclamation of the mayor, having preceded them. One of the first wishes and objects of the duke, as well as of the people of Bourdeaux, naturally was, to send a deputation to Louis XVIII. in England. Accordingly, on the 25th of March, about a fortnight after the proclamation of the mayor, two deputies from Bourdeaux waited on Louis at Hartwell House; and a short time afterwards deputies came also from other parts of France. The crisis of Bonaparte was now indeed very fast approaching: but before we relate the particulars of the capture of Paris, and of his fall, it may be proper to anticipate what remains of the operations of lord Wellington, in order to give them completeness, and bring them to a final close.

We have already mentioned that Soult retreated towards Toulouse: hither he was followed by lord Wellington: before, however, he attacked the enemy, Bonaparte had been overthrown, and intelligence of this event had been sent both to lord Wellington and Soult: but the messengers being unaccountably detained on the road, hostilities between the two armies continued after peace was restored to the rest of France.

Though Toulouse was not naturally very strong, yet Soult had had time to prepare for its defence, by the continual falls of rain which impeded the advance of the allied army. This city is surrounded on three sides by the Garonne and the celebrated canal of Languedoc; and part of an ancient wall still remains: the French engineers took advantage of these circumstances, and constructed *têtes de pont* commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and supporting them by musketry and artillery from the wall. They had besides fortified a commanding height to the eastward with

with five redoubts; and as the roads had become impassable for artillery and cavalry, no alternative remained but to attack them in this formidable position.

On the 8th of April part of lord Wellington's army moved across the Garonne; and the cavalry of the enemy were driven from a village on a small river which falls into the Garonne below the town: between this river and the canal of Languedoc were the fortified heights which formed the chief strength of the enemy's position. Lord Wellington therefore resolved, that while these heights were stormed in front the enemy's right should be turned, and the *tete de pont* on the canal to the left should be threatened; and that these operations on the right of the Garonne should be supported by a simultaneous attack on the *tête de pont* formed by the suburb on the left of the river. The whole of the 9th was occupied in making preparations for these different attacks; and on the 10th they were carried into execution. Marshal Beresford carried the height of Montblanc, and forced his way to the point, at which he turned the enemy's right, while a Spanish corps moved forward to the attack in front; but the French troops were so strongly posted, that they not only repulsed but pursued the assailants to some distance. At this time the light division under sir Thomas Picton was moved up to their assistance; they were formed again, and brought back to the attack. In the mean time marshal Beresford had succeeded in carrying the redoubt which covered the extreme right of the enemy, and had established himself on the heights on which the four other redoubts were placed. As soon as the marshal's artillery could be brought up, and the Spaniards were formed again, the marshal continued his movement along the heights, and stormed the two next redoubts which covered the centre of the enemy; who, after being driven from them, made a desperate effort to regain them. There now remained only the two redoubts on the enemy's left, and these were soon carried by the British troops advancing along the ridge, while the Spaniards at the same time attacked in front. While these things were going on, sir Thomas Picton drove the enemy's left within the *tête de pont* on the canal, and sir Rowland Hill forced the works of the suburb on the left of the Garonne; so that at the close of the day the French were closely hemmed in, the allies having established themselves on three sides of Toulouse, and the road of Carcassaone being the only one left open. By this road marshal Soult drew off the remainder of his troops in the night of the 11th; and lord Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph the following morning. This splendid and decisive victory, gained under the walls of Toulouse, terminated lord Wellington's campaigns against the French; as very soon after this event intelligence reached both the commanders of the restoration of the Bourbons.

We have so often had occasion to dwell upon the transcendent talents of lord Wellington, that it is almost needless to bring them again under the notice of our readers: yet, as this is the last opportunity which we shall probably have, we may be permitted to say a few words on the subject.

When lord Wellington first took the command of the British army in the peninsula, he had many prejudices

judices to contend against: the ambition and the alleged vanity of his family were much to his disadvantage; while the convention of Cintra, and the very high reputation of the armies to which he was opposed, induced those who did not know him thoroughly to anticipate only defeat and disaster. Even when he retreated to the lines before Lisbon, his talents as a general were not duly appretiated; but when it was seen that he had thus foiled Massena, one of the best and most experienced of Bonaparte's generals, his reputation began to rise; and each subsequent transaction in which he was engaged proved that it had not yet attained its just height. Indeed, there seems scarcely a single quality or talent, either of nature or experience, necessary to constitute a consummate general, which he does not possess: endowed with great quickness and comprehension of mind, he unites with it more than a usual share of coolness and determination; while he continues to inspire his officers, and even his men, with many of his own qualities. To the comfort of his soldiers he was particularly attentive; so that while in point of discipline he was uncommonly strict, and even severe, he was yet a favourite with them on account of his looking so carefully, and so much like a father, after their wants.

Of all the French marshals and generals to whom lord Wellington was opposed, Soult was undoubtedly the man of the most talent: stern, and unbending in his temper, he was possessed of uncommon vigour of mind and of great personal courage. The whole of his conduct in the south of Spain, particularly his mode of organizing that part of the country so as to maintain a large army there for so long a time in the midst of the greatest difficulties, sufficiently proves that his talents were not merely those of a soldier; while the manner in which he opposed lord Wellington, even after a great part of his old and best troops had been withdrawn by Bonaparte, and had been replaced by raw and inexperienced conscripts, proves that he was worthy of contending with the British chief.

One unfortunate event marked the close of the campaign in the south of France. It has already been mentioned that sir John Hope invested Bayonne: before this place the enemy had an entrenched camp, from which they made a sortie at three o'clock in the morning of the 13th of April. The picquets were driven in; and sir John Hope, in endeavouring to support them, came unexpectedly, in the dark, on part of the enemy: his horse was shot dead, and fell upon him; and not being able to disengage himself from it, he was unfortunately made prisoner. In this sortie major-general Hay was killed, and several officers wounded; but the enemy were at length driven back into their entrenched camp.

On the side of Holland the operations of the British under sir Thomas Graham were by no means of that magnitude and importance to the cause of the allies which it was expected they would have been: the Dutch indeed, after the first impulse of their detestation of Bonaparte, and their anxiety for the restoration of the house of Orange, had passed away, seemed by no means disposed to exert themselves, either to co-operate in the invasion of France, or even in the expulsion of the French from those

those parts of the Netherlands which formerly belonged to them; so that the British were nearly left to fight by themselves the battles of the Dutch. This apathy on the part of the inhabitants of Holland, who, from their commercial habits, had suffered more perhaps than any other people from the tyranny of Bonaparte, was truly astonishing, and cannot easily or satisfactorily be accounted for.

The crown prince of Sweden, after he was freed from his war against Denmark, was also expected to have put forth a vigorous and effectual co-operation in the common cause; but his movements were very slow; nor did he arrive near the frontiers of France till his services were no longer wanted. His tardiness seems to have created suspicion and dissatisfaction on the part of the allied monarchs; for, according to all accounts, after they had succeeded in dethroning Bonaparte, they received him with great coolness. The restoration of the Bourbons, therefore, must be ascribed to the successes of the armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which invaded France on the side of the Rhine; and of the armies of England, Spain, and Portugal, which invaded that kingdom on the south. The achievements of the latter armies under lord Wellington we have brought to a conclusion:—the grand and decisive achievement of the armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which crowned all their labours, and conquered the peace and independence of Europe, remains to be told.

CHAPTER XV.

Consequences of the active Co-operation of the Austrians on the Success of the Allies—Bonaparte endeavours to draw them from Paris, unsuccessfully—They advance close to the City—Situation of the Army by which it was defended—Proclamation of Prince Schwartzenberg—Battle of Montmartre—Capitulation of Paris—Declaration of the Emperor of Russia—Provisional Government formed—Treaty between Bonaparte and the allied Powers—Constitutional Charter—Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris—His Declaration—Adhesion of his Marshals—Definitive Treaty of Peace—Remarks.

AS soon as the Austrians began to act with zeal and thorough sincerity in concert with the Prussians and Russians, the final and complete success of the allies was placed beyond a doubt; for on their side, notwithstanding their partial defeats, a great superiority of numbers still existed; while the armies of Bonaparte were every day thinned, besides being greatly exhausted by the long and rapid marches which he found it necessary to make in order to meet his numerous foes. It may also be observed, that in this campaign, as well as in those of 1812 and 1813, Bonaparte's generals failed in displaying those great talents for which they had been previously remarkable: so that his science, talent and activity were frequently called into action merely for the purpose of repairing the blunders which

which they had committed. Nor did he himself display his usual military skill; while, on the other hand, his presumption and obstinacy, qualities particularly injurious in times of difficulty and danger, seemed to increase in strength.

Whoever has attentively considered his military campaigns must have remarked, that he was very often, if not generally, indebted for his victories to the adoption of measures which by their boldness and singularity inspired his adversaries with dismay, and doubts how to act. Had his adversaries been possessed of stronger minds—had they even profited by experience—the rashness of his measures must have been so manifest, that they could not have been mistaken for measures originating in great talents, or great confidence in the means of executing them; and consequently they would have led to his own ruin, instead of the ruin of his adversaries. Finding in the campaign of 1814 that he could not conquer the allies by directly opposing their progress to Paris, he seems to have resolved to have recourse to his favourite plan; but in this instance it precipitated his ruin. On the 23d of March the army of prince Schwartzenberg directed its route to Vitry: this town was in possession of the Prussians. Thither also Bonaparte was marching, in order to join Ney and Macdonald, who were advancing from St. Dizier; but the Austrians having reached the place before the French, Bonaparte threw himself into their rear while they formed a communication with the army of Blucher. It is hardly to be supposed that Bonaparte would have taken this step, had he not considered Paris safe under the protection of Marmont, whom he had ordered to take the command of the national guards for the purpose of defending it. Besides, he imagined that the allies would probably be alarmed for their own safety, having such a formidable army in their rear, and would therefore give up the plan of marching against Paris; or if they did march against that city, and were defeated in their attempt to gain possession of it, in that case he would be able effectually to cut off their retreat.

The attack of Paris by the allies might indeed have been hazardous, had the population risen in its defence, and seconded the efforts of Marmont for that purpose: but there is good reason to believe that the principal public men in that city, and even those in whom Bonaparte placed the most faith and confidence, were in correspondence with the allies, and that but a feeble resistance would be offered to them, provided they could be satisfied that the allies would not retaliate on Paris the destruction which the armies of France had carried into their respective countries. The army of the allies which advanced against the capital of France amounted to 200,000: on the night of the 24th three divisions of the French arrived at Vitry, in the hope of joining Bonaparte there; but they were immediately attacked by the allies, and driven as far as Sezanne, with the loss of 10 cannon and 1000 men. About the same time a convoy consisting of 5000 men, who were protecting a large quantity of provisions and other necessaries of the utmost importance to Bonaparte, were met by the allies, and after a gallant resistance were compelled to surrender in a body. As soon as Bonaparte reached St. Dizier, he was convinced that his plan

plan of intimidating the allies would not succeed, while the defeat and disasters of his corps between him and Paris left him little hope that that city could be defended. Influenced by these considerations, and being moreover ill provided with many articles necessary for his army, he resolved, when it was too late, to hasten back to the capital with the utmost precipitation. In this march he was closely followed and constantly harassed by Winzingerode with 10,000 horse and 40 pieces of cannon.

On the 28th and 29th of March the victorious armies of the allies, destroying and annihilating every thing that offered them resistance, crossed the Marne, near Meaux, in spite of a feeble opposition. On the night of the 29th Mortier entered Paris, where he found, besides his own troops, about 8000 regulars, and 30,000 national guards, under the nominal command of Joseph Bonaparte. This force took up a strong position near the city, with their right on Belleville, and their left on Neuilly.

As the allies wished, if possible, to spare the further effusion of human blood, a flag of truce was sent into Paris, along with a proclamation in the name of the commander-in-chief. In this proclamation the inhabitants of Paris were told that "the allies were before their city; but that the object of their march was founded on the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France. It asked, what Frenchman was there, who was not convinced that there existed in the very nature of the government which oppressed them, an insurmountable obstacle to that peace which the allies had made so many attempts to obtain? The allies, therefore, as much for the sake of France as of Europe, sought for a salutary authority in France, which might cement the union of all nations and of all governments with her: on the inhabitants of Paris, therefore, devolved the great and glorious task of accelerating the peace of the world: let her declare herself, and from that moment the army before her walls would become the support of her decisions. Parisians, you know the situation of your country; the conduct of Bourdeaux; the friendly occupation of Lyons; the evils brought upon France, and the real dispositions of your fellow-citizens. You will find in these examples the termination of foreign war and of civil discord; you cannot search for it elsewhere. The preservation and tranquillity of your city will be the object of the cares and measures which the allies are ready to take, in conjunction with the authorities and the notables who possess the largest share of public estimation. No troops shall be quartered upon you. In these sentiments, Europe in arms before your walls addresses you: hasten to reply to the confidence which she places in your love for the country, and in your discretion."

The flag of truce being refused admittance, it was resolved to attack the enemy on the heights above Paris: there were several redoubts in the centre of their position, and on the whole line an immense artillery consisting of 150 pieces. In the order of attack, the Silesian army was directed against Montmartre, while the grand army attacked the enemy on the heights at Belleville. Marshal Blucher made his own dispositions for his attack. After an obstinate resistance, the heights of Belleville were carried; at

at this place 43 pieces of cannon and a great number of prisoners were taken. Nearly at the same time marshal Blucher commenced an attack on Montmartre, from which the French were alo driven with the loss of 20 pieces of cannon. At the moment of these splendid and decisive advantages a flag of truce was sent from marshal Marmont, intimating a desire to receive any propositions which it was intended to have offered him by the flag of truce which had been refused admittance: for this purpose he proposed an amistice for two hours, covenanting to abandon every position which he occupied without the barriers of Paris. To these conditions prince Schwartzenberg agreed; and the next day the allies entered Paris, where they were received, not as enemies and conquerors, but as friends and liberators.

Previously to this, Bonaparte sent Caulincourt to the emperor of Russia; but he was dismissed without being heard, the emperor absolutely declining to hold any communication with Bonaparte. On the 2d of April the French senate, which had been assembled on the day previous, at the desire of the emperor Alexander, by Talleyrand in his quality of vice-grand elector, decreed the deposition of Bonaparte, and absolved all persons from the oath of fidelity to him as sovereign. General Sacken was appointed military governor of the city, but the command of the national guard was intrusted to a French general. A provisional government was also established, consisting of Talleyrand, Montesquiou, Jaucourt, Bournonville, and the duke of Dalberg: their first measure was to issue an address to the army, telling them that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; a man who was not even a Frenchman; who had thrown away the lives of a million of French troops; had exposed them to perish without magazines or hospitals; and was, in fact, as much the oppressor of the soldiery as of the rest of France.

Immediately after the allied armies entered Paris, the emperor of Russia issued a declaration in the name of himself and the allies, that the conditions of peace which they were willing to grant France, would be now much more favourable than any they would have granted if the people of Paris had adhered to Bonaparte; that they would no more treat with Napoleon or any of his family; that they respected the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings; that they might even do more, since they were persuaded that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong; that they would recognise and guaranty the constitution which France should adopt; and that, therefore, they invited the senate to name immediately a provisional government, to prepare a constitution which should suit the French people.

Marshal Marmont, before he agreed to give up Paris, stipulated for the personal safety of Bonaparte, and that he should be supplied with the means of living in some degree of splendour. On the night of the 4th of April, Ney, Macdonald and Caulincourt brought to the provisional government Bonaparte's proposal to abdicate in favour of his son,—a proposal which was not listened to for a moment: he then renounced the sovereignty in the following terms:—"The allied powers having proclaimed that the

the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself, and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France." Done at the palace of Fontainbleau, April 1814.

Afterwards a formal treaty was entered into between the allied powers and Bonaparte, of which the following are the principal articles: The 1st is the same in substance as his abdication: by the 2d, the titles of Bonaparte, and of all his family, were guarantied to them during their lives; by the 3d, the isle of Elba was appointed as his place of residence, of which he was to hold the full sovereignty, with an annual revenue of two millions of francs, in rent-charge, in the great book of France, of which one million was to be in reversion to the empress; to whom, by the 4th article, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were granted in full sovereignty, to pass to her son and her descendants in a right line: by the 6th article, a rent-charge of 2,500,000 francs was decreed to the branches of Bonaparte's family: by the 17th article, he was allowed to take with him to the isle of Elba 400 men, and to keep them there as his guard. The allied powers, after they had signed this treaty, applied to the British government for their accession to it; but this was refused, except merely as far as regarded the arrangements for securing the duchies of Parma, &c. to Maria Lousia and her son, in perpetuity, and the isle of Elba to Bonaparte for life: to these articles alone the signature of lord Castlereagh was affixed. Bonaparte was conveyed, with as little delay as possible, to the isle of Elba. His behaviour and mode of life since he has been there, it is not easy to learn, the accounts are so various and contradictory; but it would appear that he bears his wonderful reverse with more coolness and indifference than could have been expected; that he retains his usual activity of body and mind; and that he employs himself principally in improving the island.

After the allies were in possession of Paris, and the deposition of Bonaparte, there could remain little doubt of the restoration of the Bourbons: in fact, in a very few days after these events deputies arrived in London to wait on Louis XVIII: under these circumstances a constitution for the French people was soon framed, and immediately presented to the senate: it was read twice, and a commission appointed to consider it. On the evening of the 5th of April the commission made its report, and the constitution was adopted unanimously. By this constitution Louis was restored by a constitutional charter, of which the following are the principal and most important features:

1. The French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male in order of primogeniture.

2. The French call to the throne Louis, brother of the last king.

3. The ancient nobility resume their titles: the new ones preserve theirs hereditarily: the legion of honour shall retain its prerogatives.

4. The executive power belongs to the king.

5. The king, the senate, and the legislative body, concur in the making

ing of laws: those relating to contributions can be proposed only in the legislative body: the sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law.

6. There are 150 senators at least; and 200 at most; they are named by the king; their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from male to male: the present senators are retained: the revenues for the support of the senate are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors: in cases of death without male posterity, the portions return to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment.

7. The princes of the blood and of the royal family are, by right, members of the senate: the functions of a senator cannot be exercised under 21 years of age.

9. Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it sent before: the duration of the function of the deputies is fixed at five years.

10. The legislative body shall assemble each year on the 1st of October: the king may convoke it extraordinarily: he may adjourn it: he may also dissolve it: but, in the latter case, another legislative body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges.

11. The legislative body has the right of discussion: the sittings are public.

13. No member of the senate or legislative body can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs: the trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate.

14. The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body.

15. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right: no tax can be imposed or received, unless it has been first consented to by the legislative body and the senate. The land tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body.

16. The law shall fix the mode and the amount of the recruiting of the army.

17. The independence of the judicial person is guarantied. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters: the penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardon.

18. The judges are for life, and irremovable: the commissions and extraordinary tribunals are repressed, and cannot be re-established.

21. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable: all the acts of the government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts may contain in violation of the laws, public and private property, and the rights of citizens.

22. The freedom of worship and of conscience is guarantied: the ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.

23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty.

24. The public debt is guarantied. The sales of the national

domains are irrecoverably maintained.

25. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.

26. Every person has a right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.

27. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.

28. All the laws existing remain in vigour, until they shall be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled The civil code of the French.

29. The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed king of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, "I accept the constitution: I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed." This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

The resemblance of many articles in this constitution to the constitution of England is sufficiently obvious; and hence it might perhaps be inferred, that the French were now at last to be blessed with as great a portion of civil, religious and political liberty as the people of this country have long enjoyed. But we have more than once had occasion to notice and expose the erroneous opinion, that a constitution, however liberal in its principles, apparently practicable in its details, and however well and solemnly guarded it may seem, can bestow on a nation the blessings of liberty. If it could, the most oppressed, degraded, and enslaved people on the face of the earth might, all at once, start up the freest and most happy. No, unless in the great body of the nation there is a proper degree of intelligence, a proper sense of their own importance, weight, rights, and duties; and unless also there be in the higher classes, and particularly in those who are intrusted with the government, a conviction that their own happiness will be best secured by securing the liberty of the people at large, the most liberal constitution, drawn up by the most enlightened men and sanctioned by the most sacred guarantees, is but as a piece of blank paper: it wants the animating spirit: it may for a time cheat the people to whom it is granted with the appearance of liberty; but, if it have any real effect, it will be only that of hiding the tyranny under which they may groan, from their sight. At the time when these events took place in France, Louis XVIII. was so infirm and unwell that he could not safely leave England: his brother therefore, Monsieur, as he is termed, was appointed lieutenant-general of France, and immediately repaired to Paris: he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Although not expressly authorized to that effect, he declared his readiness to adhere to the constitution in the name of his brother.

As soon as Louis was sufficiently recovered, he came from Hartwell to London. The prince regent went out to meet him; and his entrance into the metropolis of the British empire was such as must have gratified all the finest feelings of his soul: indeed, the inhabitants of London, and of the kingdom in general, seemed to feel as much delight at the restoration of the Bourbons,

Bourbons, as if their own sovereign had been restored to them after a long absence.

On the 3d. of May Louis made his solemn entry into Paris. When he came to the palace of his fathers, a vast crowd, collected in the garden, appeared by their lively acclamations to solicit the presence of his majesty. The king presented himself in compliance with the wishes of his people. The duchess d'Angoulême was at his right hand, and the duke de Berri at his left. Shortly afterwards the daughter of Louis XVI. made way for Monsieur. The king instantly embraced his brother, and the acclamations were redoubled. The enthusiasm was at its height, when the king, raising his arms towards the crowd, seemed to say, "You are my children: I speak to you from my heart: I embrace you thus." The people understood him, by crying out "Long live the king! long live our father!"

A few days after, the senate was presented to the king, when the prince of Benevento (Talleyrand) addressed him to the following purport:—"The return of your majesty restores peace to France, and secures peace to Europe: from you alone could these blessings proceed; hence the gratitude and enthusiasm with which you are every where received: the joy expressed on this occasion cannot be feigned: it is truly national. The kingdom of your fathers has been laid waste: you succeed to it after 20 years of ruin and misfortune; the reparation of so great a state of disorder requires the devotion of great courage: the more difficult the circumstances are, the more power and preponderance ought to be given to the royal authority. A constitutional charter has been framed, which will unite all interests to the throne, and fortify the first will with the concurrence of all wills. The nation and the senate, full of confidence in your majesty, desire, with you, that France may be free, in order that the king may be powerful." His majesty received with great satisfaction the sentiments and homage of the senate.

In a very short time, however, some gloom and apprehension began to appear in Paris, in consequence of the declaration of the king. In this he stated, that being anxious to invoke that mutual confidence so necessary to his own repose and the happiness of France, he had attentively read the plan of the constitution proposed by the senate in the session of the 6th of April; and though he acknowledged that the bases were good, yet a great number of articles bore the appearance of the precipitation with which they had been digested, and could not, therefore, in their actual form, become the fundamental law of the state. As the wish of his majesty was to adopt a liberal constitution, he also wished it to be wisely considered: but not thinking it proper to accept one which it would be indispensably necessary to alter, he called together for the 10th of June the senate and legislative body; and in the mean time he would choose a commission out of these two bodies, for the purpose of considering the constitution, to which he would give the following guarantees as bases: The representative government to be maintained as it existed, divided into two bodies, viz.; the senate, and the chamber composed of deputies of the departments. The taxes to be freely granted: public and individual liberty secured: the

liberty of the press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity. The liberty of worship guarantied. Property to be inviolable and sacred; the sales of the national estates to be irrevocable. The ministers, being responsible, may be prosecuted by one of the houses of the legislature, and tried by the other. The judges to be irremoveable, and the judicial power independent. The public debt to be guarantied: the pensions, honours, and rank of the military to be preserved, as well as of both the ancient and new nobility. The legion of honour to be maintained. All Frenchmen to be admissible to employments, civil and military. No individual to be disturbed for his opinion or votes.

As the stability of the government of Louis depended, in a great measure, on the adherence of the marshals, and, through them, of the army, their sentiments on the counter revolution were anxiously looked for. Many of them were not slow in giving in their adhesion; and, if they had simply contented themselves with expressing their fidelity to their new sovereign, and their hopes that, by his restoration, peace would be secured to France and Europe, no blame could have been attached to them; but many of them, in their acts of adhesion, indulged in the most violent and outrageous language against Bonaparte; language which we are far from contending was not strictly warranted by his conduct, but which came with an ill grace from men who had been his instruments, while he was fortunate and powerful, in the execution of his most unprincipled and tyrannical actions. Soult and Davoust were among the last who sent in their adhesion; the latter commanded in Hamburgh, where he had been guilty of very great atrocities and cruelties.

On the 30th of May the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris; the following are some of the most prominent articles of it.

The first article not only stipulates in the usual form for perpetual peace and amity between the high contracting parties, but also for their mutual exertions to preserve peace between all the states of Europe.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th restore to France the limits of January 1, 1792, (prior to which, it is to be observed, she had seized Avignon and the countries inclosed within her frontier,) and make some further additions, which at various points appear to be merely arrangements of convenience, all in favour of France, indeed, but not amounting, in the whole, to a cession of serious import to the tranquillity of Europe. Beyond these limits, France renounces all those absurd pretensions to sovereignty, seizerainty, or paramount authority, for the acquisition of which the mad Corsican shed such oceans of French blood. The navigation of the Rhine is to be free.

The 6th provides that Holland shall receive an accession of territory, with proviso that the prince sovereign shall never wear a foreign crown; that the states of Germany and Switzerland shall respectively form independent confederations; and that Italy, exclusive of the countries to be restored to Austria, shall consist of independent sovereignties.

The 7th confirms Malta to Great Britain.

The 8th restores to France all the colonies, fisheries, factories, &c. which

which she possessed in 1792, except St. Lucie, Tobago, and the Isle of France.

The 9th and 10th contain the consent of Sweden to the cession of Guadaloupe, and that of Portugal to the cession of French Guiana.

The 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th relate to the time and manner of making the colonial restitutions, and provide that, for the avoidance of future contest, France shall erect no fortresses in the East Indies.

The 15th and 16th restore to France two-thirds of the shipping in the harbours given up by her in consequence of the convention of April 23d. This stipulation applies principally to Antwerp and Flushing, of which the former is, in future, to be only a commercial port.

The articles 17 to 31 inclusive contain the usual stipulations for protection of all interests which may be affected by the changes of dominion, whatever may have been the political conduct of the parties interested. By the 21st and 23d it would seem that some parts of Germany and Italy will remain chargeable with the sums originally imposed on them to maintain the grand dignitaries of France, the senators, the legion of honour, &c.

The 32d article provides for a congress to be held at Vienna by the plenipotentiaries of all the powers of Europe, to regulate the arrangements requisite to carry this treaty into full effect.

By the 1st additional article to the treaty with Great Britain, both parties agree to use their joint efforts at the congress for a general abolition of the slave trade, France in the meanwhile promising to abolish it within five years.

The following additional articles are alike honourable to both countries, by the engagements which they mutually contract for the discharge of all just debts, and the annulment of all unjust confiscations on either side; and England, with her characteristic generosity, consenting that, after full justice has been done to her subjects, the balance due to her for the maintenance of prisoners of war, which must be immense, shall be freely given up to France. Lastly, to crown the whole, commercial arrangements for the mutual benefit of both countries are promised.

Respecting the success of the allies, the dethronement of Bonaparte, the restoration of the Bourbons, and the consequent peace of Europe, there was considerable controversy in England: the point debated was, not whether these were desirable events, (for on that all were agreed,) but whether these events had been brought about by following the principles and the advice of Mr. Fox, or of Mr. Pitt. The adherents to the principles of the latter contended that Europe had been restored to independence and liberty, peace and happiness, principally or solely, by the firmness of Britain in that contest; and that this firmness and perseverance had always been inculcated and acted upon by Mr. Pitt; and that his successors in office, by following his example, had at length proved, by the result, the soundness of his views, and his high merits as a statesman. The adherents of Mr. Fox, on the contrary, maintained that Europe had been saved entirely by acting on his principles and advice; that he was as sensible as Mr. Pitt could be of the tyranny of Bonaparte, but regarded all resistance to it as vain, which did not spring from the people acting in concert with their respective

governments. He therefore was adverse to the coalitions of Mr. Pitt, because, by our subsidies, we induced those states to come into the contest who were not prepared for it, and endeavoured to unite those, who were not sufficiently aware of their common danger to lay aside their jealousy of one another. With respect to the mass of the people, he contended that they were nearly indifferent to the result of the contest which their respective sovereigns held against Bonaparte, because they did not dread being exposed to more tyranny and oppression under him than they already suffered. It was therefore necessary, to give the people an interest in the contest, which, according to Mr. Fox, could only be done by giving them more liberty. Mr. Fox, however, does not appear to have been aware, that there was another mode by which their interests in the contest might be excited; and that this mode would be followed by Bonaparte himself, who would thus prepare the way for his own downfall. It is sufficiently evident, that the great bulk of the people would not rouse themselves in the contest, unless they had good reason, either to fight for their own sovereigns, or against Bonaparte; and it may well be doubted, whether, if their own sovereigns had, agreeably to Mr. Fox's advice, granted them a greater portion of civil and religious liberty, this would have been an adequate stimulus to their exertions, since the promise of this would have been to most of them the promise of what they did not understand, or could not relish, and therefore did not desire. It may even be doubted, whether the prospect of being freed from those acts of personal degradation and oppression, to which they had been so long habituated that they scarcely felt them, would have roused them; whereas Bonaparte, by loading them with a species of tyranny, to which they were unaccustomed, and, moreover, that tyranny proceeding from a foreigner, and being inflicted by foreign soldiers in every mode most galling to national feelings, touched the cords of indignation and resistance, and roused those against him, who never would have been roused by the promise and expectation of a greater portion of civil and religious liberty. In our opinion, therefore, the downfall of Bonaparte, and the consequent restoration of independence and peace to Europe, was not owing to the measures of Mr. Fox having been pursued; was only very indirectly and incidentally owing to perseverance in the plans of Mr. Pitt; but was most essentially owing, in the first place, to the universal detestation which the tyranny of Bonaparte created; and next, to his annihilating himself, by his campaign in Russia, the means which he possessed for repressing the effects of that universal detestation: thus illustrating this grand and salutary truth, that tyranny and ambition will always work out their own overthrow.

CHAPTER XVI.

Considerations on the Circumstances that appear favourable or unfavourable to the Permanence of Louis the Eighteenth's Government—His personal Character and Habits—The Mode in which he was restored—The Interest of the French Marshals to support Louis considered—The Appointment of the Duke of Wellington to be Ambassador at Paris injudicious in this Point of View—The great Mass of the Nation interested in the Continuance of Peace—The agricultural Class—The manufacturing and commercial Classes—Disposition of the Clergy towards Louis—Effects produced by the Revolution on the State of Religion—Form of the Constitution adopted in France—Mode of their Proceedings—Remarks on it—Projet of the Law for the Liberty of the Press compared with the Law in England.

THE situation in which Louis XVIII. was placed was one of extreme difficulty; requiring not only talents of a superior kind, but also address and delicacy in the management and application of them. Those therefore who were well acquainted with him, and who were not disposed to flatter him, or to conceal his wants and his failings, and who at the same time were sincere and zealous friends not only of the Bourbons but also of the new order of things in France, were not without considerable apprehensions for the permanence and tranquillity of his throne. These apprehensions had their origin and foundation in several circumstances: in the first place, with respect to the personal character of Louis himself, he was allowed by all parties to be naturally inactive and indolent, and by no means possessed of that comprehension and firmness of mind which are desirable and useful in a sovereign in all cases, and which were most especially requisite in the case of Louis. These deficiencies might however be in a great measure supplied by a choice of wise and prudent ministers. But here again he was exposed to considerable difficulties and dangers; for it was naturally to be imagined that the emigrants, those who had surrounded him in the time of his adversity, whose sentiments and conduct had been similar to his own, would obtain a very large portion of his countenance, support and favour. And speaking of the emigrants as a body, they certainly were not distinguished either for talents or prudence; and it might well be doubted, without any great breach of penetration or candour, whether their sufferings had taught them wisdom. They were too apt, also, to rate their own services and sufferings too highly: these indeed, except in some particular cases, were not entitled to much merit or reward; for it may be doubted whether, if they had continued in a body in France at the commencement of the revolution, that event would have proceeded and ripened into crime and destruction as it had done.

But Louis XVIII, besides being naturally attached to the emigrants, it was generally supposed had lent himself too much to the influence of the priests. France indeed, during the revolution, had

fallen back into such a state of indifference or disbelief, with regard to religion, that a monarch who would by wise and prudent measures, and by his own example, have brought them back into the right path, would have been a great blessing to them and to the world at large; for their love of military glory and their ambition of conquest had been greatly fed and strengthened by the looseness of their moral and religious principles. But they were in such a critical state, that it required great caution and circumspection in bringing about this change; and if Louis endeavoured to effect it by morose and severe regulations, it was much to be feared that he would injure his own influence and the permanence of his government, without promoting the object which he had in view.

But there were other difficulties and dangers that surrounded the restored monarch, besides those which had their origin and foundation in his personal character and habits, as contrasted with the national character and habits of his subjects. He had been restored by means of the successes and conquests of foreign powers; by their successes and conquests over the French people. This reflection could not but be extremely galling to them; even to those who were most weary of the tyranny and oppression of Bonaparte, and most desirous of the restoration of the Bourbons: for it is an extraordinary and undoubted fact, that many of the most loyal of the emigrants rejoiced at and were proud of the victories of their countrymen, even when they were gained over the allies who were fighting their cause, and by Bonaparte, towards whom, as the enemy of the Bourbons and their own enemy, they bore a most deep and deadly hatred. Such is the influence of the love of national glory in the bosoms of Frenchmen, that it overpowers all regard to national benefit, and even smothers for a time the feelings of loyalty and personal interest. It was to be feared, therefore, that Louis XVIII., having been restored to the throne of his ancestors by the victories of the allies over France, would for a long time recall to the minds of a considerable portion of his subjects their national defeat and disgrace; and thence be regarded by no means in a favourable point of view.

But these unfavourable impressions towards their restored monarch would also be strengthened by the reflection that he had been restored principally by the perseverance and bravery of Britain in the conquest; of that country which was the natural enemy of France which had uniformly set herself up against every attempt of France to obtain the great object of all Frenchmen, the preponderancy in Europe, if not the conquest of the continental part of that quarter of the world. Louis too had found a refuge in Britain, at a period when no other state dared receive and protect him. These considerations could not be pleasing to Frenchmen. It was not to be supposed that they would give us credit for all that disinterested purity and benevolence to which we laid claim; and when we declared that our object was the benefit and prosperity of France, as well as the tranquillity and independence of Europe, they must have recollected the ancient rivalry between the two countries, and been incredulous.

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On these and several other accounts the situation of Louis was extremely critical and difficult on his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. He entered a country, a great proportion of the inhabitants of which had either been born or been educated at a period when the Bourbons were considered as pretenders to the throne of France; as a race who had forfeited all claims to it, not only by the fault of Louis XVI. but also by having united themselves with those powers who were opposing the glory and conquests of France. He ascended the throne of his ancestors, unknown to military fame, incapable from his infirmities of leading into the field a nation now almost all warriors, and who had long been accustomed to regard as synonymous terms their monarch and a conqueror. If he looked around him, he saw nearly half a million of soldiers attached to Bonaparte, both by the habits of their lives, and by their relation to him as the man who led them to conquest and plunder. These men could not like peace; they could still less like the person who was to rule over them by having deposed their favourite, and who, in all points that were calculated to excite their esteem and confidence, was so very unlike their favourite.

If Louis looked at the great bulk of the French nation, he found them exhausted with the pressure of the war, and glad of repose and peace: here then he might expect attachment to his person and government, for by his restoration they would obtain what they so much needed and so anxiously desired. But he must have been ignorant indeed of the French character, if he expected that, after they had breathed a little, they would not recall to mind the glories and conquests of Bonaparte's reign, and contrast them unfavourably with the events of the reign of Louis.

But it might have been supposed that the favourable terms granted to France by the allies would have won on the gratitude of that people; and this, indirectly, contributed to the popularity of Louis XVIII. and the permanence of his government, since there could be no doubt that it was principally on his account that such favourable terms were granted to them. If the French nation had only contrasted the behaviour of the allies with the behaviour of Bonaparte when he was victorious, the impression must have been highly favourable to the former. The allies, after having suffered the greatest degradation from Bonaparte, after they had seen their respective countries desolated by the conqueror, and themselves obliged to bend to his will, become masters of France: the capital of that country is in their power; their soldiers, who feelingly recollect all the misery to which their own country had been exposed from France,—many or most of whom could recall to mind their houses destroyed, and their nearest and dearest relations murdered,—behold Paris before them completely in their power; they pant for vengeance; they expect it from their leaders; it is due not only to their own sufferings, but also, by the laws and usages of war, to the victories and conquests which they have so gloriously achieved. And yet, under all these circumstances, the allies spare Paris! they enter it, not as conquerors, not as avengers of their own wrongs, but as friends! they treat

treat it with as much respect and tenderness as if it had been one of their own capitals. Could such conduct fail to produce its proper impression on the minds of the Parisians, and of Frenchmen in general. The former, in particular, must have dreaded far different conduct; they must have recollected all that the allies had suffered from France, and that the people of Paris were always ready to lend themselves to the most tyrannical acts of Bonaparte's government: they must have recollected these things generally; but a more particular recollection must have dwelt upon their minds, of the recent devastation of a large portion of Russia, and of the conflagration of the ancient capital of that empire, of a capital which was regarded as holy by those soldiers who were now masters of the capital of France. What reason, therefore, had they to expect that Paris would be treated in a different manner from Moscow? Certainly, none. What ought therefore to have been their feelings towards the allied powers when Paris was spared; when it was not only spared, but when the allied armies entered it as friends? And what ought to have been their feelings towards Louis XVIII, on whose account principally the allies conducted themselves in such an unprecedented manner? Certainly, the allies and Louis had great reason to hope that the inhabitants of France, and of Paris in particular, would manifest their gratitude in the manner which would be most acceptable to the former, by becoming loyal, obedient, and peaceful subjects to the latter. This was not much to expect, since it was only expecting that Frenchmen would discover their gratitude for being restored to peace and tranquillity, for being freed from a tyrant, and for having their country and capital spared by the conquerors, in that manner which alone could secure to themselves, the blessings which they enjoyed.

But those who were intimately acquainted with the French character, doubted whether these considerations would have their proper effect upon them. Indeed, in a very short time this volatile and vain nation began to call in question the claims of the allies to regard themselves as the conquerors of France; and when once this was doubted, the debt of gratitude was speedily denied. France, they said, had been overrun by treachery; and Paris itself would not have been won, if it had been properly defended. They did not however think proper to recollect, that, even allowing all this to be true, they were not the less indebted to the allies for their clemency: they did not recollect, for how many of her victories and conquests France had been indebted to treachery: these things they forgot, and contented themselves with the reflection, that if France had been true to herself she never could have been conquered. As soon as this feeling and belief sprang up, it was evident that attachment to Louis would be weakened.

Notwithstanding, however, all these circumstances contributed to render the foundation of Louis's government rather insecure, there were other circumstances of a much more powerful and general nature which greatly counterbalanced the former. In the first place, the French marshals, though several of them were slow and reluctant in sending in their adhesion to the new government, it was natural to

to suppose would rally round Louis if he showed them proper attention. They had indeed been raised to the rank and fortune which they enjoyed by Bonaparte; and it might have been imagined that they would have felt a strong attachment to him: but on the other hand they knew that the favours which they had received from him were bestowed from considerations of his own personal interest: some of them recollecting whence he had risen, might be induced to think that they were as deserving of the imperial rank as he, while others he had treated with great haughtiness.—But the consideration which would weigh most with the French marshals was, that Bonaparte, by the blindness and madness of his ambition, had brought their rank and fortune into great jeopardy: it is well known that they did not approve of the Russian campaign, and still less of his conduct during the campaign in Germany in the subsequent year.—It had always been supposed, that one of the principal obstacles to a counter-revolution in France would be the change of property, and the possession of rank by those who would be stript of it in case of that event. With respect to the latter circumstance, as long as Bonaparte's measures secured the possession of rank, or contributed to raise it higher, so long he would be defended by those who were anxious about it: but it was also evident that he would be deserted as soon as his measures threatened the ruin of those whom he had raised, provided they saw less danger in joining a counter-revolution. This was precisely the case when the allies gained possession of Paris: Bonaparte's attacks were desperate: if the marshals continued to adhere to him, they must share his fate: the allies promised them the continuance of their rank and fortune, if they deserted him and joined Louis; and they followed the direction of their own interest.

This was extremely fortunate for Louis; for, while he could secure the marshals and generals of the French army, he had not much to dread from the soldiers themselves; not because they also saw their interest in adhering to the new government, or because the marshals had such influence over them as to lead them to forego their interest; but because without leaders they could do nothing. Louis therefore acted prudently and wisely in endeavouring to attach the marshals and generals still more to himself, by paying them great attention. It may be doubted, however, whether the views of Louis in this respect were wisely seconded by the British government in the appointment of an ambassador at Paris. The marquis of Wellington, on his return to England, was received with the highest honours that could be bestowed on a subject: he was raised to the rank of duke; received in the most flattering manner possible the thanks of both houses of parliament, which voted a very large sum for the purchase of an estate to be vested in his family: nor were his prince or his countrymen less anxious to show him how highly they thought of his services. After staying a short time in London, he was appointed ambassador at Paris; and this, as we hinted above, was certainly not an appointment likely to be of service to Louis XVIII. It no doubt was intended as a compliment to him, by sending the person of whom Britain thought most highly, and to whom Louis must

must have considered himself as most chiefly indebted for his restoration: but this very circumstance must have rendered the appointment of the duke of Wellington grating to the people of France, and particularly to the French marshals; for how had he been serviceable to Louis, but by conquering the French armies? and yet he was sent to Louis's court, where he was sure constantly to meet those whom he had defeated, and who must always recollect, when they saw Louis paying him particular attention and honour, that it was *because he had defeated them!* Besides, independently of the wish to pay a compliment to Louis, there was no good reason for selecting the duke of Wellington to be ambassador at Paris: his talents and habits were by no means of the diplomatic kind. Setting aside, however, this appointment, there was nothing either in the conduct of Louis, or of the allies, but what was calculated to conciliate and attach the marshals to the new order of things: and the prudence and policy of this conduct soon displayed itself; for though there undoubtedly was great dissatisfaction in the army, and though Paris often was threatened with disturbance, yet nothing serious occurred; and, as far as could be judged, the minds of the soldiery, and of the inhabitants of Paris, (by far the most important portion of the population of France,) were gradually yielding themselves up to the new order of things at the close of the year 1814.—Connected with this view of the probable stability of Louis's government, as depending on the ideas and dispositions of the military, it may be mentioned, that he took a very wise step by appointing marshal Soult minister of war; this marshal is undoubtedly the first military character in France, and is besides a great favourite with the soldiers: it was therefore of great importance to hold him up, by placing him in an official situation so intimately connected with the army, as attached to the government of Louis. Besides, his talents and habits, being those of a man of business, and of a vigorous, clear and comprehensive mind, would (independently of all other considerations) have rendered this appointment judicious and popular.

But we must now advert to some other circumstances which in our opinion are favourable to the permanence of Louis's government.—It has already been seen that Talleyrand was particularly active in bringing about the counter-revolution; and while the allied monarchs were in Paris, great attention was paid to him by them. Louis also placed him at the head of the government; and intrusted him (as will afterwards be particularly noticed) with the entire management of the negotiations at the congress of Vienna. With respect to the political honesty of Talleyrand great doubts may justly be entertained: he had undoubtedly found no difficulty in accommodating his conscience to the republican form of government at the commencement of the revolution, and afterwards to the despotism of Bonaparte. In justice to him, however, it must be stated, that during the latter years of Bonaparte's reign he had not enjoyed the favour of his master, it is said, because he objected to his schemes against Spain,—though it may be questioned whether his objections arose from any considerations, or feelings, with respect to the atrocity and injustice of those schemes: they were more probably

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derived from the belief, that an attempt to conquer Spain would end in disappointment and disgrace.—But, whatever opinion may be formed of the principles of Talleyrand, his talents are universally acknowledged; and they are of that order which Louis more particularly required. It was of the utmost consequence to show to the French nation, that they had not sunk far in the scale of European nations by the conquest of their country;—while at the same time it was indispensably necessary, not to alarm or irritate the allies by grasping too soon or too eagerly at the recovery of their ancient rank and importance. No man was so well calculated to conduct the affairs of France, in this critical emergency, as Talleyrand: cool, penetrating, and cautious, he could bring his wonderful talents and almost unequalled experience to bear on the object which he had in view, and yet not excite the suspicion of those with whom he had to deal. There were only two circumstances which operated against the policy of the appointment of Talleyrand to his high situation: in the first place, those of the French nation who still were attached to Bonaparte beheld him with dislike, as they considered him as having betrayed their favourite and his former master: in the second place, there was good reason to apprehend that his attachment to the Bourbons would continue only while their power seemed permanent; and that he would desert them, as he had deserted Bonaparte, in the time of the greatest need. Setting aside, however, the consideration of these two circumstances, there could be no doubt that, while he was at the head of affairs in France, he would essentially contribute to heal the wounds inflicted by the revolution and by the tyranny and oppression of Bonaparte, by judicious and wise internal regulations; while, as far as the honour and external relations of the country were concerned, he would contribute to raise her as nearly as possible to her former rank and glory.

But it was to the disposition and feelings of the great bulk of the French nation that Louis was to look for the support and permanence of his government; not because of their loyalty to the house of Bourbon, (for that was in a great measure worn out,) but from the operation of causes more deeply and permanently implanted in human nature. It has frequently been remarked, that Paris is more to France than the capital of any other nation is to the nation in which it exists. This was undoubtedly the fact previous to and during the revolution: but that event involved causes which were gradually destroying the overgrown preponderance of the capital; and these causes were favourable to the permanence of a mild and peaceful government. Formerly, the great body of the French nation were insignificant and of no weight; they were entirely under the power of the noblesse, who generally residing in Paris added to the importance and preponderance of that city. But the revolution, dividing the overgrown estates of the noblesse into possessions of a much more moderate size; and thus increasing the number of those who were desirous of peace, and at the same time placing the agricultural tenancy of the kingdom on a more respectable and independent footing than they had previously been, rendered the inhabitants of the country of much more weight and importance.

importance. Over these also the revolution had shed much less of its baneful effects than over the inhabitants of Paris and the other large cities: their manners were less frivolous; their morals less corrupt; their understandings and feelings were not so completely turned aside from what was really respectable, dignified and useful, to what was gaudy, unsubstantial and evanescent; while, feeling their own importance and weight in the state, they were not disposed, as formerly, to give place on all occasions to the inhabitants of the metropolis.—On this class of people, therefore, Louis might safely rely for support, provided he secured to them their possessions, and that portion of respectability and liberty to which they were disposed to look up as their undoubted right.

The agricultural portion of the population of France on many accounts wished for repose and peace: even in the midst of the anarchy and tyranny of the revolution they had advanced in the knowledge and practice of their business: feeling themselves now more their own masters than they had been while under the old noblesse, and that they were now working for themselves, and not merely for them, they roused themselves to a degree of activity and intelligence of which they before were scarcely thought capable. But they still required peace, to reap all the fruits of their labour. They knew that, with the natural advantages in repect to soil and climate which France enjoyed, if they had peace, they could raise corn not merely for their own supply, but also for the supply of foreign nations; while the same desirable event would open a way for those commodities of higher value and a rarer kind, their wines, fruits, &c. On these accounts the agricultural population of France, provided no attempts were made to disturb the existing divisions of property, were sure to be the friends of Louis XVIII.

The manufacturing and commercial portion of the population, also, must have seen their interest in peace—they had suffered long and severely from the anti-commercial spirit and plans of Bonaparte:—peace therefore, but especially a peace with England, was particularly necessary and desirable to them. On these two classes, therefore,—the agricultural and commercial classes,—the hope of the security and permanence of Louis's government must mainly depend.

There is only one other class in France whom it will be necessary to consider with respect to their influence on Louis's government; and that is the clergy. Bonaparte, from whatever motives, certainly curtailed their power; and even endeavoured to separate as much as he possibly could the church from the state, by reducing the emoluments of the clergy, and not permitting them to assume a rank at all proportioned to that influence which they retain in most other governments. This circumstance, united to the strong and general passion for military rank and glory, and the indifference to religion, created or augmented by the revolution, must have operated in diminishing the influence of the priesthood over the people of France; and yet it may be doubted whether in the country they did not retain much more of it than might have been expected. Louis, from his natural disposition and habits, must have been strongly urged to replace the clergy as nearly as possible in the same scale of rank and wealth

wealth which they held before the revolution; he must also have seen that, if he could accomplish this, he would secure in his favour a most powerful body. They were no doubt disposed to assist and support him; but as they naturally expected that his restoration would lead to theirs, and that theirs would be complete, there was some danger that their zeal in his behalf would cool, if he adopted half measures with regard to them. And yet he was so placed that he could not go so far as they wished and expected, nor probably so far as he was disposed to do. Great part of the property of the church was sold: this could not be restored; nor could any steps be taken towards a restoration, without creating great alarm in the breasts of all those who had purchased confiscated property. The revenues of the clergy before the revolution were also in part derived from tithes: to endeavour or seem to wish to re-impose these would undoubtedly be dangerous, as the landed property had been bought under the idea that no tithes were to be paid:—besides, there could be no doubt that the improvement in French agriculture had arisen in some degree from the abolition of tithes. It seemed, therefore, impossible to re-instate the clergy in their possessions. But Louis plainly showed by his behaviour to them, and in all things connected with religion, that he wished France to return to her former faith in every point. This conduct of the sovereign, especially his ordering mass to be said for Louis XVI, and his endeavouring to enforce the strict observance of the sabbath in Paris, has been censured as highly imprudent. Undoubtedly he ought to have buried in oblivion every thing regarding Louis XVI. and the revolution, and in this light his ordering mass for that monarch was imprudent: but his attention to the ceremonies of the catholic religion in other respects may be vindicated as politic, even if it were not with him a matter of conscience. By this minute and exact attention he no doubt gave offence to the Parisians; but the accounts of all travellers agree in stating, that in the country parts of France there is as much of what we call superstition as existed previous to the revolution. It was therefore politic in Louis to coincide with this feeling: it gratified the people, and contributed indirectly to the influence of the clergy over them, and thus to his own support and popularity.

Such are the principal circumstances which in our opinion are favourable, or the reverse, to the support and permanence of the government of Louis XVIII. so far as they depend on his own personal character, and on the disposition of the different classes of his subjects towards him. But we must also take into account the disposition of other states towards France. That this was favourable to Louis XVIII. it would be folly to doubt after their conduct; and in order that this disposition might be manifested in the most decided and advantageous manner, the allies still kept hovering on the borders of France the greater part of their numerous well appointed and victorious armies; so that, if there appeared any serious and general symptoms of revolt, France could soon have been re-entered and re-occupied by them.

We have already mentioned, that considerable gloom and apprehension were excited in Paris by the refusal of Louis to accept the constitution exactly as it had been framed, and accepted in his name by

by his brother. On reflection, however, this gloom and apprehension wore off in a great degree; for Louis, though certainly not disposed to grant so much liberty as might have been wished, and though in his first official proclamations calling himself king, not by the choice of his subjects, but by divine permission, was yet evidently disposed to render the situation of his subjects much more free than it had been before, either previous to or during the revolution.

About the middle of August, a body of resolutions was framed under various titles, by which the intercourse between the king and the two legislative chambers was to be carried on: these regulations comprised what may be called the form of the constitution,—describing the process of legislation, and apportioning its powers.

The day for the opening of the session is first fixed by a public proclamation; but the members of both chambers are likewise further summoned by separate letters addressed to each. A deputation consisting of members from both bodies receives his majesty at the bottom of the grand staircase, and conducts him to the foot of the throne, on the opening of the session. The king's proclamation in the same manner closes the session: it adjourns or dissolves the chamber. In this respect it will be remarked, that there is a considerable difference from the form of our constitution, according to which the royal prerogative interferes with the proceedings of the two houses: so far as regards our house of commons, to use the words of sir Edward Coke, "the king makes a prorogation, but the house adjourns itself." In France laws originate in two ways: either the king sends proposals for them to the two chambers, which proposals may be adopted or rejected; or the chambers themselves, separately or jointly, may pray the king to propose a law. This appears to us not nearly so eligible a mode as that followed according to the forms and usages of the British constitution; with us, the king's ministers do every thing; the king himself little or nothing: even the speech delivered from the throne at the opening and closing a session is not regarded as the sovereign's, but as his minister's. The advantages of this are great and obvious: where the king interferes; where he acts or proposes any thing which is to be the subject of discussion, either there will be a disinclination to consider his proposals with that freedom which is necessary, or his name, being frequently brought into debate, will cease to inspire that respect which it ought to inspire. It would therefore have been preferable in France to have followed the model of the British constitution, and to have seen the king's ministers in every act and proposal, and the king in nothing. No inconvenience could possibly have arisen from this; as the ministers could in their own name, and in their own responsibility, have proposed any law which the sovereign wished to pass. Perhaps the second mode of originating laws, by the chambers jointly or separately praying the king to propose one, is still more objectionable; as, in fact, it seems to make them entirely dependent on him for the exercise of their own peculiar functions.

The most remarkable part of this body of regulations is contained in title 4th; from which it appears, that if the king refuses to accede to the request of the chambers, by proposing the law which they wish, he

he says: '*Le Roi veut en délibérer:*' but if he refuses his final sanction to a law which has passed the chambers, he uses the precise formula prescribed by the British constitution, '*Le Roi s'avisera.*' What follows under titles 5, 6 and 7, relates to matters of form merely, with the exception of the two following articles: that the chambers can never form a junction; neither can they put forth addresses to the people.

We have not room to enter on a detailed account of all the topics which engaged the attention of the two chambers during their first session; but some it would be improper to pass over. The first in importance respected the liberty of the press, which had been stipulated for in the 8th article of the constitutional charter. On the 6th of July the abbé de Montesquiou and the count de Blacas were introduced into the chamber of deputies, being ordered by the king to present a law on the liberty of the press: this was prefaced by an explanatory speech from the former, of which the following is the outline:

"Gentlemen, the king charges me to present to you the plan of a law relative to the press, in fulfilment of the 8th article of the constitutional charter. The press has rendered such great services to society, it is become of such necessity among civilised nations, that it ought not to be subjected to rigorous restrictions. The king, gentlemen, is not less interested than his subjects in seeing the revival of these services: it is his interest to hear the truth, as it is yours to tell it to him: but it is truth friendly to order, which wisdom always inspires, which calms instead of irritating the passions, and which teaches the people equally to dread oppression and licentiousness.

"The question is simple in itself. The object is so to consecrate the liberty of the press, as to render it useful and durable. That liberty, so often proclaimed in France during the first years of the revolution, became its own greatest enemy. The slave of popular opinion, which it had not time to form, it lent to licentiousness all its force, and could never supply reason with sufficient means of defence. The causes of this existed in the effervescence of the popular passions, in the nation being little accustomed to public affairs, in the facility with which a people were deceived and deluded, still incapable of judging of the writings addressed to them, and of foreseeing their consequences.

"Have these causes now disappeared? Can we flatter ourselves that they will not again come into action? We fear that we cannot: the mute servitude which succeeded the turbulence of the first years of the revolution has not better trained us for liberty: the passions which could not display themselves during that interval would now burst forth, fortified by new passions.—What should we oppose to their explosion? Almost as much inexperience, and more of weakness.—Reasonable men, disgusted with the long inutility of their efforts, would keep in the back ground, rather than expose themselves in a contest of which they had so often been the victims; interests the most opposite, and sentiments the most exaggerated, would again come into mutual combat, with all that additional violence which would be lent by the bitterness of recollections; the people, still unenlightened as to their interests, still unconfirmed in their sentiments, would follow

blindly the impulse which might be given them; and, whichever might be the victorious party, it would soon take exclusive possession of the press, to turn it against its adversaries.

"Such is the nature of that liberty, which must have been enjoyed in order to know how to use it: give it all the extent necessary to the nation's learning how to benefit by it; but oppose to it some bounds, that it may be saved from its own excesses."

With regard to the principal provision of the law M. de Montesquiou spoke thus:

"It has been long perceived and acknowledged, that writings of small bulk, which it is easy to circulate with profusion, and which are read with avidity, may immediately disturb the public tranquillity: repressive laws are insufficient against the effects for which the author, perhaps, can only be punished when the mischief has already become too great, not merely to be repaired, but even arrested in its progress. Writings of this sort are, therefore, the only ones against which the law takes precautions beforehand. Every work of ordinary size may be published freely; the king and the nation will have nothing to fear from them; and if the author commit any offence, the tribunals will be in readiness to punish him."

After explaining the other parts of the law, the abbé concluded thus:—

"If we lived at a period when reason, long trained and tried, had a stronger sway than that of the passions; when national interest, clearly understood and strongly felt, had attached to its cause the majority of private interests; when public order, strongly consolidated, no longer feared the attacks of imprudence or folly; then the unlimited liberty of the press would be unattended with danger, and would even present advantages: but our situation is not so happy; our character even, as well as our situation, forbids the establishment of an indefinite liberty. Nature has distributed her gifts among nations as among individuals; the diversity of the institutions has fortified these primitive differences: we have received for our share a vivacity, a mobility of imagination, which require restraint: let us not complain of this; let us not envy a neighbouring nation the enjoyment of advantages of another kind. Ours have procured us enough of happiness and glory, wherewithal to be content: to them we owe that elegance of taste, that delicacy of manners, which is shocked by the least neglect of decorum, and which does not permit us to violate it, without falling at once into the most unbridled licentiousness.

"The king proposes to you nothing that does not appear to him absolutely necessary to the safety of the national institutions, and to the march of government: assist him with your information and your influence; unite wirh him for the interests of liberty as for those of peace; and you will soon see that liberty unfold itself without storms, amidst the order which you shall have concurred in maintaining."

The projet of the law proposed by the king was divided into two parts: the first respected the publication of works; the second, the superintendance of the press: according to the first, every work of above thirty sheets might be published freely, without previous examination or revision. The same liberty was to be given to all writings

tings in the dead languages, or in foreign languages;—prayer books, catechisms, &c.; law reports, if they were sanctioned by the names of professional persons; and works of literary or scientific societies established by the king, whatever was the number of the sheets which they contained.—The liberty which was apparently given in this part of the projet, was however in a great measure withdrawn by the proposal that the director-general of the press might ordain, according to circumstances, that all writings of thirty sheets or under should be communicated to him before being printed. The appointment of censors was to be vested in the king; and the director-general was to cause every work to be examined by one or more censors; and if two at least of these conceived the writing to be defamatory or dangerous, or immoral, the director-general might forbid the printing: he was however to be obliged to communicate all the works, or parts of works, suppressed by him, to a committee of both houses, consisting of three peers and three deputies, with three commissioners appointed by the king; and if the motives of the censors should appear insufficient, the committee might order the printing. *No journals or periodical writings were to appear without the king's authority.*—In a country such as Britain, where the inhabitants derive all their knowledge of passing events from the journals, this part of the projet will appear as putting a most effectual barrier to the most essential and valuable part of the liberty of the press. The journals in this country are undoubtedly often mere party publications: they often mislead the public both with regard to the facts which they ought to believe, and the opinions of public men and measures which they ought to entertain; but there can be not the smallest doubt that, if it were not for our journals being entirely independent of the acknowledged and direct control of government, our rulers would be much less cautious than they are in their conduct, and public opinion would have much less weight than it actually has. But there is no country in the world besides our own (with the exception of America) in which government does not interfere too much; to such a degree, indeed, as if they thought the people were incapable of thinking or acting for themselves, or as if they were conscious that their own actions would not bear to be fairly represented and canvassed. In the last clause of that part of the projet which relates to the publication of works, it was proposed that the author and printer may, if they think proper, require the examination of the work previously to sending it to press; and if it should be approved, they are discharged from all further responsibility, excepting as to the claims of injured individuals.

If this part of the projet appears inimical to the liberty of the press, the other part is still more decidedly so: by the first regulation in it, no person can be a printer or bookseller, without the king's license, nor without taking the proper oaths; and the license might be withdrawn on violation of the laws or regulations. All the printing establishments not properly notified and permitted by the director-general of the press were to be deemed clandestine, and as such were to be destroyed, and the proprietors subject to a fine of 10,000 francs and six months imprisonment. If notice was not given and a deposit made

of the copy of any work, the impression might be seized; and in such case, a fine of 1000 francs for the first offence and 2000 for the second to be levied: if the printer's name and residence were omitted in the title page of any copy of a work, there was to be a fine of 3000 francs; and in the case of the substitution of a false name or address, a fine of double that sum, besides imprisonment. Every bookseller exposing to sale a work without a printer's name, to pay a fine of 2000 francs, which was to be reduced to 1000 upon disclosure of the name.—The projet concluded with the proposal that the law should be revised in three years, for the purpose of making the improvements which experience might show to be necessary.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the essential difference between the liberty of the press which this law proposed to establish in France, and that which we enjoy in Britain. It has been often complained that the nature of the libel and law respecting it is very obscure and uncertain; and that the consequences are, that a person does not know whether what he publishes will expose him to the law, or not. This certainly is the case; and the theory as well as the practice of our constitution would be much improved if libel were distinctly defined, so as that it could be known beforehand whether a publication were libellous or not. But even with this imperfection our law respecting the liberty of the press is infinitely preferable to that proposed and adopted in France; since in every respect the cause of truth, and the independence of character and mind of the people are much better secured, where every thing may be published though the publication leads to danger, than where nothing can be published but what has met the approbation of censors of the press.—In the first place, it must be better, as well as safer, to trust to the opinion of a jury of our countrymen (obscure as the law of libel is) than to the opinion of censors: secondly, the most despotic or timid government will be disposed to suffer many publications to go on, after they are once given to the world, which they would have suppressed had they possessed the means before they were printed. But the chief consideration in estimating the advantages of the two modes is, that in a country where every work is permitted to be published, the public at large can judge whether, if punishment be inflicted, that punishment is deserved; whereas, where publications are suppressed, the public cannot know whether the suppression takes place because they are beneficial to society and hurtful only to the ruling powers, or because they are really injurious to the community. In short, where free discussion is not permitted, there cannot be that control of public opinion over governments which there ought to be, both for the real interests of the governors and the governed; nor can there exist in the public mind that calmness and comprehension with respect to their duties as well as their rights, which will always constitute the most effectual guard against sudden and violent revolutions.

By those who could see nothing wrong in the measures of Louis, it was contended that France was not fit for a greater share of the liberty of the press than what it was proposed to give her in this projet. But this is a very suspicious argument: would those who supported it when Louis was sove-

reign

reign of France have admitted its validity when Bonaparte was on the throne? Some distinction ought however to be made in the two cases: Bonaparte had rendered himself so detested, that, if the liberty of the press had been allowed, his reign would probably have been terminated long before it actually was: it was therefore necessary for him to restrain the press: but he had himself created that necessity; and the necessity had respect only to his own personal safety. Whereas, in the case of Louis, if perfect liberty of the press had been granted while so many partisans of Bonaparte remained, not only the fate of Louis but the tranquillity of the kingdom would have been endangered: it may be said, therefore, that some restrictions were absolutely necessary; and that this necessity, which was of a public nature, was created, not by the measures of Louis, but by the measures of Bonaparte.

It was not to be expected that the projet would pass through both chambers without considerable discussion and opposition; though there were not many members in either chamber, who by their conduct during the reign of Bonaparte had very solid and unquestionable grounds for being regarded as consistent and conscientious friends of liberty; and it was impossible, on reading the most eloquent and powerful harangues on this and other similar subjects, to prevent the suspicion crossing the mind, that these men had spoken as powerfully and eloquently in favour of Bonaparte's measures. This impression must be greatly strengthened by the character of the oratory displayed in their chambers; which is too rhetorical,—and bears too much the appearance of having its origin in a wish to shine, to please and satisfy those who have been accustomed to the manly, substantial and business-like speeches of the British parliament.

CHAPTER XVII.

Report of the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the Law respecting the Liberty of the Press—Speech of M. Raynouard on this Occasion—Determination of the Chamber respecting it—Speech of the Abbé Montesquiou in Defence of it—Reply of M. Raynouard—Discussions in the two Chambers respecting the Restitution of the unsold Property of the Emigrants—Speech of the Duke of Tarentum on this Occasion—Journal suppressed for misrepresenting his Speech—Substance of his Plan for relieving the Emigrants.

THE law respecting the liberty of the press, as proposed by the king, meant to subject to censorship pamphlets, journals, and on the whole publications of a temporary interest and circumscribed size, viz. 30 sheets. The projet of this law having been referred to a committee, they debated upon it; and when the report of the committee was brought up (as we should term it in England) M. Raynouard in the chamber of deputies made a most eloquent speech in favour of the free and unrestrained right of publication. As this speech entered at considerable length into the arguments in

support of the opinion of the speaker, we shall present our readers with a short abstract of it, in order to give them an idea of the style of the eloquence in the chamber of deputies.

After some general remarks, he observed that in the year 1788 the parliament of Paris solicited the liberty of the press, "saving the right of repressing reprehensible works, according to the exigency of the case." On the restoration of Louis XVIII. he pronounced that one of the guarantees of the constitution should be, "The liberty of the press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity." The eighth article of the constitution, in consequence, declared "that the French have the right of printing and publishing their opinions, while conforming to the laws, which must repress the abuse of that liberty." His majesty's minister for the interior (the abbé Montesquiou) had since presented a plan of a law on the subject, which he called "the necessary complement of the article of our constitutional charter;" and it was in the careful examination of this plan that the committee had been long employed: he had now to deliver the report of that committee.

M. Raynouard next delivers some of those very general and undoubted truths, which in our parliament would seem to be misplaced, or at least to be unnecessary, in describing such a subject; but which, when adorned by the peculiar eloquence of the French, engage the attention, and have almost the semblance of deep and moral thoughts. After these he proceeded to the discussion of the plan of the law proposed by the minister. He quoted that part of it which went to establish a previous censorship established by the king: against this he strongly and eloquently protested: it was incompatible with the liberty of the press, that liberty secured by the constitutional charter. If the work of an author was unjustly suppressed, what reparation was he to receive? What punishment was to be inflicted on the injustice of the censors? There was none. The plan of the law, however, proposed exceptions: but, according to these, it must be remarked that foreigners may print and publish their books in France, and find that in this country the liberty of the press is secured to them, which was not promised to them; while the French, to whom the right has been secured by solemn charter, will not enjoy the same favour! The works printed in German, either at Strasburgh or in any of the departments where that language is vernacular, may circulate there, and cannot be translated into French without a previous imprimatur! or, in other words, those parts of France which have but lately formed part of the empire are to possess the liberty of the press, while the more ancient and original parts of the empire are to be deprived of it. By article 9, journals and other periodical writings were not to appear without the sanction of the king: this article, so short and incomplete, was only the more alarming for the liberty of the press. It ought to have explained whether it was only meant to have applied to future journals, or whether every morning the journalist would be under the necessity of receiving a sanction. It ought at least to have been stated, how this sanction was to be obtained, and on what grounds it might be refused. By article 10, "authors and printers may demand

mand the previous examination of their works; and if approved, they are discharged from all future responsibility!" What an alarming power does this confer on censors of books! In this way the most immoral books, and works injurious to every public right and institution, outraging even the king himself, would be screened from all future inquiry. But at what period, or in what country, have magistrates ever been prohibited to exercise the rights of public justice notwithstanding the imprimaturs of doctors or censors? The 22d article, which fixes the period for the revision of the law, proves that it is meant not to be a temporary but a definitive law: in this case the period is too distant.

These motives and arguments, M. Reynouard stated, had determined the members of the committee to declare unanimously, that the plan of the law, such as it had been proposed, could not be adopted without modification. The question then rose, whether this plan was easily susceptible of amendments by which it might be corrected, retaining however its principal bases? On this question the committee decided by a mere majority of votes, that previous censorship ought not to serve as the basis of the law. In defence of this opinion M. Raynouard laid down the following positions: The liberty of the press is necessary to the right of petition; the representative body assembles only at stated periods: the liberty of the press can alone compensate the dangers of their absence. But a censorship, so far from ensuring this liberty, would menace its existence, and with it that of civil and political liberty.—Should the censorship be given to the opponents of government, would not this be prejudicial to the respect due to the sovereign? Should it be given at the discretion of the minister, would not this be to abandon our free institutions, and our checks on the authorities? To suspend the liberty of the press is to suspend the constitution. But have circumstances changed since its liberty was proclaimed by the king?—Doubtless they have,—but then they have changed for the better: the public affections have rallied with increasing strength round the throne: for months together have we not enjoyed the full liberty, nay the license, of the press? And what evil has followed? what writings have troubled the public tranquillity?

The journals are feared. How? The government has hitherto made no complaint of those already established, though they have almost entirely shaken off the yoke of censorship. Does it more fear those which are to be established in future? But may not the undertakers of journals be put under the same obligations as printers?

It has been said, that we have not that species of national liberty which ought to precede the liberty of the press. Let the effect of the press to form one be tried. The experience of England sufficiently proves, that the fortunate effect of the precedence of publication and public discussion, in every concern of the state, compels ministers, however feeble their personal understanding or dark their views, to adopt the course most advantageous to the state. Their interest as well as their glory compels them to gather round them all the interests of the nation. But is England the only country that has thus been benefited? Is it not possible to extend the same benefit to France, by

adopting the measures here, which have produced it in England?

The committee has decided that the question cannot be proposed, unless the minister should lay before us the projet of the law, with its peculiar motives, and that such projet should be attached to the law, fully establishing the liberty of the press. It is painful, doubtless, to announce to the chamber, that the first plan of the law proposed must be rejected. The reporter concluded with paying a tribute to the memory of M. de Malesherbes, who knew how to defend the rights of his country as well as the person of his sovereign, (Louis XVI.) and who by a generous devotion deserved to be associated in his last misfortunes. "If Malesherbes were still amongst us, he would exhort us to defend those rights which can alone guaranty the charter, and which must secure the glory and prosperity of France. —Yes, if he were still amongst us! —But has not his genius survived him? That work which we owe to the exercise of the right which we vindicate, (his Defence of Louis XVI.) that work, which he has left as a legacy to his country and to posterity, will assist you in your meditations. Yes, the opinions of that wise man have directed ours, and they solicit, with us, the rejection of the law proposed."

In the sitting of the 11th of August the abbé Montesquiou addressed the chamber in defence of the plan of the law which had been submitted to them. He began by observing that its advantages and disadvantages had been pointed out so fully, that there was not one member in the chamber who could not now determine with wisdom on a point of legislation which appeared of a delicate nature. As he himself was favourable to the law, he hoped that they also would be favourable to it, because though divided in opinion they were united in feeling:—the public good was the only object which they all had in view, though they might not agree in their mode of securing it.

He next adverted to topics, and adduced arguments, which were rather addressed to the national vanity than to the understandings of his audience. Apprehensions were entertained that the plan of the law would check the progress of knowledge; but is not learning the glory of the French nation? "We have essentially the empire of letters: our kings have taken pleasure in patronizing literature: one of them merited the title of Father of letters." He was more relevant to his subject in the allusion he made to Rome: "Do you not remember that at Rome, when the censors ceased to appear, good manners also disappeared?"

In the subsequent part of his speech, he again adverts to the glory which the French have obtained in literature: for it may be observed, that this same glory, whether in arms, in arts, or in literature, is the main spring of every Frenchman's public actions; and the obtainment of it, either individually or for his nation, his highest reward. "During the fine age of Louis XIV. did not a very terrible censorship exist? You may have read with what severity some authors who had written on political matters were prosecuted before the courts of justice. Very well! did this prevent our literature from reaching the highest pitch of glory?" It is easy to perceive that the abbé wishes to confound two things entirely distinct: he contends that, because

because a censorship would be favourable to literature, therefore it cannot be hurtful to free discussion and public liberty. Undoubtedly, if the censors were men of science and taste, no publication would be permitted by them to appear, which would injure the national glory in these respects. But the liberty of the press has other and higher objects in view; and it may be very beneficial to literature, and very hurtful to the best interests of society. The allusion to the reign of Louis XIV. was very unfortunate, unless the abbé trusted so much to the strong love of glory in the breasts of his audience, as to expect that it would counteract all detestation of the tyranny of that monarch.

His defence of fixing a censorship on works of a certain size is not very ingenious or satisfactory. "In France, works of any importance generally extended to more volumes than one, because questions were there commonly profoundly considered, that more light might be thrown upon them. It was on this account thought proper to fix the number of sheets, under which the censorship might exercise its vigilance without the fear of disturbing authors devoted to meditations that were truly useful." Here again the abbé looks only, or principally, to the effect of the proposed law on literature and science; he does not reflect that the liberty of the press is chiefly valuable from its enlightening the great mass of the people, and keeping the government to its duty; and that these objects are generally effected by small and temporary publications. He added, however, that if the chamber thought the number of sheets fixed too great, and that it would be proper to reduce them to 20, he was charged by his majesty to assent on his part to that reduction.

The subsequent part of his speech is worth noticing, from the ignorance which it displays, or the misrepresentation which it contains, respecting the English constitution. The abbé remarks, that in England where the liberty of the press exists, the laws punish its occasional abuse with a severity which could not exist any where else: hence he argues that a censorship ought to be established in France; for otherwise, if England be taken as an example, the abuses of a free press must be subjected to punishments "of intolerable harshness,"—a harshness which could not exist among the French. He also erroneously states that in England the authors of a libel only are punished, while the printers and publishers escape entirely free from punishment.

M. Montesquiou concluded by conceding on the part of the king certain amendments, to the effect that no censure should apply to a work exceeding 20 sheets, and that the law should cease to operate at the end of session 1816. M. Raynouard, the reporter from the committee, was heard at great length in reply, and concluded with conjuring the chamber to reject the law. After some very warm remarks from the abbé Montesquiou, the president stated the nature of the question; and after some discussion on the mode of shaping it, it was agreed that it should stand, whether the law, as amended by the concession on the part of the crown, should be adopted? The form of voting was this: every member, as his name was called over by one of the secretaries, answered in his place, and came up to the table, where he deposited in

in an urn one of the balls, white or black, which he had received from the secretary: the ball which he did not use he placed in another urn appropriated for that purpose. The operation being terminated, two of the secretaries emptied the urn for votes, and publicly separated the white balls from the black, and summed them both up. The number of balls thrown into the other urn was then verified.

It finally appeared that, of 217 voters, the proposed law had obtained 137 white balls against 80 black ones.

The result being communicated to the president, he delivered in the name of the chamber the following declaration: "The chamber adopts the law."

We have dwelt thus long and minutely on this subject for several reasons: in the first place, it is one of the greatest importance and interest both to France and to all Englishmen; secondly, the debates on it afford favourable specimens of French eloquence; and lastly, we are let into the detail of the mode of proceeding followed in the chamber of deputies.

The only other subject (not connected with the political œconomy of France, which we shall consider afterwards and separately,) discussed in the chambers, to which we shall now advert, related to the unsold estates of the emigrants. One of the greatest safeguards of the throne of Louis arose from his declaration that property should be respected: but while this declaration was satisfactory to those who had purchased estates, it was of course distressing and unpopular to the emigrants. They naturally expected that on the restoration of Louis they would be put again in possession of their property: this however could not be done completely; and even the proposal to restore the unsold estates created great alarm and apprehension, as it was imagined by many that it was a preliminary step to restoring all the estates of the emigrants.

The law for restoring the unsold estates of the emigrants passed the chamber of deputies by a large majority; it was then carried up to the chamber of peers, where it passed by a majority of 100 votes out of 103 present. The duke of Tarentum (marshal Macdonald) pronounced, on this occasion, a discourse which had a great effect. At the close of his speech he announced his intention of proposing, on an early day, a projet of a law to be submitted to the king, the object of which would be to grant life annuities to those of the emigrants the sale of whose estates had left them unprovided for. "According to the calculations which I shall have the honour to lay before the chamber, it will be seen that the funds necessary for these annuities will add but little to the burdens of the public; while this measure, so particularly just and politic, will have the vast advantage of affording at the same time a compensation to those who have lost their all, and dissipating the apprehensions of the fair purchasers of the estates sold as national property."

A curious and important circumstance was connected with this speech of the duke of Tarentum. One of the Paris journals totally misrepresented it; so totally and grossly indeed, that it must have been intentional, and could have been done with no good motive. It represented him as saying that the military of all ranks were willing to contribute a portion of their pay to create a fund for the support

port of the emigrants. Now the evident effect of such a representation must have been to increase the ill will of the soldiery, not only to the emigrants, but also to the king and government; since, as they had given no authority to the duke for his statement, they would naturally suppose that a plan was in agitation to deprive them of part of their pay for the support of the emigrants. The nature of the liberty of the press enjoyed in France was abundantly proved on this occasion;—for the journal thus offending was suppressed—though only for a very short time: but the suppression showed the power of government, and would be sufficient to terrify other journalists. Would it not have been much wiser to have obliged the offending journal to contradict its own statement, and thus give the same circulation to the antidote which it had given to the poison?

On the 10th of December the duke of Tarentum presented to the chamber of peers a sketch of his system of indemnity for the emigrants, to which he had before alluded: the substance of this system, together with some extracts from the speech by which it was introduced and recommended, as affording a favourable specimen of the eloquence of the chamber of peers, we shall lay before our readers.

The calculations are divided into two classes: those which concern the endowments for the military who have been deprived of them by the last events of the war are complete, and cannot be brought into doubt.

Those which relate to property sold in consequence of confiscation are all hypothetic, and cannot be established with precision until the minister shall have devoted himself, by the king's orders, to an examination for which some months would be sufficient: but the orator would carry his hypotheses *to an exaggeration demonstrated;* and if the results which they shall offer have nothing that can intimidate the generosity of the nation, they will be so much the more proper to confirm it in the resolution to be passed.

There have been concluded directly with government 1,055,889 sales of national domains.

In giving to each original purchaser a family of three persons, (a proposition much below the truth,) we obtain as a result, 3,167,667 individuals interested in the first sales of national domains.

And if we estimate the common proportion of changes and partitions, for 25 years, at number 3, we have as a result 9,503,001 persons interested in the stability of these sales of national domains, without making mention of the persons indirectly interested by the effect of credits and inscriptions.

And it is against this colossus, whose height the eye cannot measure, that some impotent efforts would attempt to direct themselves!

The national sales ought to be divided into two classes—that of the property belonging to corporations, and that of private property.

France has groaned over the misfortunes of the ministers of her altars; but in giving them her tears she has confirmed the alienation of the property of the clergy: never will the age that has given us birth bestow upon corporations with only a life interest, that tribute of interest and affection which souls of sensibility delight to offer to the proprietor banished from the domain

main of his fathers. Public opinion has completely ratified the sale of property of the first origin.

It is not the same with that of property arising from confiscation.

The miracles of providence, which have raised up the empire of the lilies, have attached a particular character to a numerous class of citizens; they appear in the midst of us, protected by age and misfortune; they are a kind of crusaders, who have followed the standard of the cross into foreign countries; and they relate to us those long vicissitudes, those storms and tempests, which had at length driven them into the port which they had lost all hope of reaching. Which of us could refuse to give them our hand in token of eternal alliance? Our hearts have been moved. If theirs have remained colder, can we be astonished? The return of the king, the bearer of the olive of peace, exceeded all our hopes—one only of theirs is realised. In truth, the first of their wishes is accomplished. The towers of St. Louis have seen again their heir. But what changes have been operated in France! what destruction consummated! what monuments overthrown! what others erected upon their ruins! what prosperous dreams vanished in one day, after having been for so many nights the consolations of the exile! Let us dive into our hearts to judge our fellow men. Let us place ourselves, in thought, in the position I have described: let us add to the sentiments with which they inspire us, that pride, the companion of the unfortunate; and instead of sharing the common complaints upon the reception of our brethren restored to us, let us recognise Frenchmen in the calm of the disinterestedness of the greater part of them, and in the nobleness of their attitude.

The existence of the old proprietors in the presence of the acquirers of their property, is a fact which they cannot and ought not to attempt to prevent. The necessary consequence which the orator draws from it is, that we remove the difficulty, instead of vainly trying to conquer it; change the present situation for a new one; in a word, dare to make known the abyss opened before us, to leap it; and, armed with all the generosity and force of the nation, to launch into a vast system of indemnity.

An opinion so general, that it approaches to demonstration, rates at four milliards the value of the national property of every class.

Another opinion, less universally adopted by the administration, comprises in this valuation the value of the property of second origin at a tenth only.

To remove every objection, the orator more than doubles the last calculation, and supposes that the mass of property confiscated or sold amounts to nearly a quarter of the whole property of four milliards, which gives 900 millions.

From this sum, evidently exaggerated, we must deduct—

1st. For the numerous liquidations which have been made to the creditors of that property, at least the third of the whole, that is 300 millions.

2d. For the removal of the sequestrations which have been pronounced for 23 years, and for those which have been just pronounced, at least 300 millions more.

It is therefore to 300 millions only that in the most forced supposition the sum of confiscations or sales made amounts, and of course of indemnities to be provided. This

value,

value, immeasurable for the victims, intolerable for the witnesses, would be almost unperceived in the calculations of a great nation, if its first want, in reviving to order, were not the sentiment of justice and generosity. This sentiment requires that the country should place itself, by an indemnity, between the ancient proprietors and the acquirers, and that, by its liberality towards the one, it put an end to the recollections of all.

In the plan of indemnity which he forms, the duke does not propose that the indemnity to be granted to the proprietors should be fixed precisely at the proportion determined by anterior laws for the creditors of the state, that is, one third. In making the indemnity experience this reduction, five millions of annuities would in truth be sufficient to discharge it; but then the liquidation would seem to be founded upon rights which the charter condemns; and above all we should injure those who have credits upon the property confiscated, for they could not exact from the proprietors indemnified other conditions than those which would have been imposed upon the same proprietors by the national power. He therefore proposes to replace the value of the sales of confiscated property by an annuity of two and a half per cent.: this operation would be more simple and equitable, since it would preserve the rights of non-liquidated creditors.

This indemnity, were it 12 millions or more yearly, comprising in it the endowments from 500 to 2,000 francs, need not be a new charge upon the treasury, nor upon the payers of taxes. Passing over in silence or merely indicating several kinds of resources, the value of which he leaves to the statesmen who hear him, the duke of Tarentum perceives in the infallible increase of the produce of registration the assured pledge of the indemnities.

This produce is valued at 90 millions, a third of which consists of duties collected upon national property.

The discredit that had been thrown upon property of this kind, by spreading hopes or seditious apprehensions, would paralyse totally all changes in such property, and would deprive the treasury of that branch of the revenue. Hence, by restoring to the proprietors, and to those who would become so, the security they have lost, we should restore to the treasury 30 millions, a great part of which would be for ever taken away if we suffered their inquietudes to subsist by providing no indemnity for the ancient proprietors. By favour of this security, changes would multiply more than ever, and the property that is the object will increase to a height it had never yet reached. This movement, and this increase of immoveable property, will necessarily turn to the profit of the finances and of the state.

Yet the public happiness is not consummated. Tears still flow; regrets subsist. They are those of the brave men mutilated in a thousand battles, who were reduced to the most deplorable state from the moment the service of the small endowments ceased, that is, since the disastrous campaign of Moscow.

The titulars of 4000 francs and under had been distributed into four classes; the first, 4000; the second, 2000; the third, 1000; and the fourth, 500.

The duke proposes to destroy this order of endowment, and to

place the weakest part first. Those of 500 and 1000, which were formed of annuities, free from taxes, had not and ought not to undergo any reduction. United, they offer an aggregate of 3,604 titulars, and a sum of 1,802,000 francs.

The 3d class, which comprises 1,216 titulars, had its revenue established upon property, and suffered, by taxes, reparations, and the loss of exchange, a reduction of a fifth. This revenue, then, is but 2,017,000 francs.

France would need only three millions at most to discharge to the full towards her defenders the most sacred portion of such a debt.

A measure of legislature ought to result from the measures thus proposed. Happy the ministers and the administrators invited to assist in it. Formerly they liquidated to destroy—now they will liquidate to repair. Liquidation will not compensate for all losses—But after twenty years war and discord, who will expect to become again what we were? Consoled already by return, the consolation of the exile will be completed by an indemnity which he dared not expect, and that of the army by a benefit which it thought to have lost with its author.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Exposé of the State of the French Empire—Ministry of the Interior—Agriculture—Mines—Commerce—Public Works—Army—Navy—Finance—Receipt and Expenditure for 1814 *and* 1815*—Arrears—Ways and Means—Speech of Talleyrand on the Budget—Debate on the Corn Laws—Ordinances respecting the Establishment of Schools, and the Regulation of Prisons—Slave Trade—St. Domingo.*

IT was usual, during the dominion of Bonaparte, for the minister of the interior to lay before the senate and legislative body an *exposé* of the state of France. That these exposés contained exaggerated reports of the flourishing state of the kingdom, there cannot be the least doubt; since one of the leading principles of Bonaparte's government was to exaggerate the good, and to conceal the evil, which he did. But besides the exaggerations which these exposés contained, and the concealment with which they might be charged, they dwelt with great pomp and ostentation of detail on particular improvements of such a trifling nature, as in this country would have been far beneath the notice of any official document published by the government.

Soon after Louis XVIII. ascended the throne, an exposé of the state of France was laid before the two chambers by the abbé Montesquiou; this exposé went very much into detail; and it would be a very valuable document, could it be entirely depended upon: but, as a strong temptation existed to represent the effects of Bonaparte's tyranny and wars as even more dreadful and exhausting than they actually were, this document must be received with some degree of caution. Still, however, it must be regarded as furnishing the historian with important and interesting information respecting the state of France; and on this account we shall lay the substance of it before our readers.

This document begins by some general remarks on the effects of Bonaparte's

Bonaparte's tyranny, especially as exhibited in the conscription; and mentions a striking circumstance, that the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them, by anticipation, the prayers for the dead! The first official communication contained in the exposé relates to the amount of the calls ordered between the end of the Russian campaign and the dethronement of Bonaparte: the total is scarcely credible, being 1,300,000 men. As this was the number called into the field in little more than 13 months, what must have been the waste of human life during the 22 years of the revolution!

Yet these losses were repaired from many sources: the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of the country, by the division of the great landed properties; the equal distribution of inheritances; and the progress of vaccination, were the most general and powerful. The conscription also counteracted its own effects, in a manner, however, by no means favourable to morality or domestic comfort, since great numbers, in order to avoid it, entered into marriages with precipitation and imprudence: thus the births increased, but the number of unhappy marriages increased also. But as a great number of full grown men were annually taken away, the consequence was, that while the population under the age of 20 years increased, beyond that limit the diminution was prodigious and incontestable.

The exposé next proceeds to the "ministry of the interior." During the revolution, and even during the reign of Bonaparte, agriculture made real progress in France: the causes of this have been various; principally, the propagation of good modes of agriculture by learned societies; the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, their experiments, their instructions, and examples; the erection of veterinary schools, &c. These causes, however, would have been more powerfully and generally operative, had not the errors and folly of Bonaparte's government counteracted them: the continental system caused enormous losses to the proprietors of vineyards. Even when Bonaparte endeavoured directly to encourage agriculture, he injured it, as he proceeded (following the natural bent of his impetuous temper) without caution or judgement: the forced attempts to introduce the Merino breed of sheep cost the government 20 millions of francs, and after all they did not succeed: on the contrary, the breeds of native sheep were rather deteriorated. In the establishment of studs for the breed of horses the revolutionary governments were more successful; they supplied a numerous and excellent cavalry, till the fatal years 1812, 1813: the loss, in a few months of those years, amounted to 230,000 horses, which could not be replaced at a less expense than 105,200,000 frs. The stock was of course exhausted.

The mines of France have greatly increased: 478 of different kinds are now working, which employ 17,000 men, and produce a raw material of the value of 26,800,000 francs, and a revenue to the state of 251,000 francs. The continental system, by compelling manufacturers to search, in the territory of France itself, for resources before unknown, had in this respect benefitted the national manufactures; but the obstacles which it presented to the introduction of a great number

ber of raw materials were injurious to a more considerable degree. The cotton manufactures employ 400,000 persons, and a capital of 100 millions: the Spanish war was injurious to the linen manufactures, as in the peninsula their products were principally sold. Those of silk experienced the same fate: their produce also passed through Spain to America, but that channel was soon closed. In 1787 the manufactures at Lyons employed 15,000 looms: during the war, that number was reduced to 8000: the manufactures of woollens, leather, &c. suffered in an equal degree from the continental system.

This system, however, was much more prejudicial to the commerce of France. The system of licenses ruined a great number of merchants, by inducing them to enter into speculations which were crushed by a change in the views and laws of government.

The budget of the minister of the interior, *i. e.* the mass of all the funds appropriated to the different services of that department, amounted in 1811 to 143 millions: in 1812 to 150 millions; and in 1813 to 140 millions: the public treasury never contributed to this mass of funds more than 60 millions: the remainder arose from special duties and imposts.

With respect to the administration of the communes, they had been charged with expenses which should have been borne by the general funds of the state: hence the scale of *communal octroit* had vexatiously increased: the medium charge per head, on each individual, was about seven francs; and in some cases it even amounted to 17 francs.

In 1811 a decree was passed, allowing only the inadequate sum of four millions for the expense of hospitals throughout the kingdom, though that expense now amounted annually to nine millions. The war department, at present, owed to the hospitals of Paris, for sick and wounded soldiers alone, the sum of 1,393,365 francs.

With regard to public works, several were undoubtedly undertaken, and some completed; but more for show and ostentation than real utility; and while magnificent roads were opened on the frontiers, those of the interior were neglected; and the cross roads in general were in a very bad state. The sum of 15,500,000 francs, voted by the departments, for the roads, had been misappropriated. There was an arrear of 28 millions in the departments of bridges and causeways: 30 principal bridges had been blown up or burnt: provisional repairs in wood alone would cost 1,800,000 francs.

The canals were in a better state; but the works far from finished: that of Burgundy, which had already cost 12 millions, would require five more; and that of Ourq would still need at least 18 millions. The works at Paris were a favourite object with Bonaparte, because in them he found the means of displaying his magnificence, and of making himself popular: some of them, particularly the markets, were truly useful: the total expense of the useful and ornamental works in Paris, which were not yet completed, was estimated at 53,500,000 francs; more than two millions had already been laid out upon them. All these objects fell within the superintendance of the minister of the interior, the arrears of whose department were computed at from 40 to 50 millions.

With regard to the expenditure of the war ministry, which was the root of the evil, whence originated the

the disorder that extended to all the other branches, no accurate idea could be formed. On the 1st of May 1814 the land forces of France amounted to more than 520,000 men, including all descriptions: besides this force, there were 122,597 military of all ranks enjoying half pay: in Prussia, Russia, Austria, and England, there were 160,000 prisoners, who would speedily be restored to their country: the pay of men in active service for the year 1814 amounted to 202,000,000 francs; the half-pay to 34,000,000: making a total of 236,000,000. The war of 1812-1813 destroyed in artillery and ammunition 250 millions; and the fortified places in the countries ceded by France in the treaty of Paris, had cost, since 1804, 115 millions. The budget of the war ministry, properly so called, had been fixed for 1814 at 360 millions: but besides the department of the ministry at war there was that of the war administration: the expenses of the last in 1812 were 238 millions of francs: in 1813, 374 millions; and in 1814, 380 millions:—so that during this last year these two branches will cause an expenditure of 740 millions. The arrear also is enormous; that of the ministry of war amounting to 104 millions, and that of the war administration to 157 millions; making a total arrear of 261 millions: and besides, the arrears of the armies during the years 1811, 12, 13, and 14, which are not yet known, must be added.

The most absurd of Bonaparte's schemes were those which related to the establishment of a numerous and powerful navy: Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls. "And what now remains of all these armaments? The wrecks of some of the vessels, and accounts which prove that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla upwards of 150 millions have been sacrificed since 1803." "The grand works executed at Cherbourg, and the fine squadron of Toulon, alone presented useful results." All the arsenals were completely dilapidated: the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. were squandered; and during the last 15 years France lost 43 ships of the line, 82 frigates, and 76 corvettes, which could not be replaced at an expense of 200 millions. "The port of Brest, the finest, the best perhaps in Europe, where immense fleets can be collected in safety, where there exist vast and magnificent establishments, has been entirely neglected. As the arsenals were neglected, so the ships also were stripped of real seamen, whose places were supplied with conscripts, while they themselves received the organization of regiments of the line, and lost in camp their professional habits and attachments. Many of these ships' crews were seen traversing the plains of Germany and the mountains of Asturias: commanded by brave chiefs, they contributed to support the renown of the French arms, though they became totally unfit for seamen." The total debt of the navy amounted to 61,300,000 francs.

One of the most curious parts of this exposé relates to the state of the finances; these Bonaparte's government contrived to conceal in such a manner, that till the accession of Louis it was not known that the budgets of 1812-13 presented a deficit of 312 millions of francs. Bonaparte himself was by no means ignorant of this deficit; but

but he hoped to make it good, either by foreign tributes and plunder, or by deriving resources from special funds. Down to the commencement of the war in the peninsula, all deficiences were more than covered by foreign pillage; the staggering blow which was given by that war to his system of rapine first shook his finances: it drove him to the desperate step of annexing entire kingdoms to his empire, and of attempting to impose the continental system on the whole world: and these measures, far from answering his purpose, created in a very few years such an accumulation of arrears, as to constitute an addition of not less than 1,645,469,000 francs to the national debt; the perpetual annuities alone, which he found it necessary to give, amounting to 47 millions, equal to a capital of 300 millions: one half of these, however, were employed in paying off prior debts.

In the middle of July, baron Louis, the minister of finance, laid before the chamber of deputies a statement of the finances of the kingdom, and at the same time a proposal to regulate and fix by law the amount of the receipts and expenditure for the year 1814; to provide for the service of 1815; and to assign means and periods for the payment of the debts contracted anterior to the 1st of April 1814.

During the first quarter of 1814 the receipts did not amount to a fourth of the expenditure; and the arrears anterior to the 1st of April amounted for that quarter alone to more than 230 millions: during the second quarter measures of œconomy were introduced by the king, which reduced the expenditure nearly one half. The presumed receipts of the third quarter would still not meet the expenditure of the fourth quarter; an excess of receipts of nearly one-fifth was expected.

With respect to the wants of 1814, they were necessarily connected with the boundless system of extravagance which existed at the beginning of the year, and which could only be gradually diminished. The rate of ordinary and extraordinary expenses, as then established, would have required, if it had been kept up, in the course of the year, the sum of 1,245,800,000 francs; whereas the evacuation of territory, peace, and œconomical reform, had diminished the estimate of necessary expenses to 827,415,000: the first diminution, therefore, was 418,385,000. The budget of the expenses for 1814 being then fixed at 827,415,000, it is necessary to consider the means of defraying them. The year 1814 was too far advanced to change the system of taxation: the income, therefore, must be calculated as derived from it: the direct taxes were estimated, both in principal and in additional centimes, at 291,266,000 francs: the duties of registration, produce of domains and woods, at 114,715,000; the indirect taxes, at 86,500,000; and the collieries, posts, tolls on navigation, &c. including four millions to be furnished by Paris, at 27,519,000; making a total of 520,000,000. The expenditure, therefore, will be . . 827,415,000

The receipts will, probably, not exceed	520,000,000
Leaving a deficit of	307,415,000

This deficit belongs to the class of debts in arrear, as it arises from the system of expenditure previous to the 1st of April 1814; and means must be shown for its liquidation.

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With respect to the budget of 1815; as that year, it is hoped, will display the influence of peace and order, the proportions between the expenses and receipts will be better fixed, the action of government more easy, and the public spirit more confirmed. In the following estimate, the ministers were anxious to spare those as much as possible who contribute to the funds, and confined themselves within the strictest limits of necessity. The indispensable expenses of the year 1815 are calculated at 547,700,000; to this must be added, for the probable non-realization of the preceding year, 70,300,000: the total of the budget, therefore, for the year 1815 will be 618,000,000. These contributions are designed to pay with punctuality "the annuities and pensions inscribed; to reward the soldier who has so gallantly maintained the honour of our arms, and the functionary who has served the public with zeal and integrity; to surround the throne with a splendour devoid of ostentation; to assure the universal administration of justice; to support in all parts of the kingdom a police for the protection of every individual; to provide for the execution of the laws; to carry on public works of general utility; to supply the wants of public worship and general education; to succour the hospitals; to assist the ruined communes to recover themselves; to keep on foot an army worthy of France and *her glory*; to give to our navy a consistency corresponding with our continental position and our commercial relations; to supply, without parsimony or prodigality, all the necessities of the general administration; to give encouragement to the sciences, arts, and manufactures: in short, to facilitate the execution of all the measures designed to promote or consolidate the prosperity of the state." A statement of the application of the taxes was to be annually submitted to the examination of the chamber of deputies.

The following were the ways and means proposed to meet the expenses of 1815:—direct contributions, 340,000,000; registry, domains and woods, 120,000,000; posts, lottery, salt-works, tolls on navigation, and incidental receipts, 28,000,000; indirect contributions, 130,000,000: making a total of 618,000,000.

The minister of finance then proceeded to make some remarks on the particular taxes: the customs were not so much to be regarded as a fiscal resource, as a means of protecting and favouring the industry of France: they were, therefore, not much to be reckoned upon. Louis XVIII., before he ascended the throne, long lamented the vexations to which his people were subjected by the collection of the consolidated duties. "His first care was to announce their abolition, by the mouth of the princes of his family who preceded him: but the state in which his majesty found the treasury,—the immense arrears which existed,—so many brave men to pay,—have made it an imperious duty with him to preserve for the state resources proportioned to its wants. Salutary reforms will, however, be introduced, calculated to relieve the weight of a burden which has excited so many exclamations."

The next part of the speech of the minister of finance related to the mode of paying off the arrears: the budgets of the receipts for the years prior to April 1814 were always below the actual expenses:

hence resulted very great deficits every year, the accumulation of which formed a grand deficit of 1,968,000,000 francs. From this, however, was to be deducted the following, to reduce it to the sum at present demandable: debt of the extraordinary domains extinguished by the confusion of the times, 244,000,000: amount of securities and different deposits, the capital of which is not demandable, and which produce only a charge for yearly interest of 305,000,000, making a total of 549,000,000: thus the arrears actually demandable, and for the payment of which it is absolutely necessary to provide, amount to 759,000,000. In order to do justice to the creditors of France, the minister of finance proposed to place in their hands securities which might really represent the whole of the debts due to them, and which might easily and advantageously be turned to account. In order to give these securities full and adequate credit, three resources were proposed: 1st, the savings upon the budget of 1815; 2d, the alienation of 300,090 hectares of the forests of the state, and of the property of the communes that remained to be sold; and, 3d, stock in the 5 per cent. consols, for the creditors who might prefer that kind of property. The securities themselves to consist of bonds of the royal treasury, issued by order, payable in three years, and bearing an interest of 8 per cent.: the holders of these bonds to have the power of converting them into inscriptions in the great book of the 5 per cent. consols. The minister concluded with expatiating on the immense advantages which England had derived from a sinking fund; and regretting that he was not yet able to introduce into the administration of the finances of France "a similar germ of prosperity, and to propose to set apart a portion of the ordinary resources for the redemption of the constituted debt."

After the minister had finished his speech, one of the members of the chamber of deputies moved, that the king might be humbly requested to communicate to the house a statement of the debts which he might have contracted during his residence in foreign countries, and to propose the plan of a law on the payment of those debts as debts of the state. This was afterwards carried into execution, and the payment of the king's debts decreed by both chambers.

In the month of September Talleyrand, as one of the king's ministers, presented the budget to the chamber of peers: of his speech we shall only give a short abstract, confining ourselves to those parts which either present a summary of the finances, or which exhibit the general principles and opinions of this extraordinary man, on this subject.

The amount of the whole demandable debt was 759,000,000: the revenue was estimated at 524,000,000; that of 1815, at 618,000,000: this revenue was derived from taxes, either direct or indirect, with the exception of 10 or 12 millions, the sum at which the produce of domainal forests was estimated: for the year 1814 the deficit would be 300,400,000 francs: this formed part of the demandable debt, as it applied to the expenditure prior to April 1814. The expenditure of 1815 was fixed at 547,700,000 francs; leaving a disposable surplus of 70,300,000 francs on the estimated receipts of that year. The domainal forests still amounted to 1,400,000 hectares; of

of these it was proposed to sell 300,000, to effect the payment of the arrears without increasing the burdens of the state: the produce of the sale of communal property formerly ordered to be applied to the same purpose: if supplemental sums should be necessary, they were to be found in the surpluses of successive budgets: that of 1815 presented one of 70,000,000 applicable to this destination.

"Amidst all the calculations into which the present discussion leads us, it will be pleasing and perhaps instructive to remark, in the relative state of our burdens with those of other nations whose prosperity is the most striking, how fine the situation of France is after so many storms. According to the last census, the population was 28 millions; dividing equally among all the equal amount of taxes, which we take at 600,000,000, the quota paid by each is a little under 22 francs. In England, the produce of the taxes (not including those of Ireland) has risen, of late years, to at least 60,000,000 sterling, which divided among 12 millions of inhabitants, gives *5l.* equal to 120 francs, as the contribution for each individual; that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France. In the United States of America, the receipts of the customs, which previous to the two last years formed almost the only revenue, produced annually 16,000,000 of dollars, (about 85,000,000 of francs). This sum divided among seven milions of inhabitants gives about 12 francs for each individual: to which must be added the taxes peculiar to each state, amounting to about 11 francs more, making 23 francs for each individual. Hence it follows that, under every point of view, whether of population, extent of territory, or taxable substances, the advantages of France are above those of both these nations."

Talleyrand then proceeds to point out the immense advantages of public credit: it is the parent of capital; and the creation of capital, which implies the reduction of interest, cannot but give a surprising stimulus to all the useful enterprises of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. By the completion of a system of public credit, it is generally supposed that a sinking fund is requisite; and Talleyrand acquiesces in this idea. "It must be acknowledged that our financial system still wants, for its completion, the establishment of a sinking fund: the œconomy introduced into all parts of the budget has hitherto opposed a temporary obstacle to it: the king's ministers thought that its final success should not be compromised by too much anxiety to establish it: for a sinking fund derives its utility and effects from its permanence and immutability; a single change in its appropriation may cause the loss of all its fruits; for, on the principle of accumulation, it is time, continuity, and perseverance, that produce those prodigious results which the system of numbers alone appears capable of explaining." Talleyrand, however, announced that a sinking fund would enter into the plans of the budget for next year, as an essential and fundamental part.

He concluded his speech with a striking contrast between the principles which guided, and the spirit which animated, the present government of France, and those which actuated Bonaparte; and with anticipating the happiest results to the prosperity and welfare

of all descriptions of people, as well as to the state.

In France, as well as in England, great difference of opinion prevailed respecting the laws for regulating the exportation and importation of corn; and soon after the peace, considerable disturbances took place at Dieppe, and some other sea-ports, when corn was sent out of the kingdom for England. In consequence of these disturbances, the subject of the corn laws was brought before the two chambers; where it gave rise to long and elaborate discussions. The most important and enlightened speech was delivered in the chamber of deputies on the 10th of October by M. Bequey, the director-general of agriculture: he stated several facts with regard to the price of corn in different parts of France—he had examined the returns of five districts in the south of that kingdom, prior to 1789, where the price had been constantly highest: from these returns it appeared that the medium price for 12 years, from 1778 to 1789, was 18 francs 53 cents the hectolitre, when the average price throughout the kingdom was only 15 francs 8 cents during the same period: the difference, therefore, was 3 francs 45 cents. From the year 1802 to 1813 the medium price in the above districts was 27 francs 14 cents, while the average price of the kingdom was 21 francs 46 cents; the difference being 5 francs 48 cents.

Hence it appeared, that before the revolution the price of wheat was one-fifth higher in the southern departments of France than the general price, and for the last 12 years it was one-fourth higher. He accounted for this by the want of importation in the southern districts, which could not be supplied as usual, in time of war, from Barbary and Sicily.

The imposition of a duty when the price of grain approached the rate at which, by the law, exportation was to cease, had been objected to; but government thought this necessary, in order to slacken the activity of purchasers when the country had a very slight interest in the export of grain.

M. Bequey then proceeded to defend the principle of importing grain from foreign parts duty free: France was so very extensive, the harvests in different parts might vary so much in productiveness, that the more distant parts could not always relieve each other with the requisite promptitude and œconomy. Beside, the south of France exported its manufactures to the Levant, and the states of Barbary; and if France did not take their corn, they would cease to take their manufactures. "The example of England, which imposed a duty on import, was not sufficient to rebut his argument: her financial and custom-house legislation was different from that of France: besides, she covered the seas with her ships, and could supply herself at pleasure. Bread could hardly be considered as the staple article of her subsistence; while in France it was the staff of life, and its dearness operated as a diminution of subsistence to the poor."

After some further discussion, the whole of the law allowing exportation of corn when under a certain price, and free importation, was adopted by a majority of 120 to 20. This was the first plan of law which the chamber adopted without amendment.

On the 11th of October Louis published an ordinance respecting the establishment of ecclesiastical schools:

schools: during the time of Bonaparte, almost all the schools in France, at least those which were most patronized by government, were entirely confined to a military education: instruction in the duties of civil life, and of society, as well as in religion, was entirely neglected. Perhaps Louis might have benefited the rising generation much more effectually than by the establishment of ecclesiastical schools. Indeed here in England, where the people do every thing of this kind, and the government nothing, we are apt to consider the interference of government as objectionable in many respects; but in France, where the government has long been in the habit of regulating and interfering in cases where the public mind, if it were independent and enlightened, would act for itself, the case is very different; and we ought to consider the endeavour of Louis for the establishment of ecclesiastical schools, with reference to the habits and opinions prevalent in France. In this view, it was undoubtedly well calculated to supply that country with a well regulated priesthood, and repress the growing irreligion. The protestants, also, were not wanting in their endeavours to restore to France the blessings of morality and religion; and as they now can publicly profess and defend their tenets, much good may be expected.

Another ordinance of Louis was much less objectionable, and at the same time equally necessary: this related to the regulation of the prisons in such a manner as might correct the vicious habits of criminals condemned by the sentence of the tribunals, and prepare them, by order, labour, and moral and religious instruction, to return peaceful and useful members of society, when their periods of imprisonment were terminated. For the purpose of effecting this desirable end, all prisoners condemned for crimes, under 20 years of age, were directed to be collected together in one prison, to be called The prison of experiment; the director of which was to be charged with the superintendance of its police, and of the labour and instruction deemed necessary for the reform of the criminals; an assistant and six inspectors to be placed under him: these different offices to be gratuitous. The minister of the interior to make a report every month of the state of the prison; and besides that, a commission, composed of a counsellor of state and two masters of request, and another composed of three members of the court of session, to visit it twice a year, and to give in the result of their observations on all the details of its management and effects; the director-general to furnish them with all the requisite aid and information; and also, at the end of each year, to give a moral and detailed account of the state of the prison, and an account of the receipts and expenses: this account, after it has been verified and approved by the minister of the interior, to be laid before the king and the public. This wise and salutary plan seems to have originated with one of the most enlightened and benevolent men in France, the duke de la Rochefoucault, who was appointed director-general of The prison of experiment.

In this, as well as in most of the other plans and measures of the new government, there is one feature which deserves particular notice; we allude to the express declaration, that the public should be

informed of the effects of all these plans and measures: a proof that the new government considers the people of France of much more consequence than they were ever considered before.

Still, however, notwithstanding the peaceable disposition of Louis, there were in France too many restless spirits, and too great a fondness for national glory;—the consequence was, that the hope of regaining, at least, part of what he had been obliged to give up by the peace of Paris, still animated the public mind. This feeling was so strong and powerful, that it overcame the sense of justice and humanity. By the treaty of Paris, the French were to be permitted to carry on the slave trade for a certain number of years:—This clause gave great offence, and excited great indignation in England; to such a degree indeed, that the prince regent gave instructions to lord Castlereagh, his minister at the congress of Vienna, to endeavour to put a stop to this nefarious traffic immediately. The French, however, ascribed this feeling of the English entirely to interested motives; and thought, if they could fix this imputation upon us, they justified their own continuance of the slave trade. They had, however, other arguments which they adduced: the islands which were to be restored to them were not adequately supplied with negroes; and therefore they wished for the continuance of the trade only till that supply could be obtained. They also looked forward to the conquest of St. Domingo; on the state of which island we shall now offer some remarks.

The French part of this fine island was in possession of two negro chiefs; Petion and king Henry (better known under the name of Christophe): the latter was the more powerful. The indigenous part of the population was calculated at 320,000 souls; and the two chiefs could bring into the field upwards of 60,000 fighting men. In that part of the island under the dominion of king Henry more particularly, great attention had been paid to civilization and commerce; and the state papers as well as all the measures of this sovereign displayed a wise and enlightened policy, as well as a strong and zealous desire for the welfare of his subjects, which those who doubt the capacity of the negroes would seldom find among the monarchs of Europe. Such were the sovereign and the people whom the French government wished to enslave, and on the most paltry and sophistical grounds. But as soon as king Henry learnt that Louis, from whom might naturally have been expected sentiments of more justice and humanity, had been induced (reluctantly there is reason to believe) to give his sanction to offensive measures against the kingdom of Hayti, he issued a proclamation, to justify, at the tribunal of nations, the legitimacy of Haytian independence. It is no exaggerated applause to say that this proclamation, in point of eloquence and force of reasoning, is not inferior to the most celebrated state papers of the most eloquent and enlightened of European nations:—we cannot resist the temptation of extracting the conclusion, with our ardent hope that men who so well deserve to be free may long enjoy their freedom.

"Solicitous to adopt every means for reviving our internal prosperity, at all times attentively observing the events that passed in Europe during the

the bloody struggle supported there, we never for a single instant lost sight of our military system of defence.

"In that attitude we expected that Bonaparte, the enemy of the world, would attack us, either by force of arms,—or by perfidy, his accustomed means. We have not forgot that, after the peace of Amiens, his first object was to enter on that famous expedition for our extermination.

"But the God of armies, who raises and overturns thrones according to his will, did not, in his justice, consent that this oppressor of nations should accomplish his horrible design. We hope that his fall will give repose to the world,—we hope that the return of those liberal and reanimating sentiments which influence the European powers, will induce them to acknowledge the independence of a people who require only the enjoyment of peace and commerce, the object of all civilized nations.

"It will be in vain to attempt again, by means of force or seduction, to reduce us under a foreign dominion. The absurd maxim of deceiving men in order to govern them, is no longer dangerous to us. Taught by experience, we have acquired the aid of truth, of reason, and of force. We shall no longer be the victims of credulity; we cannot forget that attempts have already been made to take away our liberty. The painful recollection of the horrible punishments which precipitated into the grave our fathers, our mothers, and children, will never be effaced from our minds.

"We can never again be deceived: we know the perverseness of our enemies: we have before our eyes the projects of those men named Malouet, Barri de Saint Venant, Pages, Bruiley, and other colonists. The political religion of those traffickers in human flesh—of those counsellors of misfortunes—is well known to us:—it is slavery and destruction. We are not ignorant of the criminal plots, the shameful measures of those apostles of criminality and falsehood; they are even more distinguished by their writings than by the tortures they inflicted on us.

"We call upon all the sovereigns of the world, we call upon the brave and loyal British nation, which was the first in its august senate to proclaim the abolition of the infamous trade in blacks; and which, making a noble use of the ascendency of victory, notified its resolution to the other states with which it concluded treaties: we call upon all philanthropists, upon all men, and upon the whole world, and ask what people, after twenty-five years of conflicts, and after having conquered their liberty and their independence, would consent to lay down their arms for the purpose of again becoming the sport and the victims of their cruel oppressors? The last of the Haytians will yield up his last sigh sooner than renounce his independence.

"We will not do any power the injustice of supposing that it entertains the chimerical project of establishing its sway in Hayti by force of arms. The power that would undertake such an enterprise would have to march for a long time over ruins and dead bodies; and after having wasted all its means, if it could attain its object, what advantage would it derive from the loss of so much blood and treasure? It is not presumptuous to suppose that

that his majesty Louis XVIII, following the impulse of that philanthropic spirit that reigns in his family, after the example of his unfortunate brother Louis XVI. in his political conduct towards the United States of America, will imitate that monarch in acknowledging the independence of Hayti. This would not only be an act of justice, but a reparation of the evils which we have suffered from the French government.

"It is in vain that our calumniators shall dare again to allege that we should not be considered as a people aspiring to independence, and collectively employed in the means of attaining it. This absurd assertion, invented by perfidy, wickedness, and the sordid interests of slave traders, deserves the profoundest contempt and indignation of men of property in all countries. This assertion has been sufficiently falsified during eleven years of independence, and its happy results. Free in point of right, and independent in fact, we will never renounce these blessings; we will never consent to behold the destruction of that edifice which we have cemented with our blood, until we are buried under its ruins.

"We offer to commercial powers, who shall enter into relations with us, our friendship—security to their property, and our royal protection to their peaceable subjects, who shall come to our country with the intention of carrying on their commercial affairs, and who shall conform to our laws and usages.

"The king of a free people, a soldier by habit, we fear no war or enemy. We have already signified our determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of our neighbours. We wish to enjoy peace and tranquillity among ourselves, and to exert the same prerogatives which other people have, of making laws for themselves. If, after the free exposition of our sentiments, and the justice of our cause, any power should, contrary to the laws of nations, place a hostile fort in our territory, then our first duty will be to repel such an act of aggression by every means in our power.

"We solemnly declare that we will never consent to any treaty, or any condition, that shall compromise the honour, the liberty, and independence of the Haytian people. Faithful to our oath, we will rather bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, than suffer our political rights to sustain the slightest injury.

Given in our palace of Sans Souci, the 18th of September 1814, eleventh year of independence, and the fourth of our reign.

(Signed) HENRY.

By the king, The secretary of state, minister for foreign affairs,

Count de LIMONADE.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIX.

Congress at Vienna—Expectations formed of it—Grounds of these Expectations—Monarchs and Statesmen assembled there—Their Characters—Remarks on the principal Subjects which would come before the Congress—The Affairs of Poland—The Advantages of its Independence examined, as relates to the People themselves, and to Europe at large—The Case of Saxony considered—The States of Germany and Italy.

BY the treaty of Paris it was declared, in general terms, that all the powers engaged on both sides in the late war should send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating in a general congress the arrangements necessary for completing the enactments of that treaty. From this congress much was expected, and not without reason; for, when we reflect on the conduct of the allied powers towards France, and on the declarations which they put forth, uncalled for, in the face of the world, that they were not prompted by self-interest or ambition, but solely and exclusively by a sincere and ardent wish to restore to all Europe the blessings of permanent tranquillity and independence; and, as far as in them lay, to heal the wounds which had been inflicted on this fairest portion of the globe for upwards of 20 years;—when we moreover reflect, that in one striking instance they had proved that these promises and professions were not mere words, but had been amply redeemed by their conduct, and that, in this instance, just retaliation might have pleaded in favour of the views of ambition and self-interest;—when all these things were considered in connexion with the deep impression which each of the allies must have felt of the miseries of war, and the self-destructive tendency of ambition, added to the exhausted state of their respective territories;—even those who put the least faith in the professions of princes might have been led to augur something grand and good from the congress of Vienna. There was still another circumstance which might have justified such an expectation: at this congress were to be assembled the monarchs themselves; not merely their ministers, who might have felt less interest in bringing the deliberations and decisions of the congress to a favourable conclusion. Many think, that if kings were not to put so much faith and reliance as they do on their ministers,—if, on the contrary, they were to look more into their own affairs, and into the state and condition of their subjects,—it would be better both for themselves and those who are placed under their dominion: hence it might have been hoped that, at the congress of Vienna, where monarchs were to see and judge for themselves, more regard than usual would be paid to the dictates of moderation and justice; and this hope must have been strengthened by a reflection on the personal characters, and the past sufferings and experience of those monarchs. The emperor Alexander had, more than any of the others, established a character for simplicity, moderation and justice: his whole behaviour, not only while he was in England,

land, but antecedently during the campaign in France, had led to the belief that he was far above the ambition of being a mere conqueror; that his object was rather to improve the condition of the subjects which he already had, than to extend his territories. While in England, he principally employed his time in seeing and examining those institutions, and improvements in machinery, which might be of service to his own country; so that it was hoped by many, that a monarch had at last arisen, who would feel more delight in extending the empire of knowledge and civilization than in war and conquest. The king of Prussia had suffered deeply in his wars with Bonaparte; not merely as a sovereign, but as a husband: he was believed to be of a very domestic habit and turn of mind, and still to feel deeply for the death of his queen: these circumstances, united to what they all had so recently witnessed of the fatal effects of war and ambition, it was hoped would have induced him, at the congress of Vienna, to raise his voice and exert his influence in favour of those schemes alone which had for their object the real good of monarchs as well as subjects. Less perhaps was expected from the emperor of Austria than from either the king of Prussia or the emperor of Russia; for, though he had suffered dreadfully from his wars with Bonaparte, there appeared to be in his personal character too much of the monarch; too little adaptation to circumstances; too great a fondness for parade and ostentation; too little sympathy with the condition of mankind at large. From the other sovereigns who assembled at Vienna, the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Denmark, little was expected; for, whatever their personal characters might be, they possessed, comparatively, so little influence, that they would be obliged to attach themselves to the views and plans of one or other of the three great sovereigns.

Besides the monarchs who were assembled at the congress of Vienna, there were the ministers of England and France; lord Castlereagh from the former, and Talleyrand from the latter. The influence of England at the congress ought, on many accounts, to have been very great: she alone, of all the powers which had been engaged in the contest with Bonaparte, had never been conquered; she alone had never despaired of the liberation of Europe: by her perseverance he had been finally overthrown; by her example the allies had been encouraged to go on in the arduous contest: she had made most wonderful and unparalleled exertions to aid them both with men and money. Nor were her interests at the congress of Vienna committed to a man who either was ignorant of them, or who was incapable of supporting them with intelligence and firmness. At the time when the allies were on the point of gaining possession of Paris, when Bonaparte was in their rear, they were saved from retreat and probable destruction, they were secured in their grand object, by lord Castlereagh. But as England had little or nothing to ask for herself at this congress, she was therefore the better entitled to raise her voice for those nations in Europe who had claims on her regard, for justice and liberty. Lord Castlereagh, therefore, it was hoped, would be able as well as disposed, on the part of his country, to benefit the cause of liberty at Vienna as essentially as he had done at Paris, and as his country had done through-

throughout the whole of the war against France.

There was one object which his country more particularly demanded of him; and this object, too, was not connected with her own interest, but with the cause of humanity. It has already been mentioned that, by the treaty of Paris, the French were to be allowed to carry on the slave trade for the space of five years, under the pretext that this period was absolutely necessary to supply her West India islands with slaves. At this article of the treaty the people of Great Britain were so indignant, that the prince regent gave instructions to lord Castlereagh to use his utmost endeavours to procure at Vienna the total and immediate abolition of the slave trade, not only from France, but also from all the other European powers which still carried it on. This object therefore he was to press: and as all the other objects which it was supposed he was directed to use his endeavour to accomplish were of the same nature,—all equally unconnected with the particular interests of Great Britain, and conducive to the liberty and happiness of Europe,—it was hoped that he would be successful.

It was for some time doubtful, whether France was enfitled to send an ambassador to the congress at Vienna, as the object of that congress was to settle what had been left undetermined by the treaty of Paris, and by that treaty every thing connected with the interests of France had been arranged. But France, even under her new sovereign, had not lost her national disposition to intrigue; and Talleyrand urged so strongly the right of his country to take a part in the deliberations of the congress, that he was permitted to come to Vienna. It was impossible to anticipate any good from the result of this congress, so far as France was concerned, when either the national character or the individual character of her ambassador was considered. The compression of her territories by the treaty of Paris within those limits which existed in the year 1792, had deeply wounded the ambition and the love of glory which seem almost innate, and are certainly the most powerful passions, in the breasts of all Frenchmen. They could hardly expect, at the congress of Vienna, to intrigue with such skill and effect as to set aside the treaty of Paris, and obtain an enlargement of their territories; the experience and remembrance of their conduct was too recent in the minds of all the allies to encourage such a hope; but they probably did expect that they would stir up jealousies in those allies which would eventually dissolve their connexion, and thus afford France an opportunity of regaining part of what had been wrested from her. There is reason to suspect, also, that France sent her ambassador to the congress with the hope that, as the object of that congress was to settle the affairs of Europe, an opportunity might be afforded of bringing into discussion the maritime rights of Great Britain—not, perhaps, under any sanguine expectation that these rights would be injured, or even that Great Britain would permit them to be called in question; but anticipating, from the mere stirring up of this question, ill-will between Britain and some of her allies, and, thus, benefit to France. Nor was this a groundless anticipation; for Russia, it is well known, notwithstanding her willingness to ascribe

to

to Britain her just share in the overthrow of Bonaparte, still retained the principles on which the empress Catherine had acted in the establishment of the maritime confederacy at the close of the American war.

Such being, it is probable, the views and hopes of France, she could not possibly have chosen a more fit person to send to Vienna for their accomplishment than Talleyrand; a statesman certainly of the highest class, especially where things were to be settled, principally, at personal interviews; and who, it is well known, would exert himself to the utmost, not only for the aggrandizement of France, but, if an opportunity offered, for the curtailment of the maritime rights of Britain. He was, at the same time, fully sensible of the delicate situation in which he was placed: he appeared as ambassador from a nation which had just been conquered, to whom terms much more honourable and favourable than she had any reason to expect had been granted; that could not, with any grace or feasible pretence, interfere in the deliberations at Vienna; and that was still regarded with a suspicious eye by the allied powers: he also must have reflected, that the armies of the allies, those allies which had entered Paris in triumph, were not yet disbanded—that they were actually hovering over the confines of France—and that, if his demands, or even the expression of his wishes or hopes, were urged with improper eagerness and presumption, his country might be again over-run. With respect even to any plan of curbing the power of Britain on the sea, he must have known that it would be necessary to proceed with the utmost caution: for, however desirous the emperor of Russia might be to establish a new maritime code, he could not be expected to urge it against Britain at this time, and, coming from France, he would view it with great distrust. Talleyrand, therefore, had a very difficult task to perform; but his talents and experience were equal to his situation; and, what is one of his chief excellencies as a statesman, they are most completely developed and available when they are most needed.

The grand object which the congress of Vienna professed to have in view, was to restore Europe as nearly as possible to the condition in which it was previous to the French revolution; only altering that condition so far as might be deemed necessary to strengthen the inferior states. The experience of the French revolution had proved that these inferior states, unable to protect and defend themselves, must necessarily fall under the power of their stronger neighbour in the case of another war. This had been fatally exemplified with respect to the small states of Germany: being contiguous to France, they had easily fallen into her power soon after the commencement of the revolution, and thus contributed to render her more equal to a contest with the great states of Europe, even when united against her. And as France, from the military spirit which had been infused into her, and from the immense armies that she would still possess when her prisoners were restored,—armies composed of men who were totally indisposed and unqualified for the occupations and enjoyments of peaceful and civil life,—was still the great object of suspicion and alarm to the rest of the continent of Europe, it became necessary to strengthen the states which bordered

ed on her territories. On this principle, Belgium, even by the treaty of Paris, had been annexed to Holland. But the congress of Vienna professed to have greater objects in view than even the protection of the smaller states against the ambition and power of France; they professed to assemble for the grand and beneficent purpose of doing all in their power to save Europe from future wars, and of bestowing on its inhabitants a greater portion of national and individual security, independence and happiness, than they had ever enjoyed. The allied monarchs declared that these objects were so near their hearts, that, in order to secure them, they would most cheerfully sacrifice their own individual interests, and exhibit themselves no longer as warlike and ambitious, but as peaceful and patriotic monarchs.

The settlement and concerns of Poland, Saxony, and the smaller states of Germany and Italy, necessarily came within the professed purpose and wish of the allied monarchs; and on each of these great difficulties arose; difficulties, the existence of which too plainly and fatally proved, that the allies were not inclined to act so disinterestedly as they had professed and promised.

As they had inveighed against the ambition of Bonaparte; as they, in common with their subjects, had traced all the calamities of Europe to this cause; it was to be hoped that they would have done away that first example of despoliation which had served as an excuse for him, and have restored Poland to her national independence. We need not remind our readers of the partitions of that unhappy country; nor that Russia, Prussia and Austria,—powers that had suffered dreadfully from Bonaparte, who were loud in their outcry against his tyranny and unprincipled ambition, —had gone before him in the accursed path, and had seized on Poland with even less pretence to justice than he could generally put forth. Nor can the rest of Europe, and Great Britain particularly, plead guiltless to this partition of Poland: she did not indeed participate in it; but she did not endeavour to avert it; she did not rouse herself as became the friend and protector of freedom, the avenger and punisher of injustice. How different her conduct to Bonaparte! so different, indeed, that a suspicion almost unavoidably rises in the breasts of her best and sincerest friends, and will be fondly cherished by her enemies, that some other feeling than a hatred of tyranny armed her against Bonaparte, while she was the calm and unprotesting spectator of the division of Poland.

But, while we thus hold up the partition of Poland as one great cause of the future calamities of Europe, and reprobate it as an instance of the most barefaced injustice recorded in the annals of mankind, we are far from anticipating, from what is termed the restoration of this country, all the blessings and benefits which are fondly dwelt upon by those who are apt, in every case, to imagine that the inhabitants of every country feel and think, and hope and fear, exactly as the people of Britain do. A little reflection on the condition of the Poles will prevent us from indulging erroneous ideas on this subject: and though it may not (and ought not to) reconcile us to the conduct of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in the partition of Poland; yet it will prevent us from anticipating all those benefits, from what

what is termed the restoration of this country, which we might otherwise do.

In Poland, generally speaking, there is no middle class of people: they are all either nobles or slaves: the land is entirely in possession of the former, who do not let it out in farms, as in Britain and other countries, but who keep it in their possession, and cultivate it by means of their slaves. Now it is evident that the real and enlightened friend of liberty, he who is not led astray by names, would wish that Poland should be placed in such a situation that slavery might be abolished; that those who are now slaves should rise to the dignity, the knowledge, and the privileges of freemen. But is this likely to be accomplished by what is termed the restoration of Poland? by merely uniting Poland again into one kingdom, and allowing a native prince to reign over it? We are grossly mistaken, if we suppose that the restoration of Poland, that is, placing it in the condition in which it was before, will really benefit the mass of the population: it undoubtedly will benefit the aristocracy, but not them; nor is it possible that this event can be much desired by them: it may indeed be desired in some degree, because even the most ignorant and lowest slaves have so much national feeling about them, that they would prefer the same state of slavery under a native to that under a foreign prince. But, independently of this feeling, which is praiseworthy and noble only when it is enlightened, when it arises from, or is confirmed by, a sense of civil and political liberty, it cannot be supposed that the restoration of Poland can be an object of anxious wish to the great mass of the population. Even if this restoration were likely to meliorate their condition, they could scarcely feel a desire for it; for their intellectual and moral faculties are so low, that, to them, the blessings of civil and political liberty—blessings in defence of which Englishmen would shed the last drop of their blood,—are scarcely intelligible. But it may well be doubted, whether the Polish aristocracy, if their country were again united, and governed by a native monarch, that is, if it again possessed national independence, would meliorate the condition of their peasants: nay, we are even disposed to go further, and to state it as probable, that the peasantry of Poland, divided as it is, are more likely to rise in character, and in comfort, than if their national independence were restored.

We are well aware, that it may be urged that the troops which Poland supplied to the army of Bonaparte, when he promised the restoration of that kingdom, afford an undoubted proof that the mass of the population are sensible of the blessings of freedom, and anxious to obtain them: but we should be disposed to doubt, whether this circumstance even proved that they were alive to a feeling of national independence, much less of individual liberty. For we should always recollect the state of society in Poland: there, a noble has the entire disposal of the services of his peasantry; and, probably, the peasantry enter into the feelings and wishes of their master. Consequently, the latter can at any time bring into the field a large body of troops; and their number only proves his wealth (for wealth there is estimated by the number of slaves on an estate) and his power, not the sentiments and feelings of the soldiers;

diers; at least, only their sentiments and feelings so far as they take their origin from the sentiments and feelings of their master. In short, we may compare (though the comparison, perhaps, is too favourable for the Poles,) the Polish army which came forward under their native nobility, when Bonaparte promised the restoration of Poland, to the Highland clans who volunteered under their chiefs in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Neither of them had any idea of civil or political liberty; both were, in fact, slaves to their masters; and, in both cases, no inference could be drawn, but what respected the sentiments and power of those masters.—When, therefore, the restoration of Poland is dwelt upon with such rapture, we should be careful that we are not led astray by words: we should take care that we are not advocating the the cause and interests of the Polish nobility alone, and completely overlooking the cause and interests of the people at large; respecting whom it would be very difficult to prove that their condition is worse under Russia, Austria, or Prussia, than it was under their native princes.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood: we are far from saying that the peasantry of Poland have no claims on our interest: they inhabit one of the finest countries in Europe; and, perhaps, few people are below them with regard to all that is desirable and noble in human nature; they are even so sunk in ignorance, that they are not alive to the wretchedness of their condition; to the rank which they ought to hold, or to their own rights and capabilities. Here, then, is ample room for melioration; and if it could be proved that the restoration of Poland would be the means of meliorating the condition of the Poles; if there were reason to believe that the Polish nobility would possess more power, or be inspired by a stronger inclination to take wise and effectual measures, gradually to abolish the slavery of their peasants than they now do, while their country is divided; then, in addition to the wish we feel for the restoration of Poland, because we think national independence a blessing, we should experience the much stronger wish for this event, arising from the anticipation of the infinitely greater blessings of civil and political freedom. How very little mere national independence is worth, the example of Spain most clearly displays: had the Spaniards, in their contest with the French, been animated with a hatred of tyranny in general, and not merely a hatred of tyranny because it was foreign, they would now exhibit a far different spectacle from what they do.

But all these considerations are quite foreign to the restoration of Poland, as connected with the past conduct and late professions of Russia. Neither that power, nor Austria, nor Prussia, can possibly be justified with respect to the partition of that country, even if their sole object had been its benefit, and if they had conscientiously pursued that object, in the administration of the respective portions which fell to their lot. In private life, the rule, Never to do evil that good may come, is a safe and an admirable one; but it is much more applicable when applied to the conduct of nations; though, from limited views of real policy, it is too often considered as impracticable or hurtful with respect to them. From the partition of Poland a consequence resulted, not only to those who were guilty of

it, but to all Europe, which they little anticipated at the time that event took place: they ought therefore to have done away completely all vestige of that act of injustice, which had infused its deadly poison so deeply and widely; they should have been glad of the opportunity of the congress of Vienna to come forward with a decisive proof, a proof which all Europe would have applauded, that they had warred not against the person, but the principles, of Bonaparte; and that, as they themselves had set him the example of injustice, they were resolved to make all the atonement in their power, by a practical confession of their misdeed in the restoration of Poland.

The emperor Alexander was particularly called upon to act thus: he had voluntarily held himself up as the liberator of Europe; as unambitious of conquest; as desirous not only of restoring Europe to the state in which she was prior to the commencement of the French revolution, but also of putting down all the unjust and ambitious principles on which France had so long acted. He must have been sensible that, unless these principles were completely put down and disclaimed by the conduct of the allies, the mere re-establishment of the European states would be of little avail: he must have known, that he had given mankind reason to believe that the misery occasioned by the ambition and intrigues of France had taught him that sovereigns had other interests, as well as other duties, besides the extension of their territories; and that from him they expected immediate and substantial results of this fatally-learnt lesson.

On other grounds also (whatever might be the hopes of Europe from the professions of Alexander) they were naturally anxious that he should restore Poland to a real independence. The empire of Russia was already enormous; from its internal construction, however, it was not alarming to the other governments of Europe; but if it advanced more to the west and south—if it incorporated more compact and fruitful territories, there was reason to dread its power. The plan and policy of the Russian sovereigns, from the time of Peter the Great, had uniformly been to mix more and more with the politics of western Europe; and (as has been already remarked) the last campaign had brought the Russian emperor more prominently forward, and given him much more influence than any of his predecessors. If therefore he should secure Poland, he would gain a footing in Europe which might bring more dreadful consequences than had resulted even from the power which he had so essentially contributed to overthrow; since, though at present the population of his wide empire is little applicable to military purposes at a distance from home; yet, if Poland were incorporated with it, it would give him a resting-place where he might collect and recruit those forces which he had brought together from the remotest boundaries of Asia.

On these grounds, therefore, it was desirable that Poland should, if possible, be invested with a real independence; with an independence which, by meliorating the condition of the great mass of her people, might animate them to defend their country against the attempts of Russia, and thus constitute it the barrier between that power and the rest of Europe. Such ought to have been the object of the congress of Vienna with respect to

Poland:

Poland: how far they had that object in view, and, if they had it, how far they have obtained it, will be seen when in our subsequent volume we are called upon to detail its proceedings and their result.

The case of Saxony (which it was understood would also come before the congress) was much more difficult and important in a moral though not in a political point of view, than the case of Poland. The latter country had been for some time divided, and in the possession of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and therefore it might not be expected, that the professions of the sovereigns of these countries in behalf of moderation and justice would extend so far in their execution as the giving up of Poland, and its restoration to the condition and privileges of an actually independent government. But Saxony was differently situated; and it may naturally be asked, On what possible ground could the case of Saxony come before sovereigns who had claimed honour to themselves for their moderation, and for their abhorrence of all the principles and conduct of Bonaparte? But Saxony was a conquered country. Did they then mean still to retain the barbarous and unjust idea, that the conquest of a country gave a right to the conquerors to dispose of it as they thought proper, or to reserve it for themselves? If they did, they had emancipated themselves but very partially and imperfectly from the principles of Bonaparte. France was a conquered country; but France they did not treat as such: all the territories which they had wrested from France were conquered countries; but these were either actually restored, or it was naturally expected from the professions of the allied sovereigns they would be restored, to their national independence, and their old station and rank in Europe. What, then, had Saxony done to be made an exception? The ultimate success of Europe against Bonaparte, it was virtually acknowledged by the conquerors themselves, had been in a great measure owing to the feelings and resistance of the people themselves; and the allied sovereigns had given the world reason to believe, that the happiness of the people in all they had done, and in all they meant to do, at Vienna, was their principal and cherished object. But the people of Saxony were perhaps the most enlightened, industrious and happy of all Germany; and this condition, if not obtained for them, had been secured and extended to them by their sovereign and his government. Why, then, even propose to alter her government? why propose that that feeling of national independence should be destroyed by incorporating them with another state, which must at the same time weaken the sources of their happiness? The reason given was, that the king of Saxony had been the friend and ally of Bonaparte; this was the reason for dethroning him; and as the allied sovereigns were desirous of placing the whole of Europe in such a state of equipoise with regard to power, as should diminish the probability of future wars, it was moreover supposed to be their object to annex Saxony to Prussia. Here then are two questions to be considered; whether the king of Saxony ought to be dethroned? and, if he ought, what ought to become of Saxony?

The king of Saxony, it was contended, deserved no mercy: he had adhered to Bonaparte to the last, and therefore ought to suffer the

fate of Bonaparte: and this was the language of sovereigns, who all in their turns had adhered to Bonaparte; who had joined with him in many of his schemes of ambition and conquest. Did the emperor of Russia forget that, by the treaty of Tilsit, he agreed to participate in the spoliation of Prussia? Did the king of Prussia forget his conduct towards Hanover? Did the emperor of Austria not recollect that, by giving his daughter in marriage to Bonaparte, he had done more than any of the other sovereigns to strengthen his power? But it was said they had all left him: yes, when they deemed it safe; when they found his fortunes tumbling. The king of Saxony thought better of the stability of his fortune than he ought, and therefore adhered to him longer than he ought. But let us grant, what indeed after all must be conceded, that the king of Saxony was a more steady and warm friend of Bonaparte than any of the other sovereigns had ever been, even at the period of their most solemn professions; ought he, therefore, on that account to be dethroned? This consequence undoubtedly would have followed, if the conquerors had been resolved to act on the usual principles which guided conquerors: but the question now is, What should be the fate of the king of Saxony if the emperor Alexander (for to him the world looks up in a most particular manner, not only on account of his more open and frequent professions, but also on account of his greater influence,) acted consistently with what he had led Europe to expect from him? The path of moderation and justice—the path which directly led to the accomplishment of the hopes of Europe, was clear and distinct. The king of Saxony had been highly culpable in adhering so long as he did to the cause of Bonaparte: for this he ought perhaps to be punished. But, on the other hand, Saxony had flourished under his dominion: this should be taken into consideration; and it ought, first of all, to have been investigated by the allied sovereigns, whether, if they punished the king, they would not thus also diminish the happiness of the inhabitants of Saxony.

To the people of France, who, though not so criminal as Bonaparte himself, could not be looked upon as guiltless, in so far as they enabled him to carry on his crimes, the allied sovereigns had granted the choice of a sovereign. Were the people of Saxony not to receive an equal degree of favour, because their sovereign had been an instrument in the hand of Bonaparte? No person who knew his character, who was acquainted with his mode of rule over Saxony, could for a moment suppose that he approved of Bonaparte's crimes: he was weak, but not wicked. On these considerations, therefore, it might have been hoped that the king of Saxony would not be punished by the deprivation of his dominions, by sovereigns who had each of them known and felt the influence of that man, for his connexion with whom it was thus proposed to punish him.

If, however, the fate of the king of Saxony was to be, that he should be deprived of his territories; what ought to be the fate of Saxony itself? Ought not the allied sovereigns to have addressed the inhabitants to the following purport: "Your king no longer deserves to rule over you, or to be recognised by us, because of his adherence

herence to Bonaparte: in order to deter other sovereigns, it is absolutely necessary to make an example of him; we must therefore deprive him of his throne; we know that to you (except in the case of his attachment to Bonaparte) he has been a good prince; that Saxony under him has flourished exceedingly, so as now to be superior to most other parts of Germany, in agriculture, manufactures, literature and happiness: these blessings we wish to preserve to you: but as we are sensible that they cannot be preserved entire unless national independence be preserved, and the minds and hearts of the people go with the government, we cheerfully give you the choice of your new sovereign; we do not wish to strip Saxony of any part of her old and legitimate territory, nor to deprive her of her independence; and though we feel ourselves under the necessity of not placing the continuance of your prince on the throne within your choice, we completely give up to you the selection of his successor." —Such language would have been greeted by Europe as the harbinger of her peace and happiness: and to such language the people of Saxony, who had never approved of or sanctioned the attachment of their king to Bonaparte,—the army of Saxony, who by their defection from the tyrant, at the battle of Leipsic, had contributed so essentially to the fate of that decisive and glorious day,—were justly entitled.

But it was said that Saxony must be annexed to Prussia; that the inferior consideration of the independence and wishes of its inhabitants must give way to the paramount consideration of the future peace of Europe. The object of the congress of Vienna, it was given out, was the placing of the various states on the continent of Europe on such a relative footing, that future wars might be avoided; or, if they took place, that no one power, as France had recently done, might preponderate so greatly as to overwhelm the rest of the continent. This was certainly a desirable object; and could it have been effected by means not at variance with justice, it would have been hailed with joyful acclamations by every friend of the tranquillity and happiness of mankind. But had the allied sovereigns forgotten already one of the most fatal and dreadful infringements which Bonaparte made on the venerable code of morality, which had always before his time been professed, though, alas! too often forgotten in conduct by the sovereigns of Europe,—that evil might not be done that good might come? In no respect had the revolution of France, and especially the military despotism to which that event had given rise, done more mischief to mankind, than in the unsettling, and holding up to contempt, those principles of morality which had always before been at least professed: and yet the allied sovereigns thought of sanctioning the new principles of France.

But let us consider the case of Saxony a little more closely: for, though it is to be hoped that this country will be permitted to retain her king, and to remain entire; yet, as there undoubtedly is at the congress at Vienna (even at the moment we are writing) a wish to dethrone the king, and to annex Saxony to Prussia, (which wish will not be carried into execution because the sovereigns interested in its accomplishment are convinced of its impropriety and injustice,

but for reasons much more cogent with governments,) it may be useful to examine the arguments adduced for the incorporation of Saxony with Prussia. The main argument is, that Prussia is much too weak, in comparison with the other states of Europe: this weakness is particularly dreaded in relation to France; the latter power, it is feared, may not long remain quiet; and therefore it is proper to strengthen her neighbours in such a manner as shall defend them from being overrun by her, as they were at the commencement of the revolutionary war. For this purpose, Belgium (as we shall afterwards particularly notice) was annexed to Holland; and it was desirable that Prussia should be strengthened by the incorporation of Saxony.

Now the first objection that occurs to this proposal (setting aside for the present all considerations of a moral nature) is, that Prussia might be strengthened in a much more proper and natural manner. By the treaty of Tilsit, between the emperor Alexander and Bonaparte, a large part of the dominions of Prussia were taken from her, and given to Alexander:—why not restore them? Has Alexander any better claim to them than Bonaparte had to most of his conquests? These territories were not conquered by Alexander, but by Bonaparte, and given by the latter to the former; to that sovereign, who had entered into the war with Bonaparte for the protection of Prussia. Unless Alexander wished the world to believe that the articles of the treaty of Tilsit, so far as they regarded the spoliation of Prussia, were not compulsory on him, he ought to have taken the first opportunity, after he was free from the shackles of the tyrant, to have restored to Prussia the territories of which she was stripped.—Soon after Prussia freed herself from Bonaparte, a treaty was entered into between Alexander and Frederic, by which the former bound himself to obtain for the latter an extent of territory nearly if not quite equal to what it had been prior to the treaty of Tilsit; It might have been supposed that it was the intention of Alexander, as soon as peace was restored to Europe, to fulfil this treaty by restoring those parts which he had recovered from Bonaparte. This, however, was not his intention;—what he got, justly belonging to a sovereign in whose defence he had gone to war, from a man who had no right to give it away, he was unwilling to restore to that sovereign even when they were on the most intimate footing of public alliance and private friendship;—but he would indemnify him by annexing dominions over which neither of them had any right but the right of conquest.

But, in the second place, it was the proposed object of this annexation of Saxony to Prussia to strengthen the latter: were the allied sovereigns so ignorant of human nature, so totally unacquainted with history; had they so soon forgotten what had just passed before their eyes, as to suppose that a kingdom could be strengthened by mere extension of territory? Did they think that, if the Saxons were averse from a union with Prussia, Prussia would actually be benefited by such a union?—Their professed object was to render Prussia more capable of coping with France, or with any other power that might attack her; and was this object likely to be accomplished

ed by placing in the heart of extended Prussia two millions of subjects, discontented, anxious to regain their national character and independence, and consequently ready to join the first enemy who should declare against Prussia? But it might be argued, that their dissatisfaction would soon wear away. Let us at present grant that: but is it likely it would wear away before another war broke out in Europe? would it not, in fact, give rise to another war? would it not naturally direct the eyes and the hopes of the Saxons to the French; to that very people against whom this measure was to be a safeguard? would it not, in fact, be rendering the conquest of Prussia more easy, by placing within her the auxiliaries of the enemy? That this dissatisfaction would soon wear away, is contended, because it was so in the case of Scotland soon after its union with England. But the cases are palpably the reverse of each other. In the case of Scotland, the union was that of a poor country with a rich one; and the effect of the union was, that the poor country soon began to participate in the prosperity of the rich one. But with respect to Saxony and Prussia, the latter, comparatively speaking, is the rich and well-governed, the latter, the poor and ill-governed country; and there is no reason to believe that, if they were united, Saxony, as was the case with Scotland, would become richer and better governed than she had been before.

But, in the third place, the great object in view, the protection of Prussia against France, would be very imperfectly obtained by the annexation of Saxony, even supposing that the Saxons were anxious for the union. The population of the whole united kingdom would not be above one-third of the population of France; and while the population of the latter country was compact, and easily and quickly available in case of war, the population of Prussia was extended over a great surface, the parts of which were at a considerable distance from one another, and consequently it was not nearly so available. But, after all, why be so anxious to protect Prussia against France? They are not contiguous; before France could reach Prussia, she must conquer much intervening territory: and it therefore would seem more adviseable to erect *that* into one powerful kingdom, as a barrier against the encroachments of France. Or, if Prussia must be strengthened against France; if the future tranquillity of Europe is the object nearest the heart of all the sovereigns who have contributed to pull down the despotism of Bonaparte; and if that tranquillity is most endangered by France on the side of Prussia: why not strengthen the latter country by the annexation of Hanover? By doing this, Prussia would be rendered much more powerful against France, than by the annexation of Saxony; and to this plan, if Britain understood her real interests, she would be the first to accede. We have always interfered too much in the affairs of the continent; insensible of our highly favoured situation, as a rich and powerful island, which the continent never could essentially injure even in its commerce, we have been eager to embroil ourselves in the wars of the continent;—we have squandered our money in subsidies, and hardly been thanked for it; and to this foolish desire of meddling in the affairs of the continent, the

connexion of Hanover with Britain has mainly contributed. How injurious it is to this country, Bonaparte well knew; for he was always eager to restore it, because by its reconquest he could exchange it for some of the French colonies.—Had therefore Hanover been annexed to Prussia, the latter would have been really strengthened, and Britain would have been freed from what she could well spare;—not, however, that we should have wished even this annexation to have taken place, if it had been contrary to the wishes of the people of Hanover.

Although none of the proceedings of the congress at Vienna have yet come officially before the public; yet, as it was well understood that it was intended to deprive the king of Saxony of his throne, and to annex his dominions to Prussia, ministers were questioned on the subject in parliament. They either were or pretended to be ignorant of this plan; but it is supposed, finding the sense of the nation and the language of opposition to be strong against it, they sent instructions to lord Castlereagh to oppose it.—This, however, as well as the detail, and the result of the long protracted negotiations of the congress, will come under our notice in the next volume of the Register—at present we must confine ourselves to the other two objects, which we stated as likely to engage the attention of the congress, viz. the smaller states of Germany and Italy.

The changes that had taken place in the smaller states of Germany had been so radical and numerous, and had continued so long, that the congress of Vienna, however desirous they might be to place Europe exactly on the same footing on which it was previous to the French revolution, could hardly expect to do it with regard to Germany. Nor was it desirable on any account: as they had formerly been, they were the instruments of intrigue with the greater powers; the sovereigns of the smaller states were poor, and ready to lend themselves to any cause which promised them good payment. Nor were their subjects free or happy in general; there were some striking exceptions; but they were few. On these accounts, therefore, it seemed desirable that the arrangement and constitution of the petty states of Germany should be materially altered; and it was declared at the congress, that after the more extended and momentous concerns of Europe were settled, the affairs of Germany would be taken into consideration.

Switzerland also required to be considered. From causes, which are not accurately known, this country, with the inhabitants of which we always associate the innocence and the happiness of the golden age, was a scene of internal commotion and civil war. But as the germ of their former good qualities could not possibly have been totally destroyed by the revolution, there was reason to hope, if the allied sovereigns did not meddle too much, if they did not attempt to force Switzerland into union with any other power, that the virtue and happiness of this interesting country would again flourish.

On Italy, also, the attention of the friends of liberty was fixed. The Italians, generally speaking,—or at least the inhabitants of the north and middle of Italy, the most intelligent and virtuous of all the Italians, had long been anxious

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to see their country formed into one independent state, and no longer either parcelled out among a number of petty sovereigns, or subject to the dominion of a foreign power. And certainly on many accounts this would be desirable; it would thus be less exposed to those invasions from which it has suffered so much; and it would at last take its place, where it ought, among the kingdoms of Europe. But it was early seen that there would be great and serious obstacles in the way of the independence of Italy. Austria would look not only to her ancient possessions, but also to indemnity there for having ceded Belgium to Holland. And yet in no other part of Europe had the allies such an excellent opportunity of carrying into execution their plan of securing the continent against future wars by the consolidation of powerful states; for in Italy the people were anxious for that which the people of Saxony were averse to; and therefore, by uniting the northern and middle parts of Italy into one independent state, a fruitful source of, as well as a strong temptation to, future wars would be destroyed, and a free, happy, and enlightened race would be secured, sufficient to protect and defend themselves. If, therefore, the allies are really desirous of contributing to the good of Europe; if they even entertain sound notions respecting the means of preserving themselves from future wars; they ought to accede to the wishes of the people of Italy, and form the northern and central parts of it into one independent kingdom.

With respect to the pope, it was soon apparent that he no longer would be regarded as possessed of spiritual power, and that even his temporal power would be much curtailed. Whatever evils may have arisen from the French revolution, it certainly has greatly contributed to shake the power of spiritual tyranny, and to render the obligations and the benefits of toleration better understood.

The case of Murat, as king of Naples, it was naturally supposed, would give rise to much discussion: on the one hand, it was understood that Austria had actually guaranteed him his throne, and the other allied sovereigns had nearly pledged themselves to the same extent; while, on the other hand, France would naturally wish a Bourbon restored to his entire dominions; and England could not entirely overlook the interests of an ally who had remained so steadily faithful to her. So far as the people of Naples were concerned, it was understood that under Murat they were much better off than they had been under their former sovereign: he had done much to render them more active and industrious. Besides these considerations, Murat had formed a numerous and well disciplined army; and it might not be prudent to provoke him, with such an army at his command, and with Italy disposed to join any man who would promise them independence.

CHAPTER XX.

Affairs of Sweden and Denmark—The latter compelled to make a Peace;—Terms of that Peace—Cession of Norway to Sweden opposed by the Norwegians—who chose Prince Christian Regent, and afterwards King—Envoys sent from several of the Powers of Europe to Prince Christian—not successful—Commencement of Hostilities between Sweden and Norway—Remarks on the Cession of Norway by Denmark, and the Claims of the Prince Regent of Sweden—The Norwegians submit—Their Rights secured.

IT was not only from what transpired during the winter of 1814, respecting the proceedings and objects of the congress of Vienna, that apprehensions were entertained by the friends of the liberty and independence of continental Europe, that the allied sovereigns would soon forget, or overlook, those professions which they had made while they were opposing Bonaparte. A glaring fact stood forth in the face of all Europe which strengthened these apprehensions: we allude to the fate of Norway: but before we explain this more fully, it will be proper to give an abstract of the events which terminated in putting Norway under the power of Sweden.

After the battle of Leipsic, it seems to have been determined by the allies, that the crown prince of Sweden, with the force under his command, should not advance against France, but should be employed in the first instance in an attempt against Hamburgh, and afterwards in compelling Denmark to abandon the cause of Bonaparte, and unite with the allies. It is not known on what account it was deemed proper that the crown prince should not enter France; but when that was resolved upon, it seems natural to have sent him against Denmark, as from the spoil of that country it was agreed that he should receive his reward.

We are not well acquainted with the reasons which induced the king of Denmark to adhere so long to the cause of Bonaparte, unless he was actuated by his hatred to England on account of the attack on Copenhagen: it is probable, also, that his subjects sympathized in this feeling; otherwise it seems wonderful that men of such pure and simple habits as the Danes, and enjoying a greater portion of liberty than most of the people of the continent, should have so long gone along with their sovereign in his support of Bonaparte. However this may be, it was soon apparent that they must eventually yield to the force which was sent against them under the crown prince of Sweden. This general, finding that he could make no impression on Hamburgh, and being convinced that that city must follow the fate of Bonaparte and France, directed all his efforts against the Danes. The latter in several engagements fought well: but they were always compelled to yield to superior numbers; and at length a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, for the purpose of arranging the terms of peace. These however, not being adjusted, war again commenced; but the Danes, being driven across the

the river Eyder, were soon compelled to submit to the terms which they before had rejected. On the 14th of January a treaty of peace was signed between Sweden and Denmark, of which the following are the principal articles: By article 2d, the king of Sweden engaged to use his mediation with his allies, to bring about a peace between them and the king of Denmark. By article 3d, the king of Denmark engaged to take an active part against the emperor of the French, to declare war against that power, and in consequence to join an auxiliary Danish corps to the army of the north of Germany under the orders of his royal highness the crown prince of Sweden. This was to be done in pursuance of a convention between Denmark and Great Britain, by which the number of men to be supplied by the former was fixed at 10,000, and the sum to be paid by the latter at 400,000*l.*

The 4th article is the most important: by it his majesty the king of Denmark, for himself and his successors, renounces for ever and irrevocably all his rights and claims on the kingdom of Norway; which with its dependencies (Greenland, the Ferroe Islands and Iceland excepted,) is to belong in full and sovereign property to the king of Sweden, and make one with his united kingdom. On the other hand, by the 5th article, the king of Sweden binds himself in the most solemn manner to cause the inhabitants of the kingdom of Norway and its dependencies to enjoy in future all the laws, privileges, rights and franchises, such as they have hitherto subsisted.

By the 7th article, the king of Sweden, for himself and his successors, renounced irrevocably and for ever, in behalf of the king of Denmark, all rights and claims to the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, and the principality of the island of Rugen; to the inhabitants of which the king of Denmark solemnly engaged himself to secure all their laws, rights, franchises and privileges.

By the 13th article it is stated, that "as the king of Sweden, so far as is practicable, and as depends upon him, wishes that the king of Denmark may receive compensation for the renunciation of the kingdom of Norway, of which his majesty has given satisfactory proof in the cession of Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen; so his majesty will use all his endeavours with the allied powers, to secure in addition, at a general peace, a full equivalent to Denmark for the cession of Norway."

There was good reason to apprehend that this cession of Norway by the king of Denmark would not be palatable to the Norwegians: they had always resisted with great spirit and success every attempt of Sweden to conquer them; and regarding their country (as indeed it was styled in the treaty of peace) as a separate kingdom from Denmark, they did not conceive that the king of Denmark had any right to transfer them to Sweden. Accordingly, soon after the treaty, it was rumoured that the Norwegians meant to resist the transference, and to declare themselves an independent state. Prince Christian of Denmark was fixed upon to rule over them, under the title of regent. This circumstance certainly did no good to the cause of Norway, because a strong suspicion went abroad, that the king of Denmark was at the bottom of the resistance of this country to be transferred

ferred to Sweden. On this account, it would have been better if they had chosen, as a regent a person entirely unconnected with Denmark, a native Norwegian.

About a month after the treaty between Sweden and Denmark, prince Christian put forth a proclamation to the Norwegians, in which he called upon them in strong and animated language to stand forth in defence of their national independence, and to repel every attempt to transfer them to Sweden. At the same time he issued a proclamation respecting the relation which was to exist between Norway and other powers; and the abolition of privateering. — The hope that Great Britain would at least not oppose the endeavours of the Norwegians to secure their independence, is strongly expressed in the preamble to this proclamation; in which prince Christian, in his own name, and in the name of the nation of Norway at large, states, that he considers it a great blessing, and favour on the part of the king of Denmark, that, before he absolved them of their oaths, he *established peace between them and Great Britain.* The first declaration in the proclamation is, that Norway is at peace with all the world; the others relate principally to the preservation of neutrality and the encouragement of commerce.

As soon as the Norwegians had gone so far in their opposition to Sweden as to declare themselves independent, and to elect a sovereign, it became necessary for them to seek the means of defending their country from the invasion of the Swedish army. They trusted much to the almost impenetrable nature of their frontier, to which they had been more than once indebted for their protection, and the destruction of the invading Swedish army: but as there was a part of their frontier which was accessible, it was necessary to raise as large an army as possible to defend it. Of troops, Norway had abundance; for all ranks and ages, as well as both sexes, seemed animated with a fixed determination to repulse the Swedes, or perish in the attempt. Their regular army probably amounted to 30,000 men; but they were half starved, badly armed, and inexperienced. Famine indeed was what they most dreaded: and against this they knew they could not protect themselves, if the maritime powers, and especially Great Britain, took an active part against them. But they did hope that Britain would assist them; at least, they did not doubt but Britain would allow the importation of grain.

In order to enable prince Christian more effectually to wield the powers of Norway in the arduous contest, he was raised to the dignity of king. In the beginning of July, envoys were sent to him from Austria, Russia, England and Prussia, who called upon him to agree to an armistice till the assembling of a diet, into whose hands he might return that crown which he had received from the nation. The terms of the proposed armistice were three. From Christian was demanded an immediate agreement to resign the crown to the diet, and the evacuation of a frontier, together with the surrender of certain forts on it. On the part of the Swedes it was conceded by the envoys, that the blockade of certain ports should be raised during the truce. With respect to the resignation of the crown, Christian replied, that he should make known

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to the nation the danger to which it was exposed, and represent to it the advantages which would be secured to it on its acceding to a constitutional union with Sweden: "But (he added) you know me sufficiently to be convinced that, faithful to my engagements, I will never separate my fate from that of Norway, in the event of a brave though useless resistance against the united forces of Europe being employed to an honourable reconciliation, for which I shall employ all my credit!"—He next deprecates the introduction of Swedish troops into the forts during the truce, as calculated to excite commotion; and speaks of himself as determined, even upon this point, to head that commotion when it has once sprung up:—to avoid it, he proposes that the forts shall be put in the custody of armed citizens. Lastly, he demands that the blockade shall be raised universally; but upon that subject, and the truce generally, he writes a letter to the king of Sweden. In this letter he candidly acknowledges, that if he should relinquish the defence of Norway, it will be only through necessity!—He will assemble the diet; he will make known to that body the conditions proposed; he will point out all the perils of a perseverance in the contest. "If (says he) the nation accept the conditions, I shall instantly abdicate the throne; if they reject them, my fate shall not be separated from theirs."

Soon afterwards he gave in a second note to the envoys; in which he calls on them, in the name of their respective powers, to guaranty the bases of the union of Norway with Sweden, as well as the conditions of the intermediate armistice: he likewise requires that the sittings of the diet shall be prolonged, so as to enable it to close its deliberations without interruption;" and that the blockade shall be raised, so as to admit a free importation of corn into Norway.

In reply, the envoys grant the contingent guarantee required of their several sovereigns; but complain that all the conditions which they had proposed as the bases of the armistice had been altered. Yet still are they willing to convey his royal highness's propositions to the king of Sweden, with this intimation also, that they will second them by their recommendation, inasmuch as they will afford his majesty an occasion of commencing by a signal benefit the exercise of his influence in Norway.

On the 17th of July, the envoys returned from their mission: and on the 26th of that month military operations commenced betwen the Norwegian and Swedish flotillas. The former were stationed near the Hualorn islands, protected by about 23 batteries raised there. The Norwegian commander on the advance of the Swedish fleet evacuated the islands, and retreated towards Frederickstadt. This circumstance put the Swedes in possession of positions of the highest importance for the opening of the campaign. Soon after this, the plenipotentiaries of the four powers set out again for Underwallda, to repair to Christiana to make a last effort for arrangement; and at the same time the prince royal of Sweden put himself at the head of his army against Norway. The people of Britain, who from their constitution, their habits and feelings, are much disposed to sympathize with all attempts made by the people of any country to gain or retain their independence, and generally to express

press their sentiments fearlessly and openly, not only on their own affairs but also on the affairs of all other nations, could not be silent on the subject of Norway, and the case which they made out was a strong one.

It was contended that it was tyrannical, and in the very teeth of the professions of the allied sovereigns, to compel the Norwegians to submit to a power which they detested; that Bonaparte could have done nothing worse; and that it was particularly unworthy of Great Britain, and disgraceful to her, to co-operate in this attempt to force a sovereign on the Norwegians, especially by blockading the ports, and thus starving them into submission. They asked what was the leading principle of the British constitution; on what account did we hold ourselves out as the envy and admiration of the world? Was it not because, according to our constitution, the consent of the people is necessary to the legitimacy of any government? Had not our ancestors bled to defend this principle? Had not we taken up arms against Bonaparte because he had enslaved Europe, by forcing it under his dominion? and would we now give the lie, not only to our ancestors, but also to our own recent conduct, by joining in the league against the people of Norway?

In this case, there could be no doubt what was the wish of the Norwegians; they had expressed that wish unanimously from themselves: and what was the character of the people whom we joined in oppressing? Perhaps more like our own than any other nation in Europe: or rather like what our ancestors were, when they fought and bled in defence of those blessings which we now enjoyed. The Norwegians were simple, without guile, manly, determined and brave: and would we put a yoke on such a people? Had Britain and the allied sovereigns so soon forgot that they had been fighting for the liberties of Europe? Had they so soon forgotten the charges which they brought against Bonaparte? Had Britain in particular forgotten the reasons which induced her to aid the Spaniards? Had not they, like the Norwegians, been transferred by their sovereign to a foreigner, whose yoke they detested? Had not we applauded them for their resistance? Had we not assisted them in throwing it off? Did we not take credit to ourselves for our conduct on this occasion? Had then our conduct been wrong? Ought we rather to have joined in subduing the people of Spain to the yoke of Bonaparte? Or did we make a distinction between the same actions, when committed by Bonaparte and when committed by any other person? Or was the charge against us true, that we assisted the Spaniards because it was our interest to assist them? The case of the Norwegians appeared so strong, and so worthy of sympathy, that even ministers in parliament seemed to lament the treaty by which the allies had bound themselves to secure Norway to Sweden. As this treaty, to which Britain was a party, existed, it was necessary to see it carried into execution. On the ground of this treaty, therefore, and on the further ground of the peace between Denmark and Sweden, by which the former agreed to give up Norway to the latter, the attempt to subdue the Norwegians was justified.—It may therefore be proper to examine these grounds.

In the first place, soon after the commencement of the Russian campaign,

campaign, it was thought desirable, if possible, to detach the crown prince of Sweden from Bonaparte, and to induce him to join the cause of the allies. He, of course, wished to be rewarded if he acted in this manner; but as he did not think it proper exactly to say, "I must be paid if I join you," he urged that, as Sweden was at war with Denmark, he could not safely cross over to Germany, lest in his absence with his army the Danes or Norwegians should invade Sweden. On the side of Norway he declared that Sweden was the most vulnerable; he therefore wished that he should be put in possession of this country before he joined the allies. To this they at first seem to have agreed; but afterwards it was settled that he should not receive his remuneration till he had performed his task. Whether they were doubtful respecting his conduct if he were immediately put in possession of Norway, or whether, as was alleged, it was of more importance at that time that the Swedish army should act against Bonaparte than against Norway; whatever was the cause, the crown prince passed over to Germany, leaving Sweden exposed to what he had declared to be the great danger of an invasion from Norway; thus proving by his own conduct that he had sought the dominion of this country, not because it was dangerous, but because it might be useful to Sweden.

The allies, however, had promised him Norway, in case he would join them against Bonaparte. He did join them; but, by a reference to our former volumes, it will appear that he absolutely did nothing for a long time; keeping at a convenient distance from the allies. It must be confessed, that a short time previous to, and at the battle of Leipsic, he was actively useful: but after that event he did nothing but attend to his own interest. Even after he had forced Denmark to make a peace, he did not unite with the allies in their invasion of France; and though it was repeatedly reported that he was on his march to attack France on the side of the Netherlands, he never made his appearance. Still it may be alleged, if the allies were satisfied with his conduct, they were bound to reward him as they had promised and bound themselves to do. But had they a right to promise and bind themselves to reward him by giving him a country the inhabitants of which were averse to his rule? Ought they not to have made this a condition of their promise, that it should bind them only if the Norwegians were not averse to the union of their country with Sweden? Great Britain was placed in a still more objectionable predicament. Her ministers confessed they were sorry that Norway had been pledged to Sweden. Why were they sorry? Because they thought it wrong to force a sovereign on a people against their will. But could the promise be binding if it were wrong? It may be very proper that, if an individual makes a promise, he should be bound to keep it, even though it turn out that by so doing he will injure himself in a manner he did not anticipate. The case, however, must be different where a third party is concerned; there can be no morality, but there must be the greatest injustice in performing a promise which will injure them. There was indeed, in the case of Great Britain, a choice of paths, both of which led to what was

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wrong: if she refused to assist in placing Norway under the Swedes, she broke her obligation to Sweden; if she actually did assist, she was instrumental in doing the highest injustice to a nation which it can suffer, by destroying its independence, and forcing a government upon it to which it was averse.

There was also another consideration which applied peculiarly to the part which Britain was called upon to take in the contest against Norway, if she actually embarked in it. We have before remarked that Norway was assailable by famine, and that famine must unavoidably follow if her ports were blockaded. This Britain did; and can any thing more aggravate the injustice of an unjust war, than this mean and cruel way of carrying it on? We had the honour of co-operating the subjection of Norway to Sweden, by starving its virtuous and noble minded people! And this too we did, notwithstanding the Norwegians looked up to us, as bearing the character of a free people, and as the defenders and friends of liberty, for assistance, and actually sent over deputies to this country. But while the deputies of the ignorant and bigoted Spaniards, who it is now evident resisted Bonaparte, not so much from any real notion of liberty, but because he was a foreigner, and an enemy to their priests, were received and treated in the kindest manner; the deputies of the Norwegians, a people virtuous, brave, and the enlightened and consistent lovers of liberty, were dismissed without notice.

There is however another point of view in which this question ought to be considered. It is contended that, as the king of Denmark gave up Norway formally, by treaty, to Sweden, the Norwegians had no right to offer any resistance to the transfer of themselves; and that, if they had a right, no treaty of peace could ever be carried into execution, since the inhabitants of the ceded territory might always avail themselves of this right, and oppose the cession. There is certainly much plausibility in this argument, as upon a general question; but it does not apply to the case of Norway. By the very words of the treaty of peace between Sweden and Denmark, Norway is declared to be an independent kingdom,—attached to Denmark certainly, but not subject to it: and therefore the king of Denmark could have no right, according to the usages of nations, to give it away to Sweden without consulting the inhabitants. Let us put a case in which Great Britain was concerned: and suppose that, in consequence of the success of an invading enemy, part of England was conquered, and that, as the price of peace, the king consented to give up Scotland to the enemy; would the people of Scotland consider that they could thus be transferred. Would they not declare that Scotland constituted an independent kingdom, united to England certainly, but not subject to her; and, therefore, that the people of Scotland alone could cede themselves to a foreign power? Would they not have still greater reason for complaint and indignation, that they, who had not been conquered, were sacrificed, in order to preserve part of England which had been conquered? And was not this exactly the case with respect to Norway. Part of Denmark had been overrun by the Swedes; Norway was untouched, and yet Norway is given up to save Denmark.

But it was said Norway supported Denmark in his attachment to Bonaparte, and in his enmity to England.

gland: let us consider the latter first: we do not mean here to canvass the justice of the expedition against Copenhagen; but can we as men, and as Britons, be surprised or angry at the Danes and Norwegians, if, after we had burnt their capital, and carried away their ships, in the time of peace, they felt towards us the bitterness of enemies? A regular war is frequently carried on between two powers, without the mass of the people feeling much antipathy against each other. But it must be different where a country is invaded; where the people are witnesses of the ravages of the enemy; where they perhaps see their dearest relatives and friends killed under their eyes. Feelings of hatred, wishes for vengeance, must then fill their hearts; and of what intensity must these be, when an invasion takes place in time of peace! We must not therefore be surprised that the Danes and Norwegians did not look on the people or government of Britain as their friends, after the bombardment of Copenhagen. Their throwing themselves into the arms of Bonaparte, was almost a necessary and natural consequence; they hated Britain, and therefore they joined themselves with the man who also hated her. Their hatred for this country was so overwhelming, had such full and powerful possession of their minds, that it blinded them to the tyranny of Bonaparte; and they ran the very great risk of being subjected by him, in order to have the very small chance of seeing Britain injured. It may be said that this was very foolish, and very wrong. It was so; but who drove them into this conduct? Should not we therefore have been the last to have made them suffer for that attachment to Bonaparte, into which we had forced them?

There is only one other point of view in which we wish to consider this subject: it is contended that the Norwegians were their own enemies in resisting the union of their country with Sweden; that their independencies, rights and privileges were all secured to them by that country, and guarantied by the allies; that, therefore, in this respect they would be as well off as they had been under Denmark, while, lying contiguous to Sweden, they would enjoy many advantages of a commercial nature to which they were before strangers.—All this might be very true: but the Norwegians did not think so; and it is certainly a first principle and an essential element in the code of liberty, that the people themselves should be the judges of what government they wish to live under: they may make a bad choice, they may refuse a kind of government which would have increased their liberties and happiness. But liberty and happiness as soon as they are compulsory cease to be so; and if it were once admitted, that any other but the people themselves should judge of the government they wish to live under, under the pretext that their choice is a bad one for themselves, the door is opened for the worst of tyranny; and we might now invade Spain for the purpose of setting aside Ferdinand, with as much justice as we before assisted the Spaniards in delivering themselves from the yoke of Bonaparte. In the case of Norway, the people ought to have been convinced of the benefits which would result to them from a union with Sweden, and not compelled to submit to that union.

We have already mentioned the commencement of hostilities between Norway and Sweden: they were destined soon to terminate; for

the Norwegians, though numerous, were ill equipped, and their country was suffering grievously for want of corn. The crown prince of Sweden took advantage of this circumstance, and liberally supplied with provisions all the prisoners whom he took, as well as the inhabitants of those parts of the country which he conquered: the prisoners, after being well fed, were sent back, in order to spread the report of their kind treatment. This had its effect; the resistance of the Norwegians became gradually more weak; and after a short contest, Christian, as he saw no prospect of resisting the enemy, abdicated the throne; and it was agreed to by the crown prince, that hostilities should cease; that the diet of Norway should be assembled, and that they should determine with respect to the union of Norway with Sweden. The result of the determinations of the diet was such as might be anticipated: they were convinced that resistance to Sweden was useless: and they saw that the allies were determined to put the crown prince in possession of Norway, if he could not accomplish it himself. On the other hand, the allies as well as the crown prince solemnly promised to the Norwegians the continuance of all their rights and privileges. Thus circumstanced, the diet almost unanimously chose the king of Sweden, king of Norway. This determination, however, by no means met the approbation of all the Norwegians, and for some time a renewal of hostilities was apprehended; but at length all were submissive, if not satisfied.

In the month of October the crown of Norway was formally accepted by Charles XIII. The ceremonial part of the transaction was performed by the crown prince, who, accompanied by his son prince Oscar, proceeded to the diet to receive from the members the oath of fidelity to king Charles, and to transmit to them his majesty's oath to govern according to the constitution and the laws. On this occasion the crown prince declared that the Swedish and Norwegian nations should always remain two nations, equal and independent, though united;—the great basis of their union being their geographical position; their similarity of origin and character; and their mutual zeal for liberty, respect for property, and attachment to representative government. Speaking of himself, he added: "Amidst the din of arms, and whilst on the German soil, I marched together with the allies of Sweden to combat the most horrible tyranny that ever oppressed Europe. I looked to no other reward for my labours than the present moment; and the peaceful palm which I this day receive from a free people is far dearer to my heart than all the laurels of victory."

The proclamation of his Swedish and Norwegian majesty reiterated the assurances of the crown prince, and emphatically declared that the "sanctity of rights ever reposes on the faithful discharge of duties." A plan of finance was laid before the diet, and the crown prince returned to Sweden.

In return for the cession of Norway, it has been seen that Sweden gave up her part of Pomerania to Denmark, and engaged, when a general peace took place, to procure a more adequate equivalent. It is not probable that Denmark will retain Pomerania; nor indeed would it be her interest so to do: for, situated at a distance from and in the vicinity of Prussia and Russia, if she were ever engaged in hostilities with either

either of those powers, it would immediately be wrested from her; while a wish and endeavour to retain it might render her subservient to the views of these powers, and sacrifice the real interests of her proper and more valuable states.

By the treaty of peace which Denmark signed with England, all the places which we had taken from her were restored, except Heligoland. Still, by the loss of such a valuable portion of her territories as Norway, she is reduced to the rank of one of the lowest nations in Europe: But as the king of Denmark has been invited to the congress, and seems a favourite with the emperor Alexander, it is not improbable, in the division of Europe, he may gain some accession as an equivalent for Norway, and for Pomerania if it should be taken from him.

CHAPTER XXI.

The United States enlarged by the Annexation of the Netherlands—The Address of the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands—The Report of the Secretary of State on the Commerce, Finances &c, of the United Netherlands—Hanover erected into a Kingdom—Remarks on his Event as it concerns Britain, and the Hanoverians themselves—States of Hanover assembled—Proceedings on this Occasion—Observations on the German Character—Schill—Federal Compact of Switzerland—Object and Terms of it—The Peninsula—Tyrannical Conduct of Ferdinand—Spanish Colonies—Portugal—Brazil.

IT has already been incidentally mentioned that, before the congress at Vienna, and indeed by the treaty of Paris, it was agreed upon by the allies that the territories of the Stadtholder should be extended, by the annexation of those parts of the Netherlands which previous to the revolution had belonged to Austria. It is not known whether any compensation was given to Austria for the cession of this portion of her domains; but it is probable that she would not consent to cede them unless she were either actually indemnified at the time, or a promise of future indemnity were given her. This increase of territory to the prince of Orange was undoubtedly brought about by the interference and influence of Britain; probably, in some degree, because at that period it was expected that the hereditary prince of Orange would marry the princess Charlotte of Wales; and also because, by uniting the Netherlands to Holland, greater advantages and facilities would be thus given to British commerce. As for the idea (if it were actually entertained) that Holland would by this accession of territory be able to cope with France, and present a formidable barrier to future conquest, it seems quite ridiculous. The population of Holland, even now, is very far below the sixth part of the population of France; and the nature of the Netherlands is such, that it can easily be overrun by a French army. In fact, so far as this latter country is concerned, we consider that Holland with the Netherlands between her and France was safer than now, when by their annexation she adjoins France: and

consequently that the apprehension of such a powerful neighbour will keep Holland more subservient to France, than she was while Austria possessed territories between her and France. We even question how far this annexation of the Netherlands to our ancient ally may be of essential service to our commerce. On this however we shall not at present dwell, but turn our attention to two points of more immediate interest: viz. the new constitution granted by the prince of Orange, as sovereign prince of the Netherlands, to his united territory; and the state of the Dutch finances. The first point is interesting in so far as it may serve to show, with respect to Holland, how far the dreadful and momentous truths, which were forced on the mind, and consciences of sovereigns by the French revolution, had their due weight by improving the civil and political condition of the people: and with respect to the second point, the finances, it is interesting to ascertain in what state Holland, a country supposed to be necessarily dependent on commerce, was left, after she had so long and so grievously suffered from the anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte.

In his address to the people of the United Netherlands, the prince begins by stating, that he had considered it as one of the first and most sacred of his duties, to summon together men of consideration, and to charge them with the weighty task of establishing a fundamental code, built upon the manners and habits of the people for whom it was intended, and corresponding to the wants of the time. This had been done; but though the prince approved of the result of their labours, his heart was not yet satisfied; as it respected the concerns of the whole Netherlands, it was proper that the whole Dutch people should be recognised in this important work. He therefore assured them, that in it their dearest interests were sufficiently attended to; that religion, as the fountain of all good, was honoured and maintained; but at the same time religious freedom was disturbed by nothing of temporal concerns, but secured in the most ample manner;—the education of youth was to be attended to by the government, free from every regulation which could oppress the genius and subdue the spirit: personal freedom was to be no longer a name; justice was to be administered impartially, guided by fixed principles, and securing to every man his rights and his property: commerce, agriculture and manufactures were to be no longer obstructed: no restraint was to be imposed on the domestic economy of any class;—the finances, and the arming of the people,—the main pillars of the body politic,—were to be placed in that central point, upon which the greatest and most invaluable privilege of every free people, their independence, may be firmly fixed.

In order to ascertain whether a constitution founded on these principles met the wishes and expectations of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, the prince appointed a special commission, who were to choose out of a numerous list given in, six hundred persons, in due proportion to the population of each of the departments: these were to assemble, and come to a determination on the proposed constitution. But as it was desirable that these members should be possessed of the general confidence, a list of the persons chosen for each department was to be made public, in order to afford an opportunity to all the inhabitants being

being house-keepers to disapprove of any they might deem unqualified. No inhabitant was to be deprived of this right, except domestic servants, valets, bankrupts, and persons in a state of nonage, or under accusation. The persons who were approved were to be regarded as the representatives of the Dutch nation, and to them were to be submitted the details of a constitution founded on the principles already stated. This was accordingly done; and as far as theory goes, the people of the Netherlands certainly possess a much freer constitution now than they did before: but, as we have frequently remarked, the possession of a written constitution, however conformable to the soundest principles of liberty, and however strongly guarantied and guarded, is by no means incompatible with practical slavery.

In the beginning of December, the secretary of state for the home department presented to the states general a long report on the situation of the United Netherlands. After some general remarks, he adverted to the subject of commerce, which, he observed, might well be deemed the principal source of prosperity to Holland. "Among the countries subjected to the yoke of France, there was certainly none (he said) which more severely felt the pernicious effects of the prohibitive system than the Netherlands." He then enumerated the causes which still operated to retard the progress of commerce to its former eminence: the principal of these were, the want of capitalists; the great want of suitable shipping; the uncertainty with respect to the state of commerce in other countries; the heavy duties on merchandize; the delayed restoration of the greater part of their Indian possessions; and finally, a sort of fear that Europe was not yet restored to a state of permanent tranquillity.

He next alluded to the establishment of a national bank at Amsterdam, which had been found extremely useful in vivifying mercantile credit. With regard to the West India colonies of Holland, some of them would be restored; and it might reasonably be hoped, that such as might not be restored would not be entirely lost to the mother country, as it might be hoped that a direct commerce would be permitted with them.

On the subject of manufactures he observed, that "it had been an idea entertained by some people, that commerce and manufactures in Holland were hostile to each other; and that the protection of the latter was injurious to the welfare of the former: but this idea had been proved to be erroneous; for, at the very time when Holland was the great staple of the commodities both of the north and the south, and when its commerce produced great capitals, then also its manufactures had reached their highest pitch of prosperity.

He next adverted to the fisheries. In the year 1814, 110 herring busses had cleared out for the herring fishery, a number almost equal to that of the most flourishing times of the republic.

In that part of his speech which related to agriculture, there is a remarkable passage, which well deserves the attention of those who think it no evil for a nation to be dependent on foreigners for their supply of corn. After stating the curious fact, that agriculture had rapidly improved, notwithstanding the oppression of the French government, and the frequent and

violent changes to which Holland had been exposed, a fact which may be predicated at least in an equal degree with regard to France, he adds, "What our ancestors could never have looked for in this respect, the Netherlander may now boast that he is able to supply all his necessary wants from his own soil, and is liberated from that disgraceful dependence on other nations under which he formerly laboured."

After a variety of observations on the provincial government, the state of religion, of the poor, and of the administration of justice, he next proceeded to the system of national defence. The army, he observed, might almost be regarded as a veteran army. The navy, though having had less practical experience, would soon lay a foundation for regaining its ancient renown. He concluded his speech by some general remarks on the subject of the relations in which Holland stood with foreign powers, which he said were highly satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that Holland, by its union with a country so fruitful as the Netherlands, must, if she keep at peace with France, and gain the cordial co-operation and the confidence of the catholic part of her population, regain in some degree her former consequence; but it is in vain to expect she can ever rise to the rank even of a secondary power among the nations of Europe.

It has been already stated, that in the course of 1814 the congress of Vienna, though it was supposed that its labours would terminate in a short period,—the leading members of it having, uncalled for, expressed themselves in the plainest and strongest language as actuated solely by a sincere and ardent desire to establish the independence and tranquillity of Europe, without the most indirect or distant view to their own aggrandizement or interests,—yet, in fact, was not known, officially, to have come to a determination on any important point at the close of the year. The history of their labours for the good of mankind, therefore, must necessarily be deferred till our next volume. At present, we shall just hint, that Britain did not act very wisely in agreeing to keep on their respective subsidies till the congress had broken up, since it may be supposed that, so long as they were so liberally paid, they would not hasten to bring the affairs of the congress to a conclusion.

It ought not, however, to be inferred that Britain, the great paymaster of Europe, was not according to some rewarded, not only for her exertions and sacrifices in the cause of Europe, but also for the subsidies which she still continued to grant; for one of the known acts of the congress, and the only one (with a single exception) which transpired in the course of the year 1814, was the raising of Hanover to the rank of a kingdom. Some may, indeed, doubt whether this is likely to prove a blessing to Great Britain, and may argue that, as our ministers were always sufficiently ready to give into the predilections of the king of Great Britain for his German dominions while they constituted only an electorate, they will be called upon for more hearty and extended co-operation now that Hanover has become a kingdom; and it might have been expected, and hoped, that the king of such a nation as Great Britain would have not thought that any dignity or rank could be added to his titles,

by

by being enabled to assume the name of king of Hanover.

Such, however, were the facts. On the 12th of October the count Munster, the Hanoverian minister at the congress of Vienna, delivered a note to the Austrian minister, and the ministers of the other powers assembled there; in which he gave the reasons why the prince regent had deemed it proper to assume the title of king of Hanover, in the name and on the behalf of his father. By the 6th article of the treaty of peace at Paris, it was agreed that the states of Germany should remain independent, and join in a federal union. In consequence of this, the title of electoral prince of the holy Roman empire ceased to be suitable to present circumstances. Several of the principal powers, in this point of view, had invited the prince to renounce the title of elector, and to assume that of king: he had accordingly done so; and the count Munster, in the name of his master, expressed himself in the strongest terms of confidence, that the imperial court of Austria would receive this declaration with sentiments of friendship, and would recognise the new title which circumstances had induced his royal highness to adopt for his house in Germany. From this last paragraph in the note of count Munster, it would seem as if Austria had not been one of the principal powers that had invited his royal highness to assume the title of king.

One of the necessary consequences of this change in the title of our sovereign will be, that the Hanoverian possessions must now be unalterably annexed to the crown of Great Britain; whereas before, while they were an electorate, as they could not descend to females, they would, in the event of the princess Charlotte of Wales coming to the throne of Great Britain, have passed to the duke of York, and thus been separated from us.

Independently, however, of the consideration how far the interests of Britain were likely to be affected by this change, it must be confessed that the people of Hanover will be gainers by it; for there, as well as in several other parts of Europe, the events which produced, as well as those which contributed to destroy, the French revolution seem to have convinced rulers, that their interest as well as their duty lies in benefiting and enlightening their people, and in making them feel their weight in the conduct of public affairs. Soon after Hanover was raised to the rank of a kingdom, an assembly of all the states, composed of deputies from the different classes, took place; and in the first place, was read 'the full powers' granted by the prince regent to the duke of Cambridge: his royal highness then addressed the assembly:

After complimenting the Hanoverians upon their firm and loyal attachment to their sovereign, and upon the share which they had under "the greatest of commanders" in destroying the tyranny of Bonaparte, and restoring independence and tranquillity to Europe; he informed them that the prince regent, one of the race of the Guelphs, who had always been distinguished for justice and mildness, and which had produced many fathers of their country, none who had abused the strength of its subjects,—had given to the German sovereigns who were to form the confederation, the first example of calling

an assembly, in which the voice of the people might declare itself with freedom, but with order, to point out to the prince the means of promoting his object, which is the good of the country. The first step towards this important object was made by the union of the states of all the different parts of the country, to which are given the rights of granting money, and other points of legislation. One of their principal objects of deliberation would regard the means of repaying those who, in confidence in good faith, lent the public their property to supply the public wants. The prince regent, for his part, considered the good faith, which the sovereigns of Hanover had never violated, as so sacred, that he declared his disposition to contribute even from the revenues of his domains, that these claims might be fulfilled. The next object was to place Hanover in the most secure condition against any future attack which might be made upon it. Britain, to which Hanover had already in common with the rest of Europe been so much indebted, had generously replaced the necessary warlike stores carried off by the enemy, and thus "enabled the men who could bring nothing but their good will, to join the list of combatants." He concluded by informing them, that it would be their business to consider of the changes in the administration of justice, which the present times rendered necessary or adviseable, and to deliberate on useful institutions for the good of the country. What the regent intended would be communicated to them by his counsellors; while he would lend an attentive ear on other subjects. The list of full powers, which had been presented and approved, and the necessary regulation for the order of the states of the kingdom, would be communicated to them: according to these, they were to begin by choosing a president. "But, first, let us with united devotion implore the blessings of the Most High on the sacred work of the first assembly of the states of the kingdom of Hanover."

At the end of this speech his royal highness repaired in procession with the whole assembly to the church of the palace, where the hymn, *Nun danket alle Gott*, "Now thank all God," was sung, being particularly chosen, "because the venerable father of the royal house, and of the country, his majesty George the Third, with his strong sense of piety, set a particular value upon it."

Afterwards the deputies chose their president, who addressed his royal highness to the following import. He began by stating the obligations which the inhabitants of Hanover were under to the prince regent for calling the deputies together, and to the British nation for the decided, persevering, and glorious part which she had taken in the contest, which had terminated in the triumph of peace and order. He next assured his royal highness, that in all their deliberations and proceedings they would use their utmost endeavours to second his good intentions for the prosperity of Hanover; and he concluded by stating, that they considered the presence of his royal highness as a pledge of the gracious regard of their beloved sovereign and the prince regent. The conclusion of the reply of the duke of Cambridge to this address deserves to be quoted:

"Assembled deputies of the kingdom,

kingdom, the whole country has its eyes on you. From you it looks for deliberations on the new measures which the prince regent has to take in concert with you.

"You will weigh the relations of all classes, and maintain them in just equilibrium, having in view the good of the whole, which is founded on the good of the single parts. Never forget that the regent feels himself intimately connected with his subjects. If the difficult times require great sacrifices in the increase of the revenues, consider that the sovereign demands nothing for himself; that we ask only what the country requires.

"If some privileges must be sacrificed to form a better internal order, remember that the prince regent gives up rights which others consider as an essential part of the royal dignity, by assembling you here—to be to him, here, what the parliament is in the sister kingdom Great Britain, the high council of the nation."

We would fain hope that this example set by the prince regent, of assembling the states of his German dominions, will be followed by the other German sovereigns. In no country are there better materials for free constitutions than in Germany, whether we look to the manly character of the inhabitants, or their general simplicity of manners and good education. Certainly no part of the population of Europe contributed so much to the destruction of Bonaparte as the inhabitants of Germany: men of all ranks and classes came forward in defence of their country;—not like the Spaniards, goaded on by their priests, and by a species of blind and almost instinctive hatred of the French, and attachment to Ferdinand; but by a feeling more enlightened, more honourable, and which we trust will entitle them to the gratitude of their respective sovereigns. Of all her heroes, in the highest and purest sense of the word, none have a juster and stronger claim to be honoured as martyrs in the holy cause of liberty than Schill.

The exploits of the combined armies in the late campaign have naturally thrown into shade the services to which Germany owed her fame in former wars, and might have, under a wiser conduct, owed her independence. But the memory of Schill is still honoured as that of the most distinguished and gallant partisan that all those wars produced. As he died under the reign of Bonaparte, all public honours would have only drawn down vengeance: but the spirit of the people was not to be totally quenched, and the actions of this officer were recorded in all the more secret and safer forms of memorial. A pillar, in an open field near Stralsund, bore the following inscription (in German). The popular attention was too strongly attracted to it, and it was shortly removed.

INSCRIPTION.

Who rests this nameless mound beneath,
Thus rudely piled upon the heath,
Naked to wind's and water's sweep?
Does here some gloomy outcast sleep?
Yet many a footstep freshly round
Marks it as loved—as holiest ground.

Stranger! this mound is all the grave
Of one who lived as live the brave,
Nor ever heart's devoted tide
More nobly pour'd than when he died.
Stranger! no stone might dare to tell
His name who on this red spot fell!

These steps are steps of German men,
That when the Tyrant's in his den
Come crowding round with midnight tread
To vow their vengeance o'er the dead.
Dead! No: that Spirit's lightning still.
Soldier! thou seest the grave of Schill.

It

It was generally supposed that the affairs of Switzerland would be settled at the congress of Vienna; but before its opening the Swiss themselves formed a federal compact. On the 8th of September this important document was signed by the deputies of all the 19 cantons at Zurich: the quotas of the respective contingents were fixed, in men and money, for the present, subject to annual revision. The whole armed force was to be 30,000 men, and the contribution for its support 490 thousand francs. In case of danger external or internal, each canton was entitled to claim the aid of the confederates: all differences or claims between canton and canton were to be decided by the confederation: no alliance between separate cantons, unfavourable to the interests of the confederation, was to be formed. The principle is acknowledged, according to which, there is no longer any subject in Switzerland; and thus the enjoyment of rights cannot any longer be the exclusive privilege of any particular class of the citizens of a canton. The diet declares war, concludes peace, makes alliances with foreign states: but in these important matters two-thirds of the voices are required to determine; in all others, an absolute majority.

We shall conclude this chapter with a brief sketch of the state of the peninsula, after it had been restored, along with the rest of Europe, to the blessings of peace. As for Spain, it may well be doubted whether she has benefited by the restoration of the "beloved Ferdinand:" or whether the universal Spanish nation have profited in the least by the discipline they underwent from Bonaparte. As soon as he found that his affairs were desperate, he liberated Ferdinand, and sent him back to Spain; and there is good reason to believe that Ferdinand purchased his liberation on terms more favourable to Bonaparte than to Britain, who had done so much for him, or to his own nation. Scarcely had he entered Spain, before he plainly discovered the line of government he meant to pursue. The re-establishment of civil and religious tyranny, if possible more complete and firm than it had existed before the invasion of the French, was his favourite object: all the labours of the cortes for the liberty of their country were overthrown; and those men who had been the most instrumental in achieving the liberation of Spain, and to whom consequently Ferdinand was the most indebted, were treated in the most cruel manner: he, in fact, seemed decidedly of opinion that Spain had been polluted by those statesmen and warriors who had stood forth in his cause, while he took into his confidence many of those who had betrayed him into the power of Bonaparte. To crown his absurd tyranny, the inquisition was re-established! And it may be asked, What was the conduct of the Spanish nation under these circumstances? Did they stand up in defence of their liberties? They were held forth, while opposing Bonaparte, as animated by the genuine and enlightened love of independence.—Did that feeling rouse them to resist Ferdinand; or, at least, to express their disapprobation of his proceedings? Far from it: they in general applauded all his measures, and rejoiced in the re-establishment of the inquisition. —After stating the general line of conduct which Ferdinand pursued, it will not surprise our readers to learn, that he did all in his power to

to obstruct British commerce; and that here, as well as in several other parts of Europe, we gained little credit for our disinterested endeavours to destroy Bonaparte. One good, however, may be expected from this conduct of Ferdinand: the Spanish colonies in America are going on in their road to independence; and it is not likely that they will prefer a return to the government of such a sovereign as Ferdinand, to that state.

The prince of the Brazils has not returned to Portugal; and it is uncertain when he will return. But, in the mean time, Portugal itself seems disposed to benefit by the late events, and the Brazils are advancing, though slowly, in political and commercial importance.

CHAPTER XXII.

War between America and Britain—The Importance of it not sufficiently attended to—Our Ignorance of the State of America—Causes of it—Refusal of the Mediation of the Emperor Alexander by the British Government—Mr. Maddison's Message to Congress—Impression created in America by the Downfall of Bonaparte—Naval Actions between American and British Ships—The Capture of the Reindeer—of the Essex—of the Avon—Great Success of the American Privateers—Plan of the British Government for carrying on the War with greater Vigour—Remarks on its Justice and Policy.

WHILE the contest with Bonaparte continued, the warfare between Great Britain and America was little thought of; and when it entered into the thoughts of the inhabitants of the former country, it by no means was permitted to bear that importance which it deserved. It was argued with more national vanity than prudence, and with a lamentable ignorance of the real state of the feelings of the people of America, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon sweep the seas of all the American ships; and that those troops which had so gloriously on the continent of Europe proved that Bonaparte was not invincible, would no sooner show themselves in America, than the soldiers of the United States, which had already displayed their inability to cope even with the provincial troops of Canada, would be driven far within their own frontiers. The expectation of success and triumph over the Americans went further than this in the minds of many; for, believing that the war with Britain was much more generally and decidedly unpopular than it actually was, they hoped that our troops would be able even to dictate peace at the capital of the United States; or, at least, that we should by our victories induce and encourage the inhabitants of the northern states to separate from those of the southern.

These opinions and expectations in a great measure arose from the people, and even the government, of Britain deriving their knowledge of the sentiments of the Americans entirely or principally from the

the party papers of the northern states. Indeed, if we were to judge from the English newspapers, we should conclude that no newspapers were published in any part of America except where the sentiments of the people were averse to the war with Britain. Led astray by these newspapers, on the eve of every new election our ill-informed and sanguine politicians anticipated the defeat and downfall of the republican party; and even after the event had proved that they were deceived, they still loved the error so much, that on the eve of the next election they were as sanguine in their anticipations as ever.

They did not consider that, with the majority of the people of America, dislike if not hatred of England was a much more natural feeling than attachment to her; and that, so far as interest was concerned, it was only the inhabitants of the more improved parts of the country, and of the cities, that would be led by it to deprecate a war with Britain: all the rest of the inhabitants of the United States could not possibly feel their interest materially impaired by such a war, since they had within themselves almost every thing that in their opinion constituted the necessaries and comforts of life; and they had not yet advanced to that stage of society in which a strong and general desire begins to prevail for its luxuries. Besides, by the continuance of the war, and especially by the mode in which it was carried on, several classes who at its commencement had been hostile to it became reconciled to its continuance. In the first place, the ship-owners and merchants, whose interests had been cut up by the interruption of commerce, received no inadequate compensation by the richness and number of the captures which they made; and in the second place, in consequence of the interruption of trade with Britain, many new manufactures were set on foot, and old ones improved, which afforded employment and wealth to a great number who suffered at the commencement of the war.

Still, however, the government of America must have foreseen that the war, if prolonged for many years, would entail on the United States burdens, which the inhabitants in their stage of society would neither be disposed nor able to bear. Though the people in general possessed real wealth, that is, the necessaries and comforts of life, they had but little of the signs of wealth, or money; and it is evident that, unless on very extraordinary occasions, such as occurred when America fought for her independence, or during the French revolution, a people with little money cannot endure a long and expensive warfare. Besides, the manner in which the war had been conducted by the Americans against Canada seemed to prove that there was great incapacity, not merely in the generals who commanded, but also in those branches of the executive which had planned the expeditions and appointed the generals. For these and other reasons, therefore, Mr. Maddison proposed that the emperor of Russia should mediate between Great Britain and America. But this proposal was decidedly objected to by the British government; though at the same time they professed, as they had always done, an anxious desire to put an end to the war.

To this refusal of the mediation of the emperor of Russia Mr. Maddison alluded in the opening of the message which he sent to both houses

houses of congress on the 12th of December 1813. In this message, which is marked with a spirit of considerable hostility towards Britain, he recapitulates all the advantages which the United States had really gained, or claimed, in order to show that,—under the circumstances in which they were placed by the refusal of Great Britain, having no choice but an exertion of its strength in support of its rights,—they had the best encouragement to perseverance, from "the success with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless their arms, both on the land and on the water."—He first alludes to the battle on lake Erie, which had terminated in the capture of the whole British squadron. On lake Ontario, the caution of the British had frustrated the attempts of the American commander to bring on a decisive action; but even on that lake they were superior.—By the success on lake Erie, a passage into the territory of Canada had been opened, and the war carried thither with considerable success. After mentioning some other successes, and the prospect of future advantages, Mr. Maddison adverts to our employment of the Indians, which he censures in very strong terms: in other respects also he alleges that we were pursuing a course most destructive to humanity;—alluding particularly to the British commander in Canada having selected from American prisoners of war, and sent to Great Britain for trial as criminals, a number of individuals who had emigrated from Britain long prior to the war. In consequence of this, he had put into confinement a like number of British prisoners of war, sending an official notification, that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain. This, however, had produced no effect: so far from it, that double the number of American officers had been put in confinement. "It is as fortunate (adds Mr. Maddison) for the United States, that they have it in their power to meet their enemy in this deplorable contest, as it is honourable to them that they do not join in it but under the most imperious obligations, and with the humane purpose of effectuating a return to the established usages of war."

The president next adverts to the conduct of France towards the United States: but here his language becomes much more cool and guarded; and the subject indeed is passed over with a very short and slight notice.

The next topic adverted to relates to a revision of the militia laws, "for the purpose of securing more effectually the services of all detachments called into the employment and placed under the government of the United States.

After some observations on the adoption of measures, by which the American privateers might have the use of the ports of friendly powers, Mr. Maddison passes on to the consideration of the finances of the United States. The receipts for the last year had exceeded 37 millions and a half of dollars, of which nearly 24 were the produce of loans; on the 30th of September 1813 nearly seven millions of dollars remained in the treasury, after meeting all the demands for the public service: seven millions and a half had been obtained as a loan on very favourable conditions: further sums were necessary, but there were good grounds to suppose that they would be easily obtained.

After

After mentioning generally the expenses which had been incurred during the last campaign, he again adverts to their successes: York, Forts George, Erie, and Malden, had been reduced; and the attacks of the British in almost every part had been repulsed. He concludes by contrasting the advantages which the war had brought, with the evils which it had necessarily inflicted: if it had interrupted their commerce, it had also encouraged and extended their manufactures: if much treasure had been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it had been applied to objects durable in their value:—if the war had exposed them to spoliations on the ocean, and to incursions on the land, it had also demonstrated, "that every blow aimed at their maritime independence was an impulse accelerating the growth of their maritime power;" and by the effects of the war on the military resources and discipline of the nation, "a greater respect for their rights and a longer duration of their future peace are promised, than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources."

In the statements and anticipations of some parts of his message Mr. Maddison was justified by what had actually happened, or by what was likely to happen. But certainly so far as he dwelt upon the military character of the United States, neither what had occurred nor what in all probability would speedily occur, bore him out: almost every American general and army had fled with precipitation before an inferior force composed almost entirely of Canadian troops. Wilkinson and Hampton, the last who had fought, had derived no more honour than their predecessors: sir George Prevost, on the contrary, exhibited his usual activity and courage; and after the defeat of the American generals, he pursued them so closely that they were forced to take up their winter quarters in their own territory. The appearance of a small regular force menacing the front of general Wilkinson, was sufficient to drive him in great alarm up the Salmon river: on arriving at French Mills, about six miles up the stream, he dismantled his boats, and arranged his artillery near a block-house. In the mean while, some British gunboats advanced into lake Champlain, and burnt the depôt at Plattsburgh; while on the other hand a conjoint attack on Burlington heights, planned by the American general Harrison and commodore Chauncey, was frustrated by the severity of the weather. On the 30th of December, a corps of British amounting to 1000 men attacked an American force of double that number, advantageously posted near, the Black Rock: the Americans were entirely beaten; and the consequence of this victory was, that possession was gained of all the enemy's posts on the Niagara frontier.

From several causes, it was not to be expected that the war between Britain and America would be carried on in the most humane and honourable mode, especially by the Americans: they had not yet forgotten the war of the revolution; and our employment of the Indians, though they set us the example, exasperated them still more: the consequences were such as might naturally be dreaded. In their different invasions of Canada the greatest inhumanities were exercised; especially at Sandwich, at the settlements on the Thames, at York,

York, and at Fort-George. Finding that remonstrances against this mode of conducting the war produced no effect, sir George Prevost at length issued a proclamation announcing a severe retaliation on the Americans; while at the same time he earnestly deprecated this mode of warfare. We shall afterwards have occasion to canvass the humanity as well as the policy in retaliating on, and thus imitating, an enemy when they depart from the paths of justice.

As soon as Europe was restored to peace by the dethronement of Bonaparte, the British government resolved to prosecute the war against the United States with a great accession of means and vigour; and thus it was confidently expected that Mr. Maddison would be compelled to accept of such terms as we should be disposed to dictate. Two distinct modes of prosecuting the war seem to have been determined on by the British government; an invasion of the coasts of the United States; and, after the protection of Canada had been secured, the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory of the United States as might, in the event of a future war, effectually guard that province from all danger. It was reasonably expected also, that when the intelligence of the downfall of Bonaparte reached America, either Mr. Maddison would feel the necessity of making peace, or, if he did not, his unpopularity would become so great, that he would be obliged to quit the government of the States in favour of a president more favourable to Britain and to peace.

The intelligence of the downfall of Bonaparte certainly did create a wonderful sensation in America; but a sensation of a singular kind, and not easily explained. It might have been anticipated that the republican party, the friends to liberty, the enemies of despotism, would have rejoiced at the destruction of the military despotism and oppression of Bonaparte; but, on the contrary, they mourned over his downfall, as if, with him, all hope and prospect of the liberty and independence of Europe had also fallen. At first, the successes of the allies in France were not credited; but when they were established beyond all doubt, those newspapers which spoke the sentiments and wishes of the republican party, in the most explicit manner lamented the intelligence. This, however, may perhaps be accounted for: their hatred of Britain, and the violence of their party-spirit against such of their own countrymen as were federalists and adverse to war with Britain, led them to embrace the cause of one from whom they expected the ruin of Britain.

Mr. Maddison, however, was convinced that, now that Britain was at full liberty to employ all her force against the United States, the war would assume a different character from what it previously had done; and consequently, that it would be absolutely necessary, either to meet the more extended and vigorous warfare by measures of corresponding vigour and extension, or to bring about a peace with Great Britain. The latter was resolved upon; at the same time that, in case of the failure of the negotiations, measures were taken which he hoped would secure the United States from the attacks which would be now made against them. Mr. Maddison also found himself under the necessity of repealing the embargo which had been laid on, on the

the 13th of December 1813; for by the reverses and downfall of Bonaparte the federalist party, which, as has been already observed, consisted principally of merchants, now raised their voices most powerfully and effectually against a measure which involved them in great pecuniary embarrassments and difficulties. Thus another instance was exhibited which proved that Britain, though more essentially commercial than any other nation, can bear up under the interruption of commerce for a much longer time, and with less suffering, than any other nation. Such are the effects of great capital and enterprise united.

In the midst however of all their defeats by land, and of the dismay into which the war party in America were thrown by the downfall of Bonaparte, they were still successful by sea; and their success in this element not only inspired them with the hope that they should one day become the mistress of it, but also threw a gloom over Britain, even while she was hailed by the rest of Europe as having been mainly instrumental in restoring to the continent the blessings of independence and peace.

On the morning of the 28th of June, in latitude 48. longitude 11., the Reindeer sloop of war, commanded by captain Manners, perceived an enemy to the leeward, and instantly gave chase: about three o'clock the ships were close together, when the action commenced, and was kept up with the most determined spirit for twenty-five minutes: at the end of this time the captain of the Reindeer, the purser, and 27 men were killed; and 40 wounded, amongst whom were all her officers then on board: before this, she had made several unsuccessful attempts to board. In this state she was under the necessity of striking to the enemy, which proved to be the Wasp American sloop of war, commanded by captain Blakely. The disproportion between the two ships in size, weight of metal, and complement of men, was very considerable. The Wasp was of the burden of nearly 800 tons, mounting 20 32-pounder carronades, besides two long 12-pounders, and having on board 175 men; while the Reindeer was little more than 380 tons, mounting only 16 twenty-four pounder carronades, besides two long twelve-pounders, with two long sixes, and had only 98 men and twenty boys. Captain Manners fought his vessel against this very superior enemy in the most gallant manner: he lost his life in attempting to board, after receiving fourteen wounds. The Wasp was very much cut up in her hull and rigging; and her loss in killed and wounded is supposed to have been fully equal to that of the Reindeer. On the day after the action it became necessary to destroy the prize. Thus, in a sea war of two years, the Americans could boast that, though they were opposed to the once dreaded navy of Great Britain, the proportion of victories had been beyond all comparison in their favour, having captured three frigates, two twenty-gun ships, four eighteens, one twelve- and one ten-gun vessel.

It would seem, too, that where we were victorious over the Americans by sea, we were generally indebted for our success to a greater superiority than even they had when they were successful. This was certainly the case with respect to the capture of the Essex: she had been long cruizing in company with a corvette off the eastern coast of South America; and captain Hillyear of his

his majesty's ship Phœbe was directed to sail in quest of them: for nearly five months he was unsuccessful; but at last, on the 28th of March, he saw the Essex quit the port of Valparaiso, and immediately (accompanied by the Cherub) he made sail after her. The Essex at first attempted to gain the weather gage; but in this attempt she did not succeed, carrying away her maintopmast: on this she endeavoured to regain the port she had just quitted; but in this also she was unsuccessful, being obliged to anchor near the shore. In this situation it was not safe for captain Hillyear to pass a-head of her: he therefore resolved to anchor as near her as possible: but before he gained a position proper for that purpose, the cable of the Essex was cut, and a serious conflict ensued; the guns of the Phœbe became gradually more destructive, and her crew, if possible, more animated: the contest began at 35 minutes past five and lasted till 20 minutes after six, when the Essex struck her colours. In the official account of the action captain Hillyear, with the spirit of a brave man, bestowed a liberal degree of praise on the bravery of the enemy: the conduct of the captain of the Essex, however (captain Porter), in one respect deserved no praise; for it appears by captain Hillyear's account, that he connived at the escape of some of his men after the ship had surrendered.

The only other naval action at sea, this year, took place off the coast of Ireland between the Wasp (already mentioned) and the Avon. The British here were inferior, and would certainly have been taken possession of, having been forced, after a short but desperate conflict, to strike her colours, had not some of his majesty's ships fortunately come up at the instant, and obliged the Wasp to seek her safety in flight.

Besides these successes of the Americans, so far as their national vessels were concerned, they had many rich captures by their privateers; and these captures were made not merely on their own coasts, or on the Atlantic ocean, but on the very coasts of England and Ireland; so that at length it was not safe for a vessel to sail without convoy from one part of the English or Irish channel to another. Strong representations were made to the admiralty on this subject; but as they were not attended to as they ought to have been, addresses to the prince regent were presented from London, Liverpool, and other sea ports. It was indeed a most mortifying reflection, that while our navy amounted to nearly 1000 ships of different sizes, and while we were at peace with all Europe, we could not protect our commerce on our own coasts. The only defence (if defence it could be called) that the admiralty could make was, that we had captured a greater number of ships from the Americans than the Americans had from us. But the proportion of the captures we had made was very far indeed below the proportional superiority which our navy bore to theirs: and indeed, all things considered, not too much would have have been expected from the admiralty, if, with the means in their power, the nation had anticipated the capture of every American armed vessel that put to sea.

We have thus brought together all the events relative to naval affairs that occurred on the main ocean during the year 1814, in order not to interrupt the detail of

the operations of the war on land and on the lakes: these now will claim our attention; but previously it may be proper to offer some general remarks.

The lakes, it is well known, constitute the most important boundary between Canada and the United States; and the possession of these lakes is absolutely necessary to the secure and permanent possession of Canada. It was therefore the duty and the interest of the British government, as soon as the war broke out, to have secured the superiority of these lakes in so decided a manner as to have effectually protected Canada: this, however, during the two years which the war had already lasted, they had neglected to do. In fact, though on some of the lakes the British were occasionally successful, yet this success was never of long continuance, and it was so chequered with defeat as to give confidence to the Americans and to dispirit the Canadians. For the former, when they commenced the war, could hardly have looked forward to such victories as they had obtained over the British; and being naturally a vain and boastful people, the achievement of victory over such a nation as Britain could not fail to gratify and invigorate their feelings, and to reconcile to the war those who at its commencement were averse to it.

In some respects, indeed, the Americans possessed advantages which we did not enjoy for carrying on operations on the lakes; they were nearer to the supplies necessary for the equipment and repair of their squadrons. But, on the other hand, it seems to have been abundantly shown in the house of commons, that their superiority arising from these advantages was greatly increased by the ignorance or inattention of our ministry. Indeed it was dispated in parliament, to what department of government the equipment of the flotilla on the lakes properly belonged. Common sense would have said that it belonged to the admiralty; but the admiralty denied this, because forsooth the lakes were inland seas of fresh water; and they threw the duty of equipping the flotilla on the secretary of state for the colonial department. It may be remarked by the by, that there seems some deficiency in the executive part of our government in this respect: the prime minister, though not recognised by the constitution, ought certainly to have such a directing and controlling power as, in cases of doubt, to assign to each department its proper duties, and to see that those duties were performed as they ought to be.

With respect to the other branches of the war on the frontiers of Canada, the inhabitants of that province complained that they were left almost entirely to defend themselves; for during the two years of the war, the operations of which have been already detailed, they had procured little assistance from Great Britain. A sufficient reason however was assigned for this, viz., that the troops of Britain were so fully employed against Bonaparte, that she could not send strong reinforcements to Canada. This should, however, have induced the ministry to exert themselves more in the equipment of a proper flotilla on the lakes, in order that Canada might have been adequately protected by our superiority on them, till such time as we could send out more troops. As it was, had it not been for the incapacity of the American generals and the badness

badness of their troops, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the activity of sir George Prevost and the valour of the troops under his command, Canada must have fallen into the possession of the enemy. The Americans, indeed, as we have seen, fought so ill on land, that no alarm seems to have been excited that they would ever be a match for even the Canadian provincial troops. It seems to have been most strangely and culpably overlooked, that their bad fighting on land arose from causes and circumstances which must in the nature of things gradually die away, and be replaced by such as would render them as good soldiers as they had proved themselves to be sailors. This we might have anticipated from what had occurred to ourselves. Till the war against Bonaparte, even Britons were disposed to acknowledge that their countrymen, though the best sailors in the world, were very indifferent soldiers; as if either in their case, or in that of the Americans, the men who had courage sufficient to fight well by sea would not soon be taught to fight well on land.

The British ministry were therefore blamed for protracting the war with America; they were blamed for not annihilating their navy at once. This seemed a well-grounded charge, considering the immense superiority of our navy, and that we had no other employment for it. They were also blamed for not having sent out more troops to Canada:—this charge, during the continuance of the war with Bonaparte, was not so well founded as that relative to the navy; but as soon as the European war was terminated, it was expected that the American war would be speedily brought to a close.

This expectation had very much the appearance of being gratified; for, as soon as possible after the peace of Paris, the British ministry sent to America about 14,000 of those troops who had gained such fame under the duke of Wellington. The annihilation of the American army was now thought to be at hand: even the most sceptical could not hesitate to expect that troops which had ignominiously fled before a Canadian militia, would be dissipated like chaff before the victors of the peninsula; and the more sanguine already anticipated the conquest of at least a part of the United States, and that we should dictate peace at Philadelphia or Washington.

Besides the troops which were sent to Canada, a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops on board, was collected for the purpose of invading different parts of the United States. The object of this kind of expedition seems to have been two-fold: in the first place, by actually landing in different places, and keeping the coast in constant alarm, to prevent the American government from sending as many troops as they would otherwise have done to the invasion of Canada; and in the second place, to retaliate on the Americans the destruction which they had committed at York Town and other places. It was also expected that, if either or both these objects were effected, the war would become more unpopular in America than it actually was; and that the clamours of the inhabitants of those towns and districts which were invaded and laid waste by our troops would either compel the president to make peace, or to withdraw the troops from Canada for their protection and defence. Be-

fore entering on the details of the war, after, by the peace of Paris, the British ministry were enabled to carry it on on a more extensive scale, it may be proper to examine into the policy of the objects which they had in view.

And in the first place it may be remarked, that till Canada was effectually secured, no other object should have been suffered to divide our attention, or our forces: this was of the first consequence in many respects. The Canadians had long complained that they had been neglected by the British government, and suffered in a great measure to defend themselves: it ought therefore to have decidedly and most clearly proved to them, that the British ministry were determined to send adequate means for their defence as soon as they possessed them. It may indeed be urged that the troops sent to Canada were such, both in numbers and quality, as ought to have been amply sufficient, not merely to repel the enemy, but also to invade his territories.—This however was not the fact; and till it had been proved by experience to be the fact, our forces ought not to have been divided.—Besides, did not government virtually acknowledge that the force which they sent to Canada was not adequate to its defence, by the expeditions they sent against the American coasts, one of the professed objects of which was indirectly to defend Canada? It might have been supposed that fatal experience in conducting the war against Bonaparte, had proved to them how worse than useless what are called military diversions are; and how much better it is in all cases to direct all our efforts to one point.

But diversions, in conducting the war against such a country as America, were still more objectionable than they could be in a European war; for, in the first place, the places necessarily invaded were at such a distance from the main scene of warfare, that it was not possible that troops could be withdrawn from it in order to repel the invaders; and in the second place, by the constitution of the United States, every state is supposed to have militia sufficient for its own protection. It was therefore an impolitic plan, to stint the means of defending Canada by dividing our forces for the purpose of invading the American coasts. Some objects, however, it might and did accomplish: the inhabitants of the towns and coasts which were invaded, were loud in their clamours against the government: but here a difficulty occurred; if we invaded those parts of America the inhabitants of which were averse to the war and friendly to us, was there not danger that, though they might thus be rendered more averse to the war, they might also be led to hate those who had made them feel its miseries? And if we invaded those parts the inhabitants of which were friendly to the war and Mr. Maddison, was it not probable that we should only increase their hostility and thirst of revenge?

In fact, as we have already mentioned, we were deceived in our estimate of the numbers and influence of that part of the population of the United States which were averse to the war and to Mr. Maddison. And yet, with respect to America, there is a much surer and clearer method of learning the sentiments and feelings of the people, than with respect to any other country; for in America it seems impossible that the votes and decisions of the

the congress, which represents the people, should be materially different from the sentiments and wishes of the people, as they are much more really their representatives than our house of commons represents the people of Britain, and are moreover chosen for such a short period, that self-interest in almost every case would prevent them from going contrary to the opinion of the people. Even in this country, where the representation is so very imperfect, there have been many instances of the voice of the people giving the character to the measures of government; and how much more is this likely to be the case in the United States, where the people are really represented; where they look upon themselves as the source of all government; and where they are much more in the habit, than even we are, of meeting and deciding on the measures of their rulers! In Britain, it would be unsafe and unfair to infer the proportion of the population which might support any measure of government, from the proportion of the members of the house of commons which gave it their support. But in America the case is different; and the adherents and opposers of Mr. Maddison among the people, might pretty nearly have been calculated from the number of his adherents and opposers in congress.

But it is time to return from this digression, and to consider the other object which these expeditions against the American coasts had in view; which was, to retaliate for the cruelties and depredations which they had committed at York Town, and other places, during their invasions of Canada. To this object in every respect we are decidedly hostile: in the first place, we would lay it down as a general rule, that nations as well as individuals will always consult their best interests by adhering strictly in all cases to the dictates of justice and humanity. It has been one not of the least evils of the French revolution, that it has made mankind sceptical respecting the advantages which virtue has over vice; and has led to the belief, that in many cases vice must be opposed by vice in order to be put down. This doctrine was frequently broached and acted upon by the opponents of France, and even by our own government. The consequence was, that we at first railed against France for her oppression and injustice, and soon afterwards had recourse to the same mode of conduct, under the pretext that we could not fight her unless we used her own weapons.

It has not seldom been observed, that confidence in the powers either of the body or the mind augments those powers, and leads to their proper application and use; whereas distrust in them produces weakness, and leads to inferiority. So it is with regard to the adoption of measures that are sanctioned by justice: if we believe that they are inadequate to cope with injustice, we shall either be disposed to throw them aside, or in the use of them we shall be inexpert, indolent, and unfortunate. We therefore acted most improperly, as well as most impolitically, in imitating the French in their violent and unjust measures, under the pretext that we could not otherwise cope with them; and thus abandoned the great source of strength which a nation always derives from a character for moderation and justice. And in the object of our expeditions against the American coasts, we

also acted unwisely, as well as contrary to justice.

But besides this general objection to these invading expeditions, there are others of a more particular nature: they were defended on the ground, that they were intended to retaliate the devastation and cruelty which the Americans had committed in their invasion of Canada. But it was asked in the house of commons, Why did not we, on the same principle, imitate the cruelty of the Indians when we were at war with them, and scalp our prisoners? In case of war with the pirates of the Barbary coast, why should we not, on the same principle, make slaves of our prisoners? In short, if we were right in imitating the devastation and cruelty of the Americans, we should be justified in imitating and retaliating all the inhuman practices of the most savage nation with whom we might chance to be at war. To this argument it was replied, that we were not influenced by the mere principle or love of retaliation, the mere desire of inflicting pain because we ourselves had suffered pain,—but by a higher and less exceptionable principle, which drew a distinct line between the Americans and the Indians. From the ignorant and savage habits of the latter we could not expect that we should be able to root out their practice of scalping, by scalping the prisoners which we took from them; and therefore we should not be justified in retaliating their cruelties in this respect. But the case was different with regard to the Americans: it might be hoped that the American government, when they found that we had the power of inflicting greater devastation on their country than they could do on us, and were resolved to exercise that power, would for their own interest desist from their unjust mode of carrying on the war; or, if they were resolved still to persevere in it, that the people of the United States would compel them to desist from it.

This, therefore, was the plea on which this mode of carrying on the war was defended on our part. The Americans had exercised great devastation and cruelty in their invasions of Canada: and we resolved to invade and lay waste their towns and coasts, not merely for the sake of effecting diversions, but also that, by retaliation, we might for the future prevent the devastation and cruelty of which we complained. This mode of defence, it may be allowed, takes away the criminality of the proceeding; but it may well be doubted, whether it does not leave its policy exactly where it was. The consequences that it actually did produce will afterwards be detailed and considered; at present we are to examine what might naturally be expected from such a mode of conducting a war.

In the first place, without any reference to the particular character or circumstances of the people against whom this mode of warfare was to be exercised, we may well doubt whether it would not be much more injurious to the party which carried it on, than to the people or government of the country that was the object of it; and whether on this account it would not be impolitic. We must reflect on the end which it has in view: it is to deter from the repetition of devastation and cruelty, by the infliction of devastation and cruelty: and it is not only to do that, but to increase the number of those who are inimical to the war during which such calamities are inflicted, as well as the number of those who are disposed to favour the

the invading party. But he must be lamentably and grossly ignorant of human nature, who does not see that the first feeling excited will be hatred and the spirit of revenge; and that the most probable subsequent and permanent consequence will be a union of all parties against the invaders.

In the next place, the peculiar character and circumstances of the Americans were sure to render this plan greatly beneficial to the government which it was expected it would destroy, and in the same degree prejudicial to us: for we had gained friends there, by the contrast of our character with that of Bonaparte and Mr. Maddison; and as soon as we placed ourselves on a level with them, our influence was gone. The federalists hated Mr. Maddison, and were averse to all his measures; but they were still much more averse to the invasion of their country: they were therefore driven into the arms of the republican party, in order to avoid the greater evil of being passive while their country was laid waste.

Such, in our opinion, was the injustice as well as the impolicy of the mode in which the British government, after the peace of Paris, resolved to carry on the war against America. But such was our ignorance of the state and resources of that country, and such our forgetfulness of the wisdom of the maxim, Not to do evil that good may come, that we anticipated nothing but success from ill-digested measures, and from a deviation from the strict path of moderation and justice.

Nor was the British government alone ignorant and culpable in these respects: the people of Britain in general countenanced and encouraged them. While the war with Bonaparte continued, the war with America was scarcely thought of, its importance was deemed comparatively so trifling. The first thing which roused the public attention to it, were the successes of the enemy by sea. Those gave a dreadful shock to British prejudice in favour of their supremacy of the ocean: but even this shock subsided, or was forgotten, in the midst of the great contest of Europe. America was again and again victorious by sea. Well, it was said, as soon as the attention of the British government is no longer occupied by the continental war, she will be made to restore all the laurels which she has won; and the majesty of the ocean will be again given back to its legitimate and ancient possessor.—These thoughts were further strengthened by the belief so prevalent in Britain, that Mr. Maddison's unpopularity was daily increasing, and must soon reach such a pitch as would necessarily put an end to the war. There were also some other circumstances, which either rendered the British nation indifferent to the war with America, or the approvers of it. In the first place, the manufacturing and commercial classes, who had been so very clamorous against it on account of the mischief which it inflicted on their interests, were silent and indifferent as soon as peace had opened the trade of Europe to them; and in the second place, a great many people, who had opposed the war with America while the British orders in council were in force, considered themselves bound to advocate it as soon as they were repealed.

We have deemed it proper, before entering on the details of the war subsequent to the overthrow of Bonaparte, to offer these remarks, both on the mode in which the British government resolved to carry it on, and also on the sentiments and hopes

which the British public entertained respecting it. Illustrations of the truth and justice of these remarks will be found in what we shall soon lay before our readers.—With regard to what we have further to offer respecting the contest between America and Britain, it may be proper, for the sake of order and perspicuity, to divide it into three parts. Under the first part we shall consider the operations on the Lakes and on the frontiers of Canada;—under the second part, the operations of that division of the British force which was employed in landing on the coasts of America;—and thirdly, the proceedings of the American government, and of the commissioners who met at Ghent to negotiate a peace.

Before however entering on these topics, it may not be irrelevant or improper again to impress on the mind of the reader the great importance, not so much with respect to what is present as to futurity, of the American contest. There are signs which cannot be mistaken, and which ought not to be overlooked, which indicate that America will, before many years pass away, be a most formidable enemy to Britain on the ocean; and therefore it behoves not only our government, but the inhabitants of Britain, to study well the war of which we are now giving the details, in order to understand the character of the nation with whom we seem to be destined to contend for the empire of the seas.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Military and naval Operations on the Lakes, and the Frontiers of Canada—Battle near Fort Erie—Capture of that Place by the Americans—Battle near the Falls of the Niagara—Unsuccessful Attempt to recapture Fort Erie—Remarks on the improved Skill and Bravery of the Americans—Sir George Prevost and the Flotilla make an Attempt against Plattsburgh—The Flotilla completely defeated—and Sir George obliged to retreat—Remarks on his Conduct—Destruction of Washington—Impression made by this Event—Attempt on Baltimore—Death of General Ross.

IN the beginning of July the American army effected a landing at the ferry of lake Erie, having driven in the picquet of the garrison of Fort Erie. As soon as major-general Riall, who commanded the British troops in this neighbourhood, was made acquainted with this event, he ordered the immediate advance of five companies of the royal Scots towards Chippawa, to reinforce the garrison of that place. About the same time, a detachment of the 100dth regiment, with some militia and a few Indians, moved forward for the purpose of reconnoitring the position and the numbers of the enemy. They were discovered to be in considerable force, and strongly posted; and it was also ascertained that another body of them had landed above Fort Erie. In the afternoon of the fifth major-general Riall, having made the necessary dispositions, ordered the attack to commence. The enemy had taken up a position, expecting and prepared for the attack, with his

his right resting on some buildings and orchards close on the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery: his left was towards the wood, having a considerable body of riflemen and Indians in front of it: these were first attacked, and after a sharp but short contest were dislodged.

After this success, major-general Riall ordered the king's regiment to move to the right, while the royal Scots and 100dth regiment were directed to charge the enemy in front. On this arduous enterprise they advanced with the greatest coolness and gallantry, notwithstanding they were exposed to a very heavy and galling fire. The enemy, aware of the advantages of their position, and finding that their fire was very destructive, stood firm, till at length major-general Riall, finding that further efforts would be unavailing, and that his troops had suffered severely, ordered them to give up the attack. In this affair lieutenant-colonel Gordon and lieutenant-col. the marquis of Tweeddale, who charged in the most gallant manner at the head of their respective regiments, were wounded. A retreat now became necessary upon Chippawa, which was conducted with good order and regularity, not a single prisoner falling into the hands of the enemy, except those who were disabled by wounds.

In this, as well as in many other affairs between our troops and the Americans, the latter, after the conclusion of the battle, were ascertained to be much more numerous than they were previously conjectured to be: they were, according to the accounts of the prisoners, not fewer than 6000 men, with a numerous train of artillery, having been augmented by a very large body of troops, which moved down from Fort Erie immediately before the commencement of the action. The force of the British in regular troops amounted to about 1500, exclusive of the militia and Indians, of which there were not more than 300. It must however be remarked, that this was the first affair in which the Americans fought well; that is, in which they stood firm against the British. It may indeed be said that there was no great merit in defeating 1800 men with 6000: but we should recollect that, during the first two campaigns of the war, they could not withstand the British even with a still greater superiority of force.

The object of this advance of the enemy was evidently to gain possession of Fort Erie, and major-general Riall was in hopes of being able to save it from falling into their hands. But after the battle he understood that it had capitulated on the 3d. Major Buck, who commanded that fort, appears to have been very ill informed of the movements of the enemy, since he was wholly unapprised of their landing on both sides of him, and only at the distance of a mile; and after this, instead of endeavouring to make up for his want of circumspection by determined courage, he surrendered the fort without firing a gun, himself and about 150 men being made prisoners of war.

The enemy, emboldened by the success which attended them on their first crossing of the frontier, looked forward to still greater advantages: but in this hope they were disappointed. For general Drummond advanced in considerable force to the support of major-general Riall, who was posted near the falls of Niagara. Scarcely had the junction taken place when intelligence arrived that the American army

army were advancing in great force. General Drummond immediately proceeded to meet them; he found them already in possession of a rising ground, while his light troops were in the surrounding woods. The 84th regiment, the royal Scots detachment and 41st light companies were immediately formed in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the road; while two twenty-four pounders were advanced in front of the centre, and the remainder of the British troops were posted on the left of the road. Scarcely were the troops thus arranged when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the left and centre of the British. They made repeated attacks, in the course of which the troops on the left were partially forced back, and the enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. He derived however no material advantage from this, as the troops which were forced back formed again in the rear of the 89th regiment fronting the road, and securing the flank. About this time major-general Riall, having been wounded, fell into the power of the enemy. In the centre their attacks were also repeated with considerable determination; but they were met and repulsed by our troops in that quarter, with the most perfect steadiness and repeated gallantry, and with very heavy loss to the enemy. Our troops, however, were astonished at the boldness of the Americans; for, so determinedly were their efforts directed against our guns, that our artillery men were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours. The darkness of the night during this extraordinary conflict occasioned several uncommon incidents: our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands. They were however not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces which the enemy had brought up were captured; and in limbering up our guns, at one time, one of the enemy's six-pounders was put by mistake on a limber of ours; and one of our six-pounders on a limber of his: by which means the pieces were exchanged.

About nine o'clock, three hours after the commencement of the action, during a short interruption of the firing, the enemy brought up the whole of his remaining force; and shortly afterwards he renewed his attacks with fresh troops, but was every where repulsed with equal gallantry and success. He continued his efforts against the hill, however, till midnight; when he had suffered so severely that he gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippawa. On the next day he abandoned his camp, throwing the greatest part of his baggage, &c. into the Rapids, and continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. The loss of the Americans in this severe contest was estimated at 1500 men; their two commanding generals were wounded: the whole of their force engaged amounted to about 5000 men. Our loss was also very severe.

Soon after this battle, general Drummond resolved to attempt the recapture of Fort Erie. For this purpose on the 13th of August he opened the fire of a battery against it; and having soon afterwards reason to believe that a sufficient impression

impression had been made, he determined on assaulting the place. Two attacks were ordered to be made; one against the entrenchments on the side of Snake-hill, and the other against the fort and entrenchments on the opposite side. The troops appointed for the latter enterprise advanced to the attack as soon as the firing occasioned by the other attack was heard, and succeeded in getting possession of the demi-bastion, the guns of which they had actually turned against the enemy; when most unfortunately some ammunition caught fire, and a most tremendous explosion took place, by which almost all he troops which had succeeded in making a lodgement were dreadfully mangled. Panic was instantly spread among them; and the enemy taking advantage of it pressed forward, and commenced a heavy fire of musketry: under these circumstances it became absolutely necessary to abandon the fort, and the British troops retreated towards the battery. Our loss was very severe in killed and wounded, and a very great number were made prisoners.

It was abundantly evident from these accounts, that we had beaten the Americans till we had taught them to fight. But it was fondly hoped that, as soon as sir George Prevost received the reinforcements which were dispatched to him immediately after the peace of Paris, he would obtain a splendid and decisive victory over the enemy. As soon as these reinforcements did arrive, he lost no time in advancing to the frontier; on which the American army abandoned its entrenched camp. Sir George immediately proceeded against Plattsburgh, which place it was determined to attack both by land and water. The enemy were resolved to defend this place; and for that purpose his land forces occupied an elevated ridge of land, while their flotilla were at anchor out of gun-shot from the shore. As soon as this disposition of the enemy's forces was observed, sir George Prevost communicated the circumstance to captain Downie, who had been recently appointed to command the vessels on Lake Champlain. As soon as sir George observed the flotilla steering for Plattsburgh Bay, he ordered his troops to advance and to escalade the enemy's works upon the heights.

In consequence of the light airs and the smoothness of the water, the fire between the flotillas was very destructive on both sides. From the commencement of the engagement, it was evidently the intention of the enemy to direct nearly all his efforts against captain Downie's vessel the Confiance. This vessel was fought with great gallantry, till on the death of her brave commander she was compelled to strike her colours. The whole of the enemy's force was then directed against the Linnet of 18 guns, which was also most bravely defended by her commander, till at length he was under the painful necessity of giving orders that her colours should be struck. Another of the British flotilla unfortunately struck on a reef of rocks, and of course was prevented from rendering any assistance.

In the mean time the land forces had succeeded in effecting a passage across the Saranac. But at this time sir George Prevost was informed of the defeat of the flotilla; upon which he ordered the troops

troops to give over the attack, and soon afterwards he commenced his retreat within the frontier. In the course of this retreat, a very considerable quantity of his baggage was obliged to be left behind; and the enemy stated, that upwards of 3000 men deserted from the British.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the degree of mortification and disappointment which the intelligence of this defeat created in Great Britain. Troops which had been victorious in Spain and France; which had not only fought and conquered under Wellington, but which had received his particular commendation for their steadiness and bravery, had been defeated by the Americans,—by men who could scarcely be called soldiers;—who but a few months before had run from the Canadian militia:—and not only had the heroes of the peninsula fled before such raw troops, but also before a very inferior force; since sir George Prevost had at least 14,000 men, while the American army was not half that number.

In Canada the complaints were loud and general against sir George Prevost; and sir James Yeo, who commanded his majesty's ships and vessels on the lakes, distinctly gave it as his opinion, in his official dispatch, that captain Downie was urged, and his ship hurried into action before she was in a fit state to meet the enemy: he also gave it as his opinion, that there was not the least necessity for the British squadron giving the enemy such decided advantages, by going into their bay to engage them; since, even if they had been successful, it would not in the least have assisted the troops in storming the batteries;—whereas, he adds, had the troops taken the batteries first, it would have obliged the squadron of the enemy to quit the bay, and thus given the British a fair chance. In this opinion of sir James Yeo most military men agreed; and it is even said that, after the defeat of the flotilla, the officers were of opinion they could have taken Plattsburgh; and that they obeyed sir G. Prevost's orders for a retreat with reluctance and murmuring.

Nor was this the only misfortune which attended our troops towards the close of the campaign on the frontiers of Canada; for the garrison of Fort Erie on the 17th of September made a sortie, in which we lost 800 men; and in consequence of this sortie general Drummond was under the necessity of commencing a retreat, in which he was followed and harassed by the American army.—As soon as the winter set in, the enemy evacuated Fort Erie; and the campaign terminated, certainly without any ground being gained, or any decisive advantages being reaped, on either side, but with the character and confidence of the enemy greatly raised, and ours proportionally depressed.

Great expectations were at one time formed, of a very large ship which had been constructed upon the lakes, mounting 100 guns; but the season of the year was so far advanced before she was completed, that no other advantage was derived, but that of blockading the enemy's squadron in Sackett's harbour, and gaining the mastery of the lake on which it stands, at a period when that mastery could be of no service.—We shall now turn our attention to the circumstances and results of our landings on different parts of the coasts

coasts of the United States; and we shall first notice the landing which was effected on the most northern part of them.

The Penobscot river is about 80 miles S. W. of the Passamaquoddy, which forms the barrier between the United States and the British province of New Brunswick. At the mouth of the latter river we took possession of some small islands; and after this, lieutenant-general sir J. Sherbrooke and rear-admiral Griffith, who commanded the land and sea forces on this station, determined to push their attack as far as the Penobscot. To this they were more especially determined from the intelligence which they received, that the John Adams frigate had taken refuge by running 27 miles up that river to Hamden, where she had landed her guns and lay under their protection. On the 26th of August, therefore, a combined sea and land force under the command of these officers set sail for Halifax on this determination. On the 1st of September they reached the town and fort of Castine, built on a peninsula on the eastern side of the Penobscot. The officer commanding this fort having blown up the magazine, and fled with the troops composing its garrison, it was immediately occupied by the British general, who sent forward a regiment to secure the town of Belfast on the western bank, while a body of picked men amounting to 700, supported by the boats of the expedition, ascended the river towards Hamden. Here they bivouacked during the night under an incessant rain; notwithstanding which, on the following day they pushed on to attack an enemy double their numbers, and strongly posted in front of the town, with rising grounds on both his flanks, strengthened with cannon. The British troops charged up the hill, and took possession of the guns, while some rockets from the boats completed the confusion of the enemy.

Before the boats got within good gun-shot of the battery thrown up to defend the frigate, the Americans abandoned its defence and set fire to her, and she was totally destroyed; while the troops that were stationed at the other battery ran away with great precipitation the moment our troops ascended the hill. The pursuit continued as far as the town of Bangor; where some of the inhabitants who had not fought, but pretended to fight, at Hamden, threw off the military character, and as magistrates, &c. made an unconditional surrender of the town. Shortly after this the American general Blake with 191 troops also surrendered, and were admitted to their parole. During these operations, another body of British troops, to the number of 700, were marched up the eastern bank of the river about 18 miles to Buxton; but the destruction of the frigate and the dispersion of the enemy's troops in that quarter being fully effected, the British force was withdrawn from Bangor, Belfast, and Buxton to Castine, where the head quarters of sir J. Sherbrooke were fixed. The only fort between the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy is that of Machias, which it was originally intended to have attacked first; but the attempt against Hamden was considered as preferable, from the necessity of taking or destroying the frigate. This object however having been accomplished, no time was lost in dispatching another body of troops against Machias, where they landed without opposition on the

the 10th of September, and after a most fatiguing night march took possession of the fort without loss. This capture was followed by the capitulation of the American general Brewer, commanding the troops in that neighbourhood; who considering the situation of the country between the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy to be such as to preclude the hope of adequate protection by the United States, engaged, in the name of himself and his troops, not to serve against the British during the war.

The British general afterwards declared the country on the Penobscot, as far as he had conquered it, a part of the territory of his majesty in America. This step in many points of view was very impolitic; since to declare any territory as essentially and permanently attached to the conqueror, of which he has only gained a temporary possession, can only serve to expose his weakness when he is compelled to give it up, and to irritate the enemy. It was said that the territory of which we gained possession was necessary for the purpose of an open and direct communication between Canada and New Brunswick:—but as it was to the Americans of little value, it might have been obtained, in the event of peace, for an equivalent; whereas they were not likely to permit the disgrace of having it forced from them, of however little real value it might be to them.

The expedition against the southern, or rather the middle, states of America, it was determined, should be on a larger scale, and should, if successful, not only amply retaliate the devastations of the enemy in Canada, but strike such terror into them as would induce them totally to desert Mr. Madison, and compel him to make peace. The land forces employed on this expedition were under the command of major-general Ross, and the sea forces under the command of admiral Cochrane: these officers determined to disembark the army at the village of Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, for the purpose of co-operating with rear-admiral Cockburn in an attack on the enemy's flotilla under the command of commodore Barney. Admiral Cochrane landed the marines on the left bank of the river at the place where he understood the flotilla to be, and directed the troops to attack on the land side, to draw off the attention of such of the enemy's forces as might be stationed there for its defence: he himself proceeded with his boats, and soon descried the broad pendant of commodore Barney in the headmost vessel, and the remainder of the flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. The British boats advanced to them as rapidly as possible. But on approaching them commodore Barney's vessel was discovered to be on fire, and she very soon afterwards blew up. In fact, they were all abandoned, and on fire, with trains to their magazines; so that out of the 17 vessels which composed the flotilla, 16 were blown to atoms and the 17th was captured. The British also burnt 15 merchant vessels that had been lying under the protection of the flotilla, and brought off a considerable quantity of tobacco.

As soon as this success was accomplished, major-general Ross and admiral Cochrane resolved to proceed against Washington, the capital of the United States, from which they were distant only 16 miles. They accordingly reached a village about 6 miles from this city without

without opposition, or indeed perceiving any enemy. Here however they discovered the enemy strongly posted on the opposite side of the river on very commanding heights, formed into two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which with artillery covered the bridge over the eastern branch of the river, across which it was necessary for our troops to pass. The position of the enemy was defended by artillery and riflemen, and a broad road leading to Washington ran through it. The attack was made with so much impetuosity, that the fortified house was shortly carried, the enemy retiring to the higher grounds. The enemy's left was next attacked; and the fourth regiment pressing on his right at the same time, he abandoned his guns. His first line afterwards giving way, was driven on the second; which yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well directed discharge of the musketry, got into confusion and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The enemy's retreat was so precipitate that very few prisoners could be made, especially as they were acquainted with the country, and the British troops had been greatly fatigued previous to the engagement. The army of the enemy amounted to about 9000 men, and was under the command of general Winder; it was composed of troops drawn from Baltimore and Pennsylvania. The artillery was under the command of commodore Barney (who had previously commanded the flotilla). The whole of it, as well as the commodore, was taken.

After this complete success general Ross halted his army for a short time, and then marched upon Washington. He reached that city at eight o'clock at night. As he considered it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, he immediately set fire to and consumed the capitol, including the senate-house and house of representatives;—the arsenal; the dock-yard; treasury; war-office; president's palace; rope-walk; and the great bridge across the Potowmack. In the dock-yard, a frigate nearly ready to be launched and a sloop of war were consumed. The two bridges leading to the city over the eastern branch of the river had been destroyed by the enemy, under the apprehension of an attack from that quarter.

As soon as the object of the expedition was thus accomplished, general Ross determined, before any larger force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw his troops; and he succeeded in reimbarking them without loss or molestation.

The destruction of Washington made a great impression not only in England and America, but also in France and other parts of Europe. In England, the intelligence at first was received with great exultation: the capital of America had been destroyed; Mr. Maddison, who was present at the destruction of it, had witnessed the bravery of British troops, and how unequal the Americans were to contend with them, even on their own territory, and in defence of the capital of their republic. We had thus signally triumphed; and we had taught the Americans that they would not be suffered to ravage and destroy with impunity. But the greatest advantage expected from our success at Washington was, that it would compel Mr. Maddison to make peace, as he would now become so very unpopular, that

that he would have the alternative either of resigning or putting an end to the war. Such were the first impressions which the intelligence of this event created in England. But these soon gave way to others of a different description: it was considered that Washington was only nominally the capital of the United States; that even if one of the large towns, New York or Philadelphia for instance, had been destroyed, it would not have created so great a sensation as the capital of any European kingdom; as the different states of America cannot look on any one town in the same light as the inhabitants of England or France do with regard to London or Paris. But it was urged that Washington,—the city named after the greatest man which America had produced, the man who had obtained for them their independence;—the city towards which they looked forward as on some future day likely to rival in extent and splendour the most celebrated and ancient of the capitals of Europe,—being thus destroyed, must be felt as a great evil and indignity by the Americans.—Still the question arises, whether it was more likely that the feelings to which its destruction gave rise, would be advantageous or disadvantageous to us; whether the unpopularity of Mr. Maddison and the war would not be diminished, instead of increased, by this event. Besides, Britons began to reflect, that there could not be much glory or even honour in destroying the public buildings of a city; and that the officers and troops which had done so much in the peninsula could not possibly add to their character by the destruction of Washington.

The plea of retaliation has already been considered generally; and as it respects Washington it is not more defensible than when considered in a general point of view. The enemy had burnt York and some other places in Canada. In consequence of this, a correspondence took place between the American secretary and our commander-in-chief, in the course of which the former defended the destruction of some of the towns, on the plea that it was necessary for the purposes of the war, and therefore justifiable according to the rules and usages of war: the other acts of devastation, he said, had been committed contrary to the orders or wishes of the American government, and would be inquired into. It may be admitted that this statement is not satisfactory; and yet it may be lamented that we stained our character by the destruction of Washington.

It was soon too apparent, that we had served instead of injured the cause of Mr. Maddison by the destruction of the American capital; for all parties of the United States joined in reprobating it: and though they still censured the president for involving them in a war, and thought his mode of conducting it was reprehensible; yet their patriotism was more powerful than their party feelings; and their hatred of the British, produced by the destruction of Washington, got the better of their hatred of Mr. Maddison. He soon perceived this, and took advantage of it by having recourse to such measures as he would not have ventured upon while his unpopularity was at its height.

On the continent of Europe, and in France in particular, our proceedings at Washington were represented as barbarous in the extreme,

treme. The French were avowedly friendly to the Americans, and wished them success; and they hated us. Indeed we ought to know that our commercial prosperity, our maritime ascendancy, and the manner in which we exercise it, and latterly our successes by land, have raised against us an unpleasant feeling, which instead of being counteracted is augmented by the consideration of what we have done for Europe, and for France in particular. To nations, the debt of gratitude is not very pleasant, especially when it is conferred with too many displays of its importance. These things we should recollect, and also be impressed with the truth, that it is only by conducting ourselves with moderation, and with the strictest regard to honour and justice, that we can expect to be tolerated for our great supremacy over the rest of Europe, in respect to our commercial, naval, and military importance.

After the destruction of Washington, the state of the tides and the winds not rendering it safe immediately to proceed out of the Chesapeake to act on the preconcerted plans of the expedition, it was thought adviseable to alarm the enemy in the direction of Baltimore. The troops and vessels were accordingly moved into the Patopsco: the former were landed about thirteen miles from Baltimore. On the 12th of September they advanced along a peninsula, which was found to be strongly entrenched, but our troops very soon forced the entrenchments. At this moment, general Ross, "in the dangers of the field over active and foremost, and in his devotion to the honour of his country, and to the reputation of his troops, unfortunately too heedless of his personal security, exposed himself to the aim of the enemy's riflemen, and fell glorious and lamented." As soon as he perceived that he was wounded, he fell into the arms of a brother officer, crying "Send immediately for colonel Brooke." The colonel attended, and received his instructions; and the general, having discharged this last duty to his country, exclaimed "My dear wife!" and dropped senseless. But the blood of the brave was not shed in vain; the spirit of Ross went forth before his faithful followers, striking terror into the enemy, and insuring to the English standard a repetition of former victories. Colonel Brooke pushed on the advance to within five miles of Baltimore, where he encountered 6000 infantry and several hundred cavalry. To attack them at all points, to break and disperse them in every direction, to put 1,000 men *hors de combat*, to take two pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners, all this was but the work of fifteen minutes. A complete and glorious victory was thus obtained, and our little army slept on the field of battle. The next morning (the 13th) it advanced to within a mile and a half of Baltimore. The town was strongly defended by art and nature; and between 15 and 20,000 men, with a large train of artillery, were ranged in the redoubts which covered it. Notwithstanding this, colonel Brooke, with his 4,000 men, would probably have succeeded in the night attack which he had planned against it; but it was found that the enemy had so blocked up the entrance to the harbour by sinking ships in the channel, that our squadron was unable to advance so as to support the military,

and under these circumstances it was justly deemed prudent to desist from an attack on the town. By retiring leisurely, it was hoped that the enemy might have been drawn from his entrenchments. On the 14th and 15th, therefore, the troops marched gently to the place of embarkation: but the action of the 13th had afforded the prudent heroes of Baltimore a sufficient lesson. They did not dare to venture beyond their redoubts; and the British army, taking with it 200 prisoners, being persons of the best families in the city, re-embarked without the smallest molestation. Thus, excepting the merely accidental (but much lamented) loss of general Ross, the expedition against Baltimore appears to have been attended with very brilliant success. The victory of the 13th was most honourable to our arms. It was obtained at the expense of not more than 290 men put *hors de combat* on our side; whilst the enemy, though strongly entrenched, lost 1000. He was, besides, compelled to sink upwards of 20 vessels in various parts of the harbour, to remove almost the whole of the private property out of the town, to concentrate his military force from the neighbouring states, to burn a valuable rope-walk and several public buildings, and harass and alarm the whole surrounding country.

Besides these advantages against Washington and Baltimore, another expedition was also sent, under captain Gordon, up the river Potomack, against Alexandria: he made himself master of this populous town, after having compelled the enemy to blow up Fort Washington; but in descending the river, his men were exposed during the space of twenty-three days to most incredible fatigue, while the squadron was incessantly followed by harassing parties on shore.

Soon after this expedition and that against Baltimore were terminated, the season of the year compelled our commanders to abandon the plan of harassing the coasts of the United States.

Having thus brought to a close our account of the military and naval operations against the Americans, it is impossible not to reflect again, how inadequate they were, in their results, to the means which we possessed, and the expectations which we had formed; and this disappointment fell the more heavily, on account of the contempt with which we were accustomed to treat the enemy, and also on account of the glory which we had so lately gained against a much more celebrated foe. Both these circumstances infused into the minds of a large portion of the British nation a vindictive wish, that our government would not make peace with the United States till they had been beaten, and we had thus redeemed our naval and military character. That the British government were actuated by more honourable feelings, as well as by sounder policy, will appear from the details of the next chapter.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Message from the President to the Congress, after the Destruction of Washington—its Contents—Mode in which Britain carried on the War—Triumphs of the American Army—Expenses of the War—Finances—Report of the Committee of Ways and Means on the Finances—Proposed Taxes—Remarks on them, as pointing out the Progress which the United States have made in various Manufactures—Letter of the Secretary of War to the Military Committee—Bill for a Conscription—Negotiations at Ghent—Remarks on the Points in Dispute—Peace concluded.

THE senate and house of representatives having been assembled at Washington, Mr. Madison transmitted to them a message to the following purport:

He began by adverting to the negotiations which were then going on at Ghent, between the British and American commissioners; the result of these was not yet known. That they might terminate in bringing about peace, was perhaps to be expected from the repeal of the orders of council and the general pacification of Europe; which withdrew the necessity on which impressments from American vessels were practised. But, on the other hand, as Great Britain had refused the mediation of the emperor of Russia; had delayed giving effect to its proposal of a direct negotiation; and above all had carried on the war in a manner unusual and unjustified by the laws and usages of civilised nations, the greater probability seemed to be that peace would not be restored to the two countries. The violence with which Great Britain carried on the war against America, he ascribed to two circumstances; in the first place, that the great contest in Europe had terminated without any check being given to its overgrown and overbearing power; and secondly, to her now possessing immense means of war, with which she still cherished the hope of being able to disturb the tranquillity of the world, forgetting the fate of that victim to ambition, whom she had so mainly contributed to sacrifice.

Mr. Madison next adverted to our invasions of the coasts of the United States, and our destruction of the public buildings, &c. at Washington; he also accused us of the destruction of private property. This accusation was repelled on this side the water as totally unfounded; but it must be acknowledged that even the official account of the destruction of Washington, and the attack on Baltimore and Alexandria, expressly mentions that a great deal of tobacco was brought away, which must have been private property. We are therefore afraid that Mr. Madison approached the truth, when he said that our successes at Washington &c. had more effect in distressing individual, and in dishonouring our arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare.

He next adverts to what he calls the triumphs of the American arms, and amongst these he somewhat improperly classes the battle at the falls of Niagara, and the attack on Baltimore: to other events of the campaign he adverts with less equivocal foundation as proofs of the

successes of the Americans; and he particularly dwells on several events as proving beyond dispute, that their soldiers had very greatly improved in skill and discipline since the war commenced. On the Lakes, he observes, the great exertions for the command of them have been well repaid on lake Ontario: on lake Champlain, the whole of the British ships had been captured. The war on the ocean had not been so signally successful to the Americans as in former years; but it had been equally honourable: the capture of the Essex had taken place under circumstances creditable to the bravery of the commander and her crew. With particular exultation he refers to the success of the American privateers, not only as having by the capture considerably injured British commerce, but also, by bringing their rich prizes into the American ports, "contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which had been made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States."

The next subject of Mr. Madison's speech relates to the expenses which had been incurred in carrying on the war. Great bodies of the militia had been taken into the service of the public defence; and in order to render this defence more economical, he recommended to congress immediate measures for filling the ranks of the regular army, and such changes in the system of the militia as might give to it all the requisite energy and sufficiency.

He next adverts to the state of the finances: the moneys received into the treasury during the nine months ending the 15th of June 1814 amounted to 32 millions of dollars, of which 11 millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceed 34 millions of dollars, and left in the treasury on the first of July nearly five millions of dollars. It would be necessary to provide large sums to meet the demands during the remainder of the present year, authorised by congress: in consequence of this, it would be necessary that the subject of the supplies both of money and men should be taken up with the least possible delay. Mr. Madison acknowledged that the situation of the American States called for the greatest efforts; since their enemy was powerful in men and money, on the land and on the water; and availing himself of fortunate circumstances, he was aiming a deadly blow at their growing prosperity, perhaps at their national existence. From such an enemy, hostility in its greatest force and worst forms might be looked for. "The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit which, in their revolutionary wars, defeated his unrighteous projects: his threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary, the national legislator will not distrust the enlightened patriotism of his constituents."—"We have seen them every where give their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity: we have seen them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call; and, offering their blood, they

give

give the surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld."

The message concluded with stating, that America had not declared war till nearly 1000 of her vessels had been captured and several thousands of her seafaring citizens impressed; and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against their commerce would not be revoked, but on conditions as impossible as unjust. The United States, on the contrary, had manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice; while this circumstance, and their resolution to defend their beloved country, and to oppose the enemy's persevering hostility with all their energy, still retaining an undiminished disposition towards peace on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind providence.

That part of the message of the president which related to finances was referred to a committee of ways and means, who made their report in the course of the same month. It begins by stating that the resources for carrying on the war must consist in taxes, loans, and treasury notes. With respect to the first, they could not be collected in time to meet the immediate demands of the war; as to loans, a reliance on them, under the circumstances of the country, must be uncertain; and, if obtained, the terms would be exorbitant. Treasury notes, therefore, must be had recourse to; and they would be of general service to supply a medium of circulation, which would pass current in every part of the United States. At present, the principal banks in the middle states had stopped payment; while the notes of those banks which still were in credit would not pass out of the particular state where they were issued. In order to secure the circulation of the treasury notes, it would be proper to issue them in small sums for the ordinary purposes of society;—to allow the holders to fund them, with an interest of 8 per cent.;—to make them payable to bearer;—to make them receivable in all payments for public lands and taxes;—to pledge for the payment of the interest, so much of the internal duties as shall be necessary.

With regard to new taxes, the committee remarks that several manufactures, which had grown up in the United States, in consequence of the war having shut them out from foreign markets, were in such a flourishing condition that they would bear to be taxed; and with taxes on them, they propose to unite a pledge of the public faith for the continuance of the double duties till these taxes were repealed. They then give in the resolutions which they deem necessary: 1st, to continue the direct tax, and to increase it to 50 per cent.; 2d, to increase the duty on spirits by an additional duty of twelve and a half cent. on the gallon: 3d, to add 100 per cent. to the duties on sales by auction; 4th, to add 50 per cent. to the duty on the conveyance of papers and letters: and lastly, to impose a duty on different manufactured articles.

The estimate of the amount of the proposed increase and of the new duties was 11,635,000 dollars; while the revenue under the old system of taxation was only 10,800,000: thus, at one stroke doubling the taxation.

The list of the manufactured ar-

ticles that it was proposed to tax, and the amount of the tax laid on each article, give us some insight into the progress of manufactures in the United States: from this list it appears that the manufacture of hats is in a flourishing condition; the amount of the duties to be levied on them is 600,000 dollars: the next article points out the improvements which the United States have made in the manufacture of cotton: "cotton-yarn, spun by the aid of machinery, worked by steam or water, 400,000 spindles at 25 cents, 100,000 dollars."—The various manufactures of leather are calculated to consume 18 million pounds; and even the manufacture of goat and sheep skins to resemble Spanish leather, appears to be so far advanced as to be able to bear a tax. The next class of manufactures taxed are those of iron; viz. 800,000 tons of pig-iron, 100,000 tons of cast-iron, 100,000 tons of bar-iron. The quantity of beer, ale and porter manufactured and taxed is estimated at 6,000,000 dollars. The next article of taxation is a singular one: it is called the furniture tax; excluding beds, kitchen furniture, carpets and curtains of domestic manufacture; and also all furniture which on the whole is not of the value of 200 dollars. The estimate of this tax is made on a supposition that the United States contain 800,000 families; of which there are 259,000 exempt, as possessing less than 200 dollars worth; 300,000 families, who possess between 200 and 400 dollars; 100,000 who possess between 400 and 500: 75,000 who possess between 600 and 1000; 25,000 who possess between 1000 and 1500: 13,000 who possess between 1500 and 2000; 10,000 who possess between 2000 and 3000; 10,000 who possess between 3000 and 4000; the same number who possess between 4000 and 6000; 5000 who possess between 6000 and 9000; and 1000 who possess furniture worth above 9000 dollars. The next important article is paper, which however is taxed only to the amount of 30,000 dollars. The number of vats is estimated at 2000. Nails made by machinery appear to be of considerable consequence, as their weight is estimated at 20 million pounds, and they are taxed at one cent per pound. The number of gold watches is estimated at 250,000: of silver ones at the same number; and of playing cards at 400,000 packs.

After the finances, the next object which engaged the attention of the American government was the state of the army: a military committee was formed for this purpose, and on the 17th of October the secretary at war addressed a letter to them respecting the defects of the military establishment; in which he proposed that the military establishment then existing, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and made complete with the least possible delay; that a permanent force, consisting at least of 40,000 men, in addition, should be raised for the defence of the cities and frontiers; that the corps of engineers be enlarged; and that the ordnance department be amended. This letter was accompanied with explanatory observations, which detailed a plan of a still more formidable description, for augmenting the military force of the United States. In these observations there were several remarkable passages: it was distinctly stated, that if the United States sacrificed any right, or made any dishonourable concession

concession to Britain, the spirit of the nation would be broken. "The United States must relinquish no rights, or perish in the struggle; there is no intermediate ground to rest on. A concession on one point leads directly to the surrender of every other." "To bring the war to an honourable termination, we must not be content with defending ourselves. Different feelings must be touched and apprehensions excited in the British government." "It cannot be doubted that it is in the power of the United States to expel the British forces from this continent." From this view of the subject, the secretary at war concluded it would be necessary to bring into the field next campaign not less than 100,000 regular troops.

For this purpose a bill was brought into congress, entitled An act to provide for filling the ranks of the regular army by classifying the free white male population of the United States: the first section of this act directs, that all the white male inhabitants between 18 and 45 be classed—classes of 25 in each to be made under the authority of the assessors of the United States: where there are no assessors, under marshals; both of whom are to be bound under penalty to complete the classification in a given time; each class to furnish one able-bodied man between 18 and 45, to serve during the war; to be delivered over to the assessor or marshals, and by them to be delivered over to the United States' officers authorized to receive him: the marshals and assessors were to determine the precincts of each class, so that the property in each division shall be as nearly equal as possible: in case of failure, each class to pay a penalty; and if this was not paid in a certain number of days, it was to be collected from the taxable inhabitants of the district in proportion to property real and personal; the marshals and assessors were to act under the direction of the president of the United States. Any person aggrieved by excessive valuations may appeal in the manner as with respect to the direct taxes:—the money accruing from the penalties to be employed by the secretary of war to recruit the armies. The last section provides that any five white male inhabitants, being liable to military duty, who shall furnish a soldier between 18 and 45 during the war, shall be exempt from military duty during the war.

Whatever objections may be made to this bill, as enacting regulations for raising men, which very strongly resembled the conscription of France, it must be acknowledged that the very proposing it was a proof that the president felt himself strong, and that his popularity instead of having been diminished had been increased by the events of the war. Still, if this war had been in accordance with the sincere and zealous opinion of the inhabitants of the United States, it seems reasonable to suppose that they would have stepped forward as volunteers in defence of their country: the whole number proposed to be raised by this bill was only 100,000, not more than one-fourth of the volunteers who Great Britain said offered their services during the revolutionary war with France.

But events were taking place at Ghent, which rendered it extremely probable that there would be no necessity for carrying into effect the regulations of this bill. On the 8th of August the British and American

American commissioners met at this city: the former were lord Gambier, Mr. Goulbourn, one of the under secretaries of state for the colonial department, and Dr. Adams. The American commissioners were John Quincy Adams, J. A. Baynard, H. Clay, John Russel, and Albert Gallatin. At their first meeting the British commissioners gave in a list of the subjects in which it appeared to them that difference of opinion would arise between the American commissioners and themselves: these were,

1. The forcible seizure of mariners from on board merchant ships on the high seas, and in connection with it the right of the king of Great Britain to the allegiance of all his native subjects.

2. That the peace be extended to the Indian allies of Great Britain; and that the boundary of their territory be definitely marked out, as a permanent barrier between the dominions of Great Britain and the United States. An arrangement on this subject to be a *sine qud non* of a treaty of peace.

3. A revision of the boundary line between the British and American territories, with the view to prevent future uncertainty and dispute.

The British commissioners requested information whether the American commissioners were instructed to enter into negotiation on the above points? But before they desired any answer, they felt it right to communicate the intentions of their government as to the North American fisheries, viz. that the British government did not intend to grant to the United States gratuitously, the privileges formerly granted by treaty to them, of fishing within the limits of the British sovereignty, and of using the shores of the British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries.

At their next meeting, the American commissioners stated, that upon the 1st and 3d points they were provided with instructions; but not on the 2nd and 4th: that the American government had appointed separate commissioners to treat with the Indians for peace. They then presented further subjects considered by their government as suitable for discussion: these were,

1. A definition of blockade, and, as far as may be agreed, of other neutral and belligerent rights.

2. Certain claims of indemnity to individuals for captures and seizures preceding and subsequent to the war.

3. They further stated, that there were various other points to which their instructions extended, which might with propriety be objects of discussion, either in the negotiation of the peace, or in that of a treaty of commerce, which, in the case of a propitious termination of the present conferences, they were likewise authorized to conclude. That for the purpose of facilitating the first and most essential object of peace, they had discarded every subject which was not considered as peculiarly connected with that, and presented only those points which appeared to be immediately relevant to this negotiation.

At a subsequent meeting on the 10th of August, the British commissioners endeavoured to persuade the American commissioners, that it would be desirable that the American government should give up many places, of which they were still in possession, for the purpose of rendering the limits of Canada more precise and secure: but on this point the American commissioners

sioners were immoveable :—the British commissioners also expressed their surprise that no instructions had been given by the government of the United States, to treat at the congress of Ghent with respect to peace with the Indians.

The most important as well as the most difficult points in dispute between Great Britain and the United States were undoubtedly those relating to the impressment of seamen out of American ships, and the practice of blockade. With respect to the first, it was alleged on the part of Britain, that every state had a right to the allegiance and services of its own subjects; and that such services and allegiance could not be alienated by the individual. It was a well known fact, that many British seamen entered on board American ships. To these the British government claimed a right; and if they were not given up by the American government, it claimed a right to search for them, and take them out of the American ships on board of which they were. The American government, on the other hand, did not directly deny that a state had a right to the allegiance and services of its subjects; but they virtually denied that such allegiance and services could not be alienated; since they considered as citizens of the United States, and of course as ceasing to be subjects of the country in which they were born, all who had lived a certain number of years in those states. But they also complained that seamen, *bona fide*, and, according to the laws of all countries, American citizens, were taken out of American ships; and that they would not suffer their national flag to be insulted by searching their vessels on any pretext. In order to settle the difference with respect to impressment, the president expressed his willingness to exclude all British seamen from the vessels of the United States; and even to exclude all British subjects, except those already naturalized; and also to surrender all British seamen deserting from British vessels. This was certainly a fair proposition, if it could have been followed up with efficient practice; but it was well known that certificates of citizenship were easily obtained in the United States; and where these were shown, how was it to be determined, whether they were genuine or not? The admission of the president, however, was important in another point of view; as it distinctly involved an acknowledgement that every state has a right to the service and allegiance of its subjects, and that such allegiance and services cannot be alienated.

The question respecting blockade was equally difficult: it appears to us that we have stretched this right beyond what justice and common sense as well as the usages of nations will warrant, and even beyond our own acknowledged principle: we admit that no blockade is legal, except where it is supported by a sufficient force:—but were even all the ships of the British navy adequate to the efficient blockade of the immense extent of the sea coast of the United States? Certainly not; and to call that a blockade, where the ports are only occasionally and partially blocked up, seems to us a gross misapplication of words! In fact, instead of issuing a proclamation, intimating to neutrals that we had blockaded all the coast of the United States, we ought to have expressly declared, what was our intention and our practice, that we did not mean to

permit

permit neutrals to trade with the United States.

It would probably, therefore, have been impossible to have brought together the opinions of the British and American commissioners on these subjects, had not the peace which had taken place in Europe fortunately rendered their further discussion of no importance. Both governments, therefore, very wisely agreed to forgo points of dispute which could no longer be acted upon, and which by the return of peace had become mere abstract principles.

The other subjects, of any importance, were the admission of the Indians to the treaty, and the fixing a new frontier to Canada. We certainly asked a very improper thing, when we asked that the United States should not transgress on the Indian territory: in the course of events, the Indians must give place to the inhabitants of the United States; and it is desirable on every account that it should be so.

We may also say, that in the course of events Canada must fall into the possession of the United States; and we even doubt whether this would be any serious evil.—To those who consider colonies as very beneficial to the parent state, and their loss as weakening and injuring it to a great degree, we would cite what was the result of the loss of our American colonies: are not both we and they better for it? have we not less expense and more trade?—and is it not probable that the same would be the case if we lost Canada? Colonies always flourish best when independent; and as the real benefit which the parent state derives from them is derived from commerce with them, it is evident that this benefit will be increased in proportion as they flourish, while the expense of maintaining them will be done away. But to return to the immediate point in dispute between Great Britain and the United States, with regard to Canada: it was not to be expected that the latter would cede any part of its own territory, at least without an equivalent, especially if they had any design against Canada, and if this cession would make Canada more secure.

The negotiations at Ghent were very protracted, and at last terminated rather unexpectedly in a pacific manner. What brought about this termination is not well known: probably, on our side, the want of success, even after we had sent out reinforcements from the peninsula; the enormous expense of sending out troops to Canada, and keeping them there; the critical state of our finances; and the apprehension that, if the war were not speedily terminated, some of the European powers might take the part of the United States, especially on the subject of maritime rights. On the side of the United States, their government were disposed to peace, principally on account of the unpopularity of the president, the embarrassment of their commerce and finances, and the devastation to which their coasts were exposed. The terms of the treaty of peace (which was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, ratified immediately by the prince regent, and transmitted without delay to Washington, for the ratification of the president) were as follows:

1. All discussion of our maritime rights is waved on both sides.

2. Mr. Madison does not insist on our giving up the prizes captured in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees.

3. We

3. We leave our Indian allies as we found them in 1812.

4. We give up all our conquests, and particularly the province of Maine, of which our commanders took *permanent* possession by a solemn proclamation, and required from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to his majesty. We are, however, permitted to retain the islands in Passamaquoddy bay, which were ours by the treaty of 1783.

5. Commissioners are to be appointed on both sides to determine whether there shall be any and what safe and practicable communication between Quebec and Upper Canada, together with all other disputed questions of territory.

6. We are to be allowed the exclusive enjoyment of the right of fishing on our own coasts at Newfoundland, and of trading to our own settlements in the East Indies.

Prices

Prices of STOCKS for 1814.—N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1814.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	B. Long Ann.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	Imp. Ann.	India Stock.	3 p. ct. South S.	India Bonds.	Exch. Bills.	New Omn.	Omn.
Jan.	262 254½	67⅞ 62⅝	67⅛ 64⅝	82½ 77⅛	95¼ 95⅛	16½ 15⅝		61¼ -		193¾ 189¾	66 64⅛	7 pr. par.	7 pr. 5 pr.	20¾ pr. 12¼ pr.	20 pr.
Feb.	266 258	72⅜ 67	72¼ 66	86⅛ 82	99½ 95	18 16⅛		69⅞ 66	4⅛	201 195		8 pr. 6 pr.	7 pr. 5 pr.	30 pr. 20 pr.	
March	263½ 261½	71¼ 70½	70¾ 64⅜	85⅜ 84⅛	98¼ 97⅛	17¾	97½	70¾ 64⅛		199	71¼ 65⅛	12 pr. 6 pr.	6 pr. 4 pr.	28½ pr 15 pr.	
April	259 252	70⅞ 64	72½ 62	84 79⅞	98 91	16⅞ 15¾				198 196	68	16 pr. 2 dis.	9 pr. 6 dis.	28 pr. 11 pr.	
May	252 250	66⅞ 65⅛	67⅛ 66¼	82¾ 81	97½ 95	16⅞ 16	96	65½ 64⅛	3¼	196 194⅝	66⅛	11 pr. 9 pr.	6 pr. 2 pr.	21 pr. 19½ pr.	
June	258 248	70⅞ 66¼	67¾	86⅜ 81⅛		17 16⅛		67¼	3¾	194	70⅜ 66¼	10 pr. 3 pr.	7 pr. par.	25 21½	
July	260 258	69¼ 67⅞	69⅛ 67⅛	84⅞ 84⅛	97⅛ 97⅛	17 16⅛	96⅜	67¾ 66⅛	3⅞	195¼ 194½	68⅜ 67⅝	18 pr. 11 pr.	6 pr. 3 pr.	4 pr. 1 pr.	
Aug.	259 256½	68⅜ 65⅞	68⅛ 65½	84¼ 82⅛	97 95⅛	17 16⅞	96¼	66¼ 64¼	3⅞	196 194	68⅜ 65⅞	19 pr. 13 pr.	6 pr. 5 pr.	1½ pr. 2 dis.	
Sept.	254	66¼ 65¼	66⅛ 62¾	84 83	97 93¾	16⅛		64⅞ 63¾	3⅞	192	65⅞ 64¼	13 pr. 7 pr.	3 pr. 1 dis.	1 dis 6¼ dis.	
Oct.	250 248	64½ 63⅛	66¾ 64⅛	81½ 80	96½ 95¾	16⅝ 16				189¼ 188¼	64¾ 63⅜	16 pr. 9 pr.	4 pr. 2 dis.	1¾ dis. 4½ dis.	
Nov.	249½ 245	65⅛ 62⅛	66¾ 63⅛	84½ 79¾	97⅛ 95⅛	16½ 15⅞	93 92⅛			188¾ 188	64¼ 63½	17 pr. 15 pr.	5 pr. 4 pr.	1¼ dis. 4¼ dis.	
Dec.	250 248½	65⅛ 64½	66¾	82¾ 81¾	97½	16⅛ 16⅛	93¾ 93¾	63⅛ 63	3⅛		66 64½	19 pr. 15 pr.	5 pr. 2 pr.	1⅝ dis. 2⅛ dis.	

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1814.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

For the Year 1814.

DECEMBER 31, 1813.

MR. chamberlain Clark, on admitting sir Alexander Cochrane to the freedom of the city, at his office in Guildhall, addressed him as follows:—"Sir Alexander Cochrane, I give you joy; and in the name of the right honourable the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, return you their unanimous thanks for the great skill and bravery which you displayed at the capture or destruction of the French fleet on the 6th day of February, 1806, and for the very eminent discipline preserved in the British fleet on that memorable day.—Agreeably likewise to a resolution of the court passed with the same unanimity, you have been admitted to the freedom of the metropolis of the British empire. And as a further mark of the good opinion this city entertains of your exemplary conduct, I have the honour to present to you this sword.—Many and eventful years have elapsed since your prowess first attracted the notice of the court. The action which they have recorded has been succeeded by services brilliant and important. The capture of the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, from our late friends, but now infatuated enemies, the Danes: the surrender of Mariegalante, the capture of Martinique, and of the ship d'Hautpoult: the destruction of the French frigates and stores under the batteries of Basseterre: and the surrender of Guadaloupe: will hand down with honour the name of sir Alexander Cochrane to the latest posterity."—Sir Alexander Cochrane, in reply, expressed the high sense of gratification he felt for the distinguished honour done him by the corporation of London in presenting him with the freedom of its city, for which he begged leave to return his most sincere thanks; he received, also, he said, the sword voted to him with the most grateful feelings of pleasure and satisfaction, assuring them that he should be ever ready to draw it in defence of his country; and would transmit it to his children for the same honourable purpose.

BRITISH NAVY.

The total amount of ships is now 1032 (including those in ordinary, repairing, &c.), of which there are in commission 116 sail of the line, 20 from 50 to 44 guns, 157 frigates, 110 sloops of war, 7 fire-ships, 199 brigs, 40 cutters, 50 schooners—making the total in commission 768.

JANUARY, 1814.

"*Windsor Castle, Jan.* 1.

"His majesty's bodily health continues good, but his disorder is undiminished."

3. The density of the atmosphere during the day, and the heavy fog at night, during the whole of last week, in London and many miles round, have been very remarkable, and occasioned several accidents. On Monday night, the mails and other coaches were delayed unusually long, and proceeded on their way with great difficulty and danger. Many coaches were overturned; the York mail twice, near Ware, notwithstanding the guard and passengers walked to keep it in the road. The Maidenhead coach, on its return from town, on Tuesday evening, missed the road, and was also overturned. A daughter of Mr. Griffiths, a publican in Deptford, fell into the Surrey canal and was drowned. On Tuesday night, a watchman in the parish of Marylebone fell down an area, and was found dead the next morning; and on Thursday night a serjeant of the West Kent militia garrisoned in the Tower, fell into the river, and was drowned.—There has been no instance of such a fog as last week pervaded the metropolis, extending many miles round, since the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, when this country was visited by a fog which had not been equalled for a century before, lasting eight days. On Saturday afternoon, between two and four, the obscurity was greater than it had been during the day-time since the commencement, and the evening was equally bad with any that had preceded. Yesterday, however, the fog disappeared, in consequence of an occasional change of the wind.

4. His royal highness the prince regent arrived at Belvoir castle this day. The duke of Rutland's tenants and yeomen of the county went out four miles to meet the prince, and formed a procession in advance to the castle. The number of persons assembled between Denton and the seat of his grace the duke of Rutland was immense. It consisted of horse and foot, with females of interesting appearance, conducted by brothers, mothers, and family connexions, wearing their best rustic attire, while others of higher rank in society appeared in more fashionable garb. They came with the design of drawing the prince's carriage up the hill to the castle, as a testimony of loyalty and respect. It was difficult to prevent the completion of their wishes, which was, however, denied, under the impression that accidents might have happened, injurious to the good folks themselves.—The prince was received by his grace of Rutland amidst a royal salute from cannon on the battlements of the castle. A shout of joy made by the spectators increased the sound of ordnance; at the same time the royal standard was proudly displayed on the Staunton tower. The duke of Rutland received the prince regent at the door of the castle; but the key of Staunton tower, made of gold, and of exquisite workmanship, was delivered to the illustrious guest in the drawing-room, soon after his arrival, on a cushion of crimson velvet, by the rev. Dr. Staunton, by etiquette of the following order: — The chief strong-hold of the castle is an out-work defence called Staunton-tower; the command of which is held by the family of that name, in the manor of Staunton, by tenure of castle-guard, by which they were anciently required to appear with soldiers for the defence of this strong post, in case of danger; or, if required, to be called upon by the lord of the castle. It has been the custom, when any of the royal family honoured Belvoir castle with their presence,

sence, for the chief of the Staunton family personally to appear and present the key of the strong-hold to such distinguished personage. This ceremony was performed by the rev. doctor, by virtue of his tenure, with an appropriate speech, to which the prince regent returned a most gracious reply.

4. The day of festivity on occasion of the baptism of the infant marquis was also the birth-day of the duke, and was ushered in and marked accordingly: His royal highness rode again round the domains, and the duke of York took the diversion of shooting. The infant was baptized at six o'clock in the evening, by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the great gallery, in the presence of the whole of the nobility and gentry at the castle: the sponsors were the prince regent, and the duke of York; and the duchess dowager of Rutland, proxy for the queen. The noble party soon after sat down to dinner. The health of the infant heir to the house of Rutland was drunk at the proposal of the prince. The duke of Rutland returned thanks to the distinguished visitor with great feeling; and his royal highness in reply assured the noble lord that he should never forget the respectful manner in which he had been received at Belvoir castle. The noble host then gave the health of the prince, which was received with enthusiasm, and succeeded by a dignified reply. Mr. Douglas, the duke's butler, entertained the tenantry with an oval cistern of punch containing 50 gallons.

CURIOUS STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS.

In Great Britain the number of men capable of rising in arms *en masse*, from 15 to 60 years of age, is 2,744,847, or about 4 in every 17 males.

There are about 90,000 marriages yearly, and of 63 marriages, 8 only are observed to be without offspring.

In Great Britain there die every year about 332,700; every month about 25,592; every week 6,398: every day 914, and every hour about 40.

The proportion of the deaths of women to that of men is as 50 to 54.

Married women live longer than those who are not married.

In country places there are on an average 4 children born of each marriage; in cities and large towns the proportion is 7 to every 2 marriages.

The married women are to all the female inhabitants of the country, as 1 to 3; and the married men to all the males as 3 to 5.

The number of widows is to that of widowers as 3 to 1; but that of widows who re-marry to that of widowers, as 4 to 5.

The number of old persons who die during the cold weather is to those who die during the warm season as 7 to 4.

Half of all that are born die before they attain 17 years.

The number of twins is to that of single births as 1 to 65.

The proportion of males born to that of females is as 26 to 25.

The total of the male population of Gt. Britain in 1801 was 5,450,292, and of females 5,492,354; which is the proportion of 100 females to 99 males.

Taking the whole population of the metropolis, according to the recent enumeration, at 1,099,104, the proportion of males to females is as 100 to 128.

There are in Great Britain 6,000,000 of males, and in Ireland 2,000,000, of whom 807,000 were

in 1812 in arms, that is, in the proportion of one to ten.

It appears, from tables, from 1772 to 1787, that nearly one in eight, of all cases of insanity, are imputable to religious fanaticism.

MURDER OF A BRITISH OFFICER IN SPAIN.

The following letter was written by a gentleman in the Peninsula:

"*Vittoria, Jan.* 9, 1814.

"Sir,—An event has lately occurred at Vittoria likely to excite the most painful sensations at home, and which will place the character of our Spanish allies in a very unfavourable point of view.

"The honourable captain S. Gore, 94th regiment, an officer of the most amiable and engaging manners, of a disposition the most conciliating, and connected to some of the most distinguished noble families in Great Britain, has been inhumanly murdered in his own quarters, by a party of armed men acting under the authority of the magistracy. Between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, having proceeded to his house, and, it is said, refusing to show any authority, they had recourse to extreme acts of violence, seizing him by the collar and stabbing him in many places with bayonets.

"Having been rescued from the ruffians by his servant, although his sword was broken, and his pistol missed fire, yet he succeeded in driving them down stairs, and out of the house; but as he was endeavouring to close the street door, a volley was fired, which wounded him mortally in two places.

"If any thing is wanting to give a more horrible feature to this foul transaction, it will be found in the infamous and unfeeling effrontery of the civil magistrates, who have written to the British commandant, expressing their hope that the fate of this officer may be a warning to others, and endeavouring to justify this inhuman murder.

"As it is provided by the new constitution of Spain, that a man's house is his castle, which no one is at liberty to enter without his permission, except in two cases, viz. (on conviction of murder or treason), of neither of which was this officer guilty; and as assassinations and other acts of violence, under cover of legal authority, are becoming very frequent, it becomes essentially necessary, to prevent further mischief, to bring the instigators and perpetrators of this barbarous massacre to condign punishment.—It is but justice to the Spanish military officers, and indeed to almost all the respectable inhabitants of Vittoria, to state, that they seem to regard this unjustifiable outrage with the deepest concern and regret."

On the 4th of November last the Stroud mail-coach was robbed of a parcel containing Cirencester bank notes to the amount of 2,800*l.* The robbery is supposed to have been committed when the coach was between Slough and London. Some time after, two of the stolen notes for 10*l.* each were presented for payment at Messrs. Masterman and Co. bankers, White Hart-court, they being the agents in London of Messrs. Cripps, the Cirencester bankers. They were refused payment. In a short time after two notes for 10*l.* each, part of the stolen notes, were presented at the Cirencester bank by Mr. Mountain, a respectable attorney at Cirencester, which were refused payment. Mr. Mountain said he was agent for Mr. Gilbert Davis, a fishmonger, of Gloucester, and had received them of

of him.—These notes, on comparing the dates and numbers, proved to be the same that were refused payment by Messrs. Masterman in London.—An inquiry took place at Gloucester respecting Mr. Gilbert Davis having possession of these two notes, and also two others; and on Mr. Gilbert Davis being taken before the mayor of Gloucester upon the business, the mayor held him to bail, to answer for the offence of having the stolen notes in his possession without being able to give a satisfactory account of how he became possessed of them.—Since that time, Mr. Joseph Cripps has discovered a connection between Mr. Gilbert Davis, of Gloncester, and Benjamin Benjamin and Lewis Benjamin of Duke's-place, who keep a public-house, and trade in fish with Gilbert Davis. They also carried on other transactions together; and the suspicion was so strong that the Benjamins were concerned in the stolen Cirencester bank-notes, that Lavender, Taunton, and Vickery went to Duke's-place, and took them into custody, and searched their premises; but nothing of a suspicious nature was found, and there did not appear any symptoms of guilt.—They underwent an examination at the office, on a representation that Mr Gilbert Davis had received the notes from the Benjamins, which they denied.—Mr. Edward Davis, brother of Gilbert Davis, stated that his brother had returned to the Benjamins a number of the Cirencester notes. On the 22d of December last he was at Gloucester, and assisted his brother in packing up two salmon, and a paper parcel between the fish containing thirty-five Cirencester bank-notes for 10*l.* each, a number of five guinea notes of the Cirencester bank, amounting to 386*l.* 15*s.* They sent a letter with the parcel, which was directed to Lewis Benjamin, Duke's-place; it was sealed, and taken to the Booth Hall Inn, and booked to be sent by the coach.—Benjamin Benjamin admitted receiving the parcel, but denied that it contained any thing but the salmon.—The Benjamins were committed for further examination, and in the mean time Gilbert Davis was summoned from Gloucester to give evidence. He accordingly attended on Monday, and the Benjamins were brought up to be examined again.—On Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, presenting G. Davis with the testament to be sworn, he refused to take the usual oath. On being asked his reason, he replied, that he had been advised so to do by his counsel; which Mr. Andrews avowed to be correct, stating as his reason for giving that advice, that as Mr. Gilbert Davis was under recognizance to appear to take his trial upon the same business, he could not safely give his evidence; and this was recorded as Gilbert Davis's objection. Mr. Andrews stated that there would be no objection to his client giving evidence; provided it was understood that he was to be relieved from his recognizance to appear at Gloucester, and to be received as an evidence for the crown. The prosecutor not accepting the proposition, Gilbert Davis was ordered to the bar with the Benjamins.—After hearing counsel as to admitting the prisoners to bail, which was refused, they were fully committed for trial.

ROBBING COACHES.

The Buckingham stage-coach has been in the practice of carrying several bankers' parcels, for a number of years past, to and from

London; and though the greatest precautions were usually taken, it has been lately robbed in a very extraordinary manner. The coach brought a parcel from the Aylesbury bank, containing bills and notes to a considerable amount, supposed to be several thousands, directed to Messrs. Praeds in Fleet-street. It was put into the strong box, made for conveying valuable parcels, which was locked and strapped, and the coachman put the key into his pocket as usual, and the box was placed under him. When he got to the Green Man and Still in Oxford-street, he opened the box to take out another valuable parcel directed to another banker, at which time the parcel from the Aylesbury bank to Messrs. Praeds was safe. The coach stopped again opposite the Bell and Crown Inn, where a passenger left the coach, and took two parcels with him out of the front boot, at which time the coachman had every reason to believe that the box was safe. The coach did not stop again till it got to the King's-Arms Inn, where it puts up. The coachman went into the office to settle his way-bill and accounts, which engaged him about ten minutes; and in the mean time the coach was turned round, as usual, by a man employed in the yard. The coachman then went to unlock the box to take out the parcel directed to Messrs. Praeds, when he discovered that the top of the box had been forced off, and the parcel taken away. The top of the box could not then be found, but on Monday morning it was found near the coach in the yard.

14. George Lentz alias G. H. Douglas was indicted for having forged and uttered (knowing it to be forged) a draft for 187*l.*18*s.* with intent to defraud sir J. Esdaile and Co. and Eliza Elvey. The prosecutrix, who is a shop-keeper in Bond-street, deposed, that the prisoner came to her house and bargained for a valuable dressing-case, and some other expensive articles: as he had the appearance of a man of fashion, she did not suspect him of any fraud, and carried the goods according to the address which he had given—14, Charlotte-street, Grosvenor-square. The prisoner was at the door, and delivered the check in question, which, on application, was refused payment at the banker's. One of the clerks of Esdaile's house proved that no person of the name of G. H. Douglas kept cash there.—Harding, a musician, proved that the prisoner's name was Lentz. His father was a respectable musician, and the son was an excellent harp-player. Taunton, the officer who apprehended him, found at his lodgings the dressing-case and duplicates of the other property. The prisoner acknowledged the transaction; but said that the check was written by a companion, who called himself Spencer Heberden.—He was found Guilty.

CRIPPS VERSUS BENJAMIN.

15. Mr. Alley, counsel for the prosecution, stated to the jury the immense importance of this case to the commercial world, and to bankers most particularly. Messrs. Masterman and Co. sent by the guard of the Stroud coach cash-notes of Messrs. Cripps's bank of Cirencester, amounting to 2,792*l.* 10*s.* which were stolen from the coach, either in London, or between London and Slough, on the night of the 4th of November. In the course of the first week in December, six of the 10*l.* notes were presented to Messrs. Masterman, who refused the payment of them. Four of these

these notes Messrs. Cripps traced, through various channels, to Gilbert Davis, a fishmonger in Gloucester, who refusing to state from whom they were received, a search-warrant was obtained against him, when it was discovered that the said G. Davis had, a few days previous, sent a basket to Louis Benjamin, who keeps Howard's coffee-house, in Duke's-place, London, containing two salmon, and 386*l.* 15*s.* of these stolen notes, with a bill of parcels of the fish, sealed up in a piece of brown paper with the notes, and tied to one of the salmon. That it would be proved by the said G. Davis, that he received on the 28th of November from the said L. Benjamin, at his coffee-house, 452*l.* 10*s.* of these notes, in exchange for sundry bills, seven of which he had paid away in the course of his business.

Two clerks of Messrs. Masterman proved the payment of the notes, and the delivery of them to the guard, on the 4th of November; but it was necessary likewise to prove, that these four notes which were produced in court, and which were obtained from Davis, were a part of the parcel delivered to the guard.

Mr. Masterman, junior, having the sole custody of these notes after they were paid, had alone the power of proving this fact. He being a quaker, and objecting to be sworn, put an end to this important cause, which in all probability would have led to a discovery of the mode by which these depredations, now become so frequent, are committed, and the channels by which these stolen notes are put into circulation.

CHAMBERLAIN VERSUS WILLIAMSON.

21. This was an action for breach of promise of marriage, brought by the administrator and father of a young woman, against the defendant, which was tried before Mr. Justice Bayley, at the assizes for Gloucester, and in which a verdict for 200*l.* was given to the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court, whether such an action was in point of law maintainable. The circumstances of the case appeared to be as follow: The plaintiff having met with some losses in life, became overseer of the poor-house of Cirencester, and set his daughter, the intestate, up in a little school in the neighbourhood: she was about 20 years of age, and was described as a girl of great sensibility. The defendant, John Williamson, had accumulated an ample fortune by trade, and had occasion to meet her at her father's house, the defendant being guardian of the poor. Although very considerably older than the intestate, he professed to be in love with her, both by visits, and in a series of those artificial rhapsodies, which men of vulgar minds and hearts, which only affect feeling, mistake for effusions of tenderness. These letters, many of which were read at the trial, proved that the defendant had promised her marriage, and thus induced her to give up the emoluments of her school, the expenses of which were defrayed by her father to support herself and her sisters. But the intestate's answers to these letters, and other evidence, proved that his wickedness did not end here: he seduced her, as it appeared, as much by potions and drugs, into the description of which we forbear to enter, as by his promises, and then affected indifference towards her, accused her of former inconstancy, and deserted her. The intestate was thrown upon a sick bed, lost her reason, and died. The plaintiff, her father, could not bring his

action

of seduction, as his daughter did not live under the parental roof, and performed for him no personal service; and although it was he that advanced money to carry on the school, yet the profits thereof were in fact the property of the daughter. He was, therefore, advised to administer to his daughter's effects, and sue the defendant for breach of promise of marriage; and the question now before the court was, whether such an action could be maintained by an administrator. Of this the learned judge had doubts at the trial; and, after reserving the point, directed the jury to give the plaintiff such damages as they would have given to the intestate herself, had she been alive to bring the action. There were, therefore, two questions now made: 1. Whether the action was maintainable, and 2. Supposing it were, whether this direction of the learned judge was correct. Mr. Jervis and Mr. Peake argued the affirmative of these questions, on the part of the plaintiff; and Mr. Abbott the negative, on the part of the defendant.

Lord Ellenborough at length said, the case before the court was quite new, and it was very fit they should look into all the authorities, and give judgement hereafter.

On Tuesday James Harrison and James Chilvers were indicted on suspicion of having stolen three planks of mahogany, and ten bed pillars, value 5*l.* the property of William Dawes, on the 23d of November. The facts which were collected from the testimony of several witnesses were these: Mr. Dawes, a timber-merchant, having missed the articles mentioned in the indictment, gave information at Hatton Garden, and stated that he suspected the prisoners, who were partners in the business of bedstead making. The prisoners had two shops, one at Seward-street, Brick-lane, and another at Back-hill, and were in very embarrassed circumstances. At these places part of the wood was found, which was positively sworn by one of the witnesses to have been a plank cut from a log in the prosecutor's possession. The rest was found at a mahogany turner's, to whom it had been given to turn and sell by the prisoner Harrison. The prisoners alleged, in their defence, that they did not know in what manner the wood had come into their premises, and that they did not know it to have been stolen. Several witnesses gave them good characters. The jury found them both Guilty.

MYSTERIOUS ROBBERY AND FIRE.

Jan. 24.—It was reported that a house in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly, had been robbed of cash to the amount of 5 or 600*l.* wearing apparel, &c. and at the same time wilfully set on fire. The following circumstances have transpired. The family consisted of Mr. Sturman, the occupier of the house, his wife, their child, and one female servant. On Tuesday week, between one and two o'clock, Mr. and Mrs. S. and child left the house for the day; they told the servant she might go out for an hour or two during their absence. She left the house about four in the afternoon, when every thing was safe. She returned at eight o'clock in the evening, and on opening the street-door, she discovered that the house was on fire. She gave the alarm, an engine with several firemen arrived, and the flames were extinguished. The house was ascertained to be on fire in several different parts. The wainscot in the back parlour on the ground floor, the dining-

dining-room, and the stairs carpeting from the dining-room to the drawing-room on the ground-floor, were all burnt, or on fire at the same time; faggots were found in the kitchen; pieces of wood, quantities of matches, and various combustibles were found in different parts, evidently, from the way in which they were placed, to assist and increase the fire. In March last, Mr. S. made an insurance at the Globe Insurance office, for 3000*l.* on household furniture, &c. From the suspicious circumstances attending the breaking out of the fire, the conductors of that office thought it right that a full investigation should take place. For this purpose they had Mr. and Mrs. S. with their books and papers brought to Bow-street, where they underwent a very deliberate examination. They were examined separately. Mr. S. on his examination, said that he and his wife had been married about three years; they had taken the house in Half Moon-street, and let it ready furnished. The cash and bank notes he had by him for the last two years. He could not tell the time he had last examined it, nor of what description of bank of England notes it was composed, but believed there was one or two 100*l.* notes, and the remainder made up of 30*l.* 20*l.* and 10*l.* notes. These he kept in a secretary in his book-case. There was also from ten to twenty pounds in silver, and three half-guineas. The cash he kept in his writing-desk. He was asked, how it was that he kept such a large sum of money in the house without frequently examining it to see that it was safe; or that he did not lodge it in a banker's hands, or purchase into the funds, where it would be producing interest? The reason he assigned for keeping the money by him for two years was, that he had been out of employment during that time, and had not put it out to interest, because he was afraid he should not be able to get it as soon as he might want it, as it was his intention to go into business, and he had been making arrangements to go into the coal trade with a distant relation, but he had disappointed him. He had since had an intention of taking an hotel. He and his wife were in the practice of going out without leaving any person in the house. They had no particular motive for leaving the house empty on Tuesday: he went out for the purpose of meeting with a relation whom he expected to arrive from Cambridge. His wife and child accompanied him, and he parted with them at her sister's in Broad-court, Long-acre, and he went on to Clarence-row, Hackney, to inquire after his aunt Drage; but his relation had not come from Cambridge. On his return he dined at the Telegraph chop-house in Bishopsgate-street, and called for his wife in Broad-court, and they got home about nine o'clock, when they found their house on fire.—Mrs. Sturman was then brought in. She confirmed her husband's statement in most particulars; and stated, that she had lived house-keeper and her husband steward in a gentleman's family. At that time she had about 370*l.* in 3 per cents. which she gave her husband permission to sell out. She was asked as to the money they had in the house, and, after some questioning, agreed in the sum stated by her husband, but did not know it of her own knowledge, but that he told her so. The gold watch said to be lost was hers, and was made her a present of by lady Villiers, sister of the earl of Jersey. She stated that they let their house for ten guineas a week,

it

it having very handsome furniture, which had cost 1,400*l.* or 1,500*l.* all which she believed her husband had paid. She left her bunch of keys, amounting to about thirty, which locked up their property, on the mantle-piece in the parlour, which she was in the practice of doing; having had a good character with their servant, they were not suspicious; the girl had not lived with them a fortnight. Mrs. S. acknowledged that she did not act so when she was housekeeper. They were both questioned as to taking a favourite canary bird out of the house on Tuesday; which they both denied.

Mr. Denham, the secretary to the Globe Insurance-office, stated, that he had ascertained that a lady, who had formerly lodged with them, wished to go to their house again, and to enter on Tuesday; but they had declined taking her, and she was gone to lodge in Piccadilly. Mr. D. making a charge against them on oath, that he suspected them to have been concerned in setting fire to their house, they were ordered to be detained in custody, and to be kept separate.

On Monday the business underwent a further investigation, when Mary Wright, their servant, stated, that she had been in the prisoner's service on the day of the fire nine days. On the Tuesday morning, when her mistress came down to breakfast, she told her that she and her master were going out for the day, and she might go out for a few hours, but to return home at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, desiring her to take care and secure the house properly before she left it. When she was going, her master asked her if she knew how to lock and unlock the street-door, it having one of Bramah's patent locks: she tried, but could not accomplish it; he taught her to do it; he told her when she left the house to leave a lamp burning in the passage, that evil-disposed persons might not suppose the house was empty; her master went out at one o'clock. She was asked whether she was sure that he left the house. She replied that she saw his back, and had no reason to doubt it; she left the house at four, having first fastened the window shutters, and left a lamp in the passage, with the additional precaution of a tinder-box close to it, in case it went out. She did not stay out so late as her mistress told her; if she had, there is no doubt but the whole house would have been burnt to the ground. She returned nearly an hour sooner than she was told, which she stated to be twenty minutes before eight o'clock. On her opening the street-door, she discovered that the lamp was not burning as she left it, but that the house was on fire. Captain Kempster's servant, who resides at the next door, assisted her with some pails of water, by which, together with the exertions of some gentlemen, the fire was got out. During her absence, the clothes-horses and a pair of wooden steps had been brought out of the kitchen, and placed against the wainscot of the parlour, near the stairs, with a quantity of matches on them. The door-posts and other parts of the back parlour were in flames; a hat-box filled with wood and paper was near the flames. Some dusters, pin-cloths, frocks, and other clothes, of the child, and also some rags, all of which had been dipped in turpentine, were strewed in different parts of the parlour, passage, and stairs. The fire of the staircase was distinct from that of the back parlour,

lour, and both were burning separately. The front parlour was strewed with wood, such as is used for lighting fires, in bundles; but the strings were cut, and the wood distributed about so as to make a train for the fire, mixed with different articles that had been dipped in turpentine, and matches in different parts. They only kept one fire in the house: when she had done her work she sat with her master and mistress in the front parlour. When she left the house there was scarcely any fire in the stove, and on her return there was a very large one, with two pokers in it, both of them were red hot. The curtains of the parlour had been drawn since she left home. She shut all the shutters before she left home; the first and second floors were in the same state as she left them; her master and mistress's bed-room, on the third floor, was not; the shutters were put to which she left open, and the window was open which she left shut. Out of this room the hat-boxes and band-boxes were taken, and filled with combustible articles, to assist the fire on the ground floor. From the closeness with which the house had been shut up, it was evident that the planner of the horrid deed intended that the effect of the flames should not be seen till the house was generally in flames.—The witness was asked as to her master and mistress having a favourite canary bird; which she admitted, and that it was in the house on the Tuesday; the cage hanging in its usual place in the parlour; and on her return in the evening, when she observed that the curtains of the window were not in the same state as when she went out, she discovered that the cage and bird were gone. She had no doubt of its being there on the Tuesday morning, as she recollected her master sending her for some seeds for the bird.

The insurance which the prisoner had made at the Globe office for 3000*l.* included 1500*l.* on the house, of which he had a lease, and a clause in it compelled him to do that. Under all the circumstances, the magistrates committed him for trial, and admitted his wife to bail. Sturman was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed.

26. On Wednesday, Benjamin Ratty was indicted for stealing a quantity of linen from a poor woman named Hudson, at Merton. The prisoner, who is only twenty-three years of age, has already served one seven years on board the hulks, wanting only six months, which part of his sentence had been remitted by the crown, and which six months expired this day, when he was again convicted, and sentenced to another seven years servitude on board the hulks.—After the chairman had pronounced the sentence of the court, the prisoner addressed him as follows:—"My lord, if I escape from the hulks, and that I can do once within a month, I will be the death of that d—d old rascal Tibbalds, [the constable of Tooting, who apprehended him,] who deserves hanging more than I do."—The chairman thanked him for his candid declaration, but assured him at the same time that most particular attention should be paid to him, and every possible precaution used to prevent his carrying his meditated escape into effect.

28.—The officers of the national guard of Paris, in number 800, had the honour of being to-day presented to the emperor, in the saloon of the marshals. When his majesty passed on his way to mass, he was saluted

saluted with unanimous cries of "*Vive l'empereur!*" On his return, they were reiterated with new force. The officers divided into legions, forming a vast circle, in the midst of which the emperor placed himself. Then appeared a scene the most affecting, the most sublime. The emperor, addressing himself to the officers of the national guards, told them that a part of the French territory was invaded; that he was going to place himself at the head of his army; and that he hoped, with the assistance of God and the valour of his troops, to repulse the enemy beyond the frontiers. At this moment his majesty's looks were tenderly fixed upon the empress and the king of Rome, whom his august mother carried in her arms; and his majesty added, with a tremulous voice, that he confided his wife and his son to the love of his faithful city of Paris; that he gave it the highest mark of his esteem, in leaving under its protection the objects of his dearest affections; that he hoped his capital would not be polluted by the presence of the enemy: that, however, if in the grand manœuvres which were preparing, some hordes of light troops dared to insult its barriers, he was sure that its brave inhabitants would not forget that their sovereign had committed its defence to them.

FEBRUARY.

FRENCH BANK.

4. The national bank of France has encountered difficulties amounting nearly to a stoppage of payment.—It appears that on the 18th of January the directors assembled in a general committee, to deliberate on the situation in which the commerce of Paris now is; and in the report published of their proceedings, it is asserted, that they had in ready money something more than fourteen millions of francs (about 600,000*l.*); but that "the eagerness which the holders of notes showed, to come and require payment of them, would exhaust in a few days all the cash in the bank." They observed, that the greatest part of their money was in gold; that gold was at a considerable premium; and that this circumstance would naturally render the draining of the bank the more rapid, as the gold would infallibly disappear from circulation. Under these circumstances they resolved not to pay more than 500,000*l* francs (about 20,000*l.*) per day; and in order to make the restriction more effectual, the prefect of police had announced, by order of Bonaparte, "that no one could apply to the bank of France to change bank-notes, unless he were the bearer of a number which shall have been delivered to him by the mayor of his quarter!!"

NEGLIGENCE OF CARMEN AND WAGGONERS.

6. An inquisition was held on Thursday, in Hackney, on the body of James Triggs, of Hackney. On Wednesday morning, the deceased, who was a farmer, was driving his chaise-cart leisurely along Grove-street, when a coal-waggon, heavily laden, and drawn by four horses, but unaccompanied by any driver, was passing along the road in an opposite direction. The deceased drew as close to the edge of the road as possible; but the two carriages came in contact, and from the shock, Mr. Triggs was thrown between the wheels of the waggon on his back, and the hinder wheel passed over his chest.

Jordan,

Jordan, a carman, who was near the spot, ran to his assistance, to whom the deceased declared that his breast-bone was crushed to pieces: looking round, he saw the waggoner running about 30 yards in the rear of the waggon. The deceased was taken home upon a plank, and died in four hours from the injuries. The driver, with his companion, had stopped at a public-house, where they remained about five minutes, and had a pint of porter. The horses started of their own accord. As soon as the men knew the waggon was gone, they followed it, and called out to the horses, but too late to prevent the mischief. Grove-street is a place but little frequented by carriages. The coroner left it to the jury to consider, whether it was a case of manslaughter or of accident. To render the act criminal, it must be of such a nature, that fatal mischief would be the probable result. The waggon and horses were a forfeiture to the crown; but, on assessing the value, the jury might exercise a discretion as to the degree of culpability, if they were of opinion crime did not exist.—The jury found a verdict of Accident; but laid a deodand on the waggon and horses to the value of 50*l*.

SWEDEN.

The crown prince of Sweden has arrived at Cologne, on his way to Rheims. His royal highness arrived on the 10th, at night. He passed the Rhine amidst the sound of cannon, and both banks resounded with the acclamations of the inhabitants. The whole population of Cologne went out to meet him at the river side; and never was the enthusiasm of a people delivered from an oppressive yoke, expressed with more unanimity and ardour. This great captain's co-operation with the allied chiefs already in France cannot fail to prove of high importance to the common cause. The advanced guard of the Swedish troops was expected to reach the Rhine on the 21st; and it was the intention of the crown prince to unite the whole of his army as speedily as possible on a line between Soissons and Rheims.

NORWAY.

By a vessel from Christiansand, letters of the 9th instant are stated to have been received, containing intelligence of a declaration of independence on the part of the people of Norway, in order to prevent themselves from being transferred to the dominion of Sweden. It is stated, that during the negotiations between the crown prince of Sweden and the Danish government, the Norwegian nobility and gentry, without communicating their views to the Danish ministers, sent a confidential message to prince Christian, requesting his immediate presence in Norway. His royal highness instantly obeyed the summons, and passed over to Norway in the disguise of a sailor. Whilst the negotiation was pending, he occupied himself in visiting the different fortresses, and holding clandestine meetings with the leading personages in various parts of the country. Every preparation was, consequently, made for the line of conduct intended to be pursued, should their sovereign, yielding to the necessity of his affairs, consent to the union of Norway with Sweden. The instant the event, which they had anticipated, was ascertained to have taken place, the members of the secret associations threw aside all disguise, and, dispersing themselves all over the kingdom,

kingdom, roused the lower orders to resistance. They were every where received with enthusiasm; and the result has been, that on the 9th inst. prince Christian was solemnly proclaimed king of Norway, and the country declared independent. It is added, that a flag of truce was to sail on the 9th for this country, with dispatches for government, apprizing them of the establishment of the new order of things, and soliciting their mediation with Sweden.

MRS. CLARKE.

9. The celebrated Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke was brought up to receive sentence in the court of king's bench, for an infamous libel on Mr. Fitzgerald, chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland. She had suffered judgement to go by default. The libel was contained in a letter addressed to that gentleman, and published as a pamphlet. The attorney general, in support of the prosecution, characterized the libel as a most flagrant attempt to extort money; the writer declaring that she would not permit ingratitude, or neglect of promises given to dupe, or cajole her, to go unpunished, and announcing, by way of hint, the publication of some volumes of letters, to be followed by others as "circumstances required." Mr. Brougham addressed the court in mitigation of punishment.—Mr. Justice Le Blanc then passed the judgement of the court,—That Mrs. Clarke be confined nine months in the Marshalsea, and give securities in 400*l.* to keep the peace for three years; and that William Mitchell, aged 70, who had, at the request of his friend's son, put his name to the libel, as printer, without receiving any emolument therefrom, but who had refused to give up the name of those who had made a tool of him, be imprisoned in the same gaol four months.

FIRE AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

12. This morning, about six o'clock, a fire broke out in the Custom-house, in Lower Thames-street, which burnt with great fury, and in a few hours destroyed that old but useful pile of building. The fire is understood to have originated from a fire flue of one of the offices of business, adjoining a closet on the two-pair of stairs attached to the house-keeper's apartments. There can be little doubt of the fire having been slumbering in a latent state throughout the principal part of the previous evening. The porter of the house was the first person who discovered it. He was going upstairs, and when on the second floor heard a crackling of fire, and saw a flame breaking from the ceiling; he instantly rushed into the room, which was that in which colonel Kelly slept, whom he found standing by the bed-feet, the curtains in a blaze, and the flame pouring from the above-mentioned closet. By this time the whole room was on fire, and a Mr. Drinkald had given the alarm from the quay, towards which the windows of this room looked. The porter hastened to call up the servants and the family: the colonel ran to a room adjoining his own, fronting the street; and was saved by a ladder with great difficulty, and shockingly burnt in the face and hands. The miss Kellys most narrowly escaped, with only the covering of blankets; and captain Hinton Kelly made his way through the fire with his sisters, in the same unprovided state. Most of the servants had previously fled to the top of the house, from which they were taken down by ladders. A female servant

servant of Miss Kelly jumped out of a two-pair of stairs window: she was much hurt, and carried to St. Thomas's hospital in a lifeless state. Two orphan girls in the service of miss Kelly, perished. They had been awakened by the alarm; and the cook of the establishment, in making her escape, passed the door of the room in which these children slept. She threw it open, and called to them to "follow her instantly, for the house was on fire." They answered her, sitting up in their bed, "we will just put on our gowns and get away;" but the room, which was already filled with smoke, burst into flame, and it is concluded that when they strove to make their way to the staircase, they were overpowered by the rapid progress of the fire. The engines arrived soon after seven o'clock. About eight the flames had obtained so great an ascendency, that all attempts to save the Custom-house were abandoned. The exertions of the firemen and others employed were then directed to the warehouses and other buildings on both sides of the street, when a report was circulated that many barrels of gunpowder were deposited in the vaults. This report had nearly a magical effect. All withdrew to a distance, and the flames were left for some time to rage uncontrouled. At half past nine an explosion took place, and the shock was distinctly felt on the Royal Exchange, and by persons who came to London by the Whitechapel-road. It carried the burnt papers, ships' registers, and a variety of matter, as far as Dalston, Shacklewell, Homerton, Hackney, and all the adjoining villages in the direction of the wind. The gunpowder which exploded had been deposited in the armoury of the Custom-house volunteers.—The flames soon communicated to the houses in Thames-street, opposite the Custom-house, and embraced, in a short time, warehouses in Globe-yard, and the whole of the tenements extending from Beer-street to Water-lane, from which it required the utmost activity of the inmates to escape, not with their property, but with their lives. Many individuals were severely scorched. At one o'clock the whole of the Custom-house and the adjoining warehouses were completely reduced to ashes; ten houses opposite the Custom-house were burnt down by two o'clock; among them, Holland's coffee-house, the Rose and Crown, and Yorkshire Grey public-houses, and the King's Arms public-house much damaged. The East India and Custom-house corps of volunteers were on the spot soon after the bursting out of the flames, and, by unceasing attention, prevented much plunder and confusion. —The actual loss to government by the sudden destruction of the Custom-house cannot be calculated; yet there is great consolation in knowing that many of the important papers of office have been recovered, and several chests of valuables, with the principal records, saved. The insurance on the Custom-house amounts to 100,000*l.*— Though public business must have materially suffered by the conflagration, the commissioners and their officers have taken the most active measures to facilitate its progress. The spacious and elegant "commercial sale rooms" in Mincing-lane have been engaged temporarily to carry on the public business.

Several gentlemen had left large sums of money in their desks, ready to make payments on the following day. One individual has lost,

is said, upwards of six thousand pounds in bank-notes, which will be irrecoverable, as the memorandum of the numbers was in the desk with the notes, and met the same fate.—A very fine collection of pictures was also lost, which the commissioners had permitted a gentleman to leave in deposit till it would be convenient for him to pay the duties, amounting to 1,500*l*.—An old clerk, with great perseverance, assisted by some workmen, got through the ruins to an iron chest, where he had usually officiated, and recovered 400 guineas.—The first Custom-house built in London was in 1559, 225 years ago; it was burnt down in 1718, and re-built the same year: and it was on Saturday, the 12th of February, again totally consumed by fire. The first Custom-house, therefore, stood 159 years; the second 96 years.

CHAMBERLAIN V WILLIAMSON.

15. This was an action in arrest of judgement, in an action brought by the plaintiff, as administrator of a lady, deceased, against the defendant, for a breach of promise of marriage, and the decision of the court was postponed.

Lord Ellenborough this day delivered the opinion of the court. It was a motion in arrest of judgement, in an action brought by the plaintiff, for a breach of promise of marriage, made by the defendant to the individual, for whom the plaintiff had taken out letters of administration. The declaration contained no allegation of special damage, and the question to be determined was, whether under these circumstances an action be maintainable by the personal representative of the deceased. If this action were maintainable, it appeared to the court that every action founded upon the breach of an implied promise to the testator, where the damage consisted in the mere personal suffering of the deceased, must be equally maintainable. The loss or disappointment in marriage may, under certain circumstances, occasion strictly a pecuniary loss to the woman, with whom faith has been broken, but it does not necessarily do so, and if not, the court could not support the action, unless the circumstances and the loss were expressly shewn. On the ground, therefore, that the injury complained of imported a personal and peculiar injury to the deceased, with which the administrator was not necessarily, in contemplation of law, nor could actually be, in point of fact, concerned; the court was of opinion, on principle, and in the absence of all authorities, that the administrator could not maintain an action for this species of injury, and consequently that the judgement obtained on the part of the plaintiff must be arrested.—Judgement arrested.

THE KING V. EDWARD SMIRKE.

17. This was an indictment against the son of the celebrated artist, for an assault upon Mr. Lloyd, of Sudbury, near Harrow, in presenting a loaded gun at the prosecutor, and threatening to shoot him. It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Smirke, the father, that his family had a house last summer adjoining the prosecutor's fields, and that the family were gathering blackberries in his hedge, when the prosecutor, having had some disputes with a neighbour about repairing fences, in the most violent manner forbad them to come into his grounds, and proceeded even to force the female part of the family out. The evidence of Mr. Smirke completely negatived

negatived the assault on the part of the defendant, who, having been shooting sparrows at the time, and hearing the altercation, came up with his gun on his arm; and thinking a loaded gun a dangerous weapon to have at his command at a time when his mother and sister were insulted; turned round and discharged it, away from the prosecutor. The rest of the defendant's family were stated to be ready to confirm this testimony; but the jury were at once satisfied, and found the defendant, Not guilty.

KIERRULFF V. QUIN.

This was an action brought by the baron Kierrulff, (who was indicted at the Old Bailey, in company with Davenport Sedley, and Edward Meyer, for feloniously taking certain bills of exchange from the marquis of Headfort, and the whole being acquitted of that charge, was included in an indictment with the same persons in this court, for a conspiracy to defraud the marquis of the said bills, but the plaintiff was also acquitted of the latter charge) against the proprietor of the Traveller for two libels; the one contained in the police report of that newspaper, when these persons were committed for the felony, and the other in the Old Bailey report, when they were acquitted thereof. The first libel stated, as the fact was, that the plaintiff and Sedley were committed on the above charge, and then, in proceeding to give the narrative of the fraud upon the marquis of Headfort, said that the plaintiff passed for a Swedish nobleman, and dressed himself up to act that part. The second libel was proved by Mr. Harmer, the attorney, to be an accurate report of Mr. Alley's speech on opening the indictment at the Old Bailey; but no evidence was called, as lord Ellenborough, who presided at that trial, was of opinion, that the learned counsel's opening did not amount in point of law to a felony, the prisoners having agreed to exchange acceptances with the marquis.—After Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Topping had spoken.

Lord Ellenborough said, that if the object of the author had been to hold up an individual to detestation with a view to prejudice him on his trial, it would be to be visited with very large damages; here the only mischief that could be effected by the first libel, consisted in his being represented to be concerned in the conspiracy against the marquis of Headfort, and there was nothing personal against him beyond this. The libel was, therefore, to a certain degree, injurious to the plaintiff. As to the libel in the report of the trial, it was not every thing that a counsel was warranted in saying that a printer had a right of publishing. But as in this case the limits of fair reporting did not seem to be exceeded, his lordship recommended the jury to give only nominal damages for the second libel; and for the first it was theirs to say, how far the plaintiff had been injured by it; not altogether laying out of their consideration that the plaintiff was implicated in this conspiracy in a very equivocal manner, (his lordship hoped not criminally, and he was not warranted in saying so because of the verdict), and appeared to have mixed himself with the defendants, one of whom had been found guilty, and the other had fled from justice; and as the learned counsel for the defendant had justly observed, if people will put themselves into very bad company, they must not expect to be

treated as if their reputation were perfectly unblemished.

The jury found their verdict for plaintiff.—Damages 20*l.*

THYNNE V. PROTHEROE.

This was an action brought by the administrator of the late Dr. Thynne, to recover the sum of 1300*l.* remaining unpaid, under an agreement entered into between the intestate and the defendant, for the purchase by the latter for 2,100*l.*, of half the profits of the deceased's, or his son's lectures on midwifery, from the first of January 1812, for the life of the defendant, with an understanding, that when the defendant should become a licentiate of the royal college of physicians, his name and interest in the lectures should be publicly acknowledged

The attorney-general, instead of addressing the jury upon this case, which he called a gross fraud on the part of the late Dr. Thynne, to take in a young physician from the country, objected that the plaintiff had not conformed to the decision of the court of common pleas, in Hunt v. Stevens, 3 Taunt. 113, by taking out letters of administration in a sum sufficient to cover the amount of the verdict. The administration-duty was sworn under 100*l.*; and the plaintiff sought to recover 1,000*l.* as administrator.

Lord Ellenborough held the objection fatal, and the plaintiff was nonsuited.

GREAT FLOOD.

20. For several days last week the water in the river at Wisbech, rose, without intermission, an inch a minute, until, on the 12th, the river was eight feet higher than its ordinary level. The greatest exertions were necessary to save the bridge, and buildings on the banks, from being carried away by the masses of floating ice. Part of a new granary belonging to Mr. Groom was washed down; but no other material injury arose, and on the 13th, the waters had greatly abated. The ice-boat, with 18 horses, and a great number of men, under the direction of John Eades, esq. were incessantly at work; and by their exertions prevented a great deal of mischief.

STOCKJOBBING FRAUD.

21. This morning a report was confidently put forth in the city, that an officer had arrived from France, bringing an official account of the death of the French emperor; and that the said officer was on the road with the glorious news!—Strange as it may seem, this often-told tale was very generally believed; the stock exchange people were of course all in a bustle; omnium, which opened at 27½, ran up to 33: immense sums were sold (some say half a million) during the morning; but as the officer with his official dispatches could nowhere be heard of, a fraud was at length suspected, and omnium fell back to 28½. While those who had planned the knavery were reaping the golden harvest on the stock exchange, their agents or their dupes (both, most likely) were spreading the tidings in all directions, and with all sorts of additions and embellishments. Bonaparte had not only been killed, but had been carved into many pieces by the cossacks, who had marched into Paris with his heart upon a pike: this was one story. Another related that the French emperor had not fallen by the hands of the enemy, but by those of his own guards, who, like their prætorian brethren

brethren of ancient history, had murdered their emperor, and proclaimed another (Louis the XVIII.) in his stead. Each narrator, in in short, had his own particulars of the event, but the main point, the death of Bonaparte, was affirmed by all. One person had seen the officer; another had heard the contents of his dispatches; a third had just had the news confirmed to him by a person in the confidence of government; and one man, dressed too like a gentleman, went into a bookseller's shop at the west end of the town, and declared that he had seen a letter from the lord chancellor Eldon, which fully confirmed all the news. The trick, it must be owned, though bungling enough in some of its parts, was supported with considerable industry. It appeared, that in the middle of Sunday night, a person, dressed as an officer, walked with all due gravity from the beach of Dover towards the town, and meeting with a watchman, inquired of him the way to the Ship Inn, to procure a post-chaise and horses for town. The officer was a tall dark man, dressed in scarlet and gold, with a prodigious star on his breast; the coat turned up with green, and he wore a swinging sword by his side. The gentleman was very much fatigued; and his beard, by its length, proved that the wearer had not had time to to shave himself. Before the gentleman proceeded on his journey, he addressed a letter to admiral Foley, to the purport, that he had ordered back his boat's crew to France, and requested the politeness of the admiral, in case they should be intercepted by any of the British cruizers, that the men might be properly treated, and sent to France without loss of time. To this epistle he subscribed "colonel de Burgh." No boat, however, was seen, though it was quite clear that he had just landed from one, as his clothes were wet from the spray of the sea! Every thing he paid for, and even at the turnpikes, he offered napoleons (a French gold coin) for change. How near he approached town does not appear. While this was going on at Dover, another party arrived at Northfleet, at five on Monday morning, in a six-oared cutter. They called up a Mr. Sandon, to request that he would accompany two of them to town, who represented themselves to be messengers from France, to communicate the death of Bonaparte, and the hoisting of the Bourbon standard in France. They were decorated with white cockades, and horses with laurels. They told Sandon that they would first proceed to the lord mayor, and as if with that intention, they actually entered the city, over London bridge, but their progress was greatly impeded by the mob, who stopped them at every short distance. Recollecting themselves on a sudden, they said it might be deemed disrespectful by the government, if they did not first communicate with the ministers; and then they ordered the post-boys to Downing-street. Before they reached this destination, however, they got rid of Mr. Sandon, and vanished! It is stated, that the pretended colonel de Burgh finding a difficulty, on some occasion, to get his napoleons changed, produced an English bank note, which was indorsed by a mercantile firm in London, with the date of 15th Feb. 1814.

COURT MARTIAL ON COLONEL BEAUFOY, first royal Tower Hamlets militia.

22. This investigation, founded upon charges preferred by lieutenant Scott, commenced on the 26th of October, and continued to the 24th of November. The charges comprised breaches of nearly the whole system of military œconomy. Colonel Beaufoy entered the court (which was closely crowded), attended by his counsel, captain Willard, his brother, major Beaufoy; his sons, captain Beaufoy and ensign Beaufoy, of the Guards, &c. The acting prosecutor was alone, with the exception of a servant, with his papers.—After the warrant from the prince regent had been read, the acting prosecutor opened the proceedings at considerable length. He entered minutely into the œconomy of the military state, and its application to the efficiency of armies. He placed before the court, the excellent laws which have been enacted for the provision and government of the troops; but which, from mistaken notions, in some cases, and venality in others, had nearly become a dead letter. He shewed the effects of their violation in detail, particularly in the example of the 1st Tower Hamlets militia, and concluded, by deprecating any personal feeling, and entirely waving any personal injuries, in the higher cause of the public. The examinations then commenced. On the 6th day, quarter-master George Grant was pronounced by the court to have, "notwithstanding its greatest indulgence, and being frequently desired to correct his evidence, maturely, wilfully, and deliberately sworn falely" against the prosecution, and dismissed from further attendance. On the 11th day, the court, on the motion of major Cooper, seconded by the president, reprimanded the prosecutor for having "presumed to instruct them."—On the 11th of Nov. lieutenant Scott closed the prosecution. The court adjourned to the 18th, for the defence of colonel Beaufoy. The defence was read by the judge-advocate, and was exceedingly eloquent; it was attributed to Mr. Brougham. It censured quarter-master Grant, and others, by whom colonel Beaufoy had been deceived; and blamed lieutenant Scott, for not having acquainted him with the manner in which the affairs of his regiment were conducted. It endeavoured to impugn the evidence; and admitted some of the matters charged, considering them as venial. Colonel Beaufoy acknowledged the fact of stopping lieutenant Scott's promotion, but attributed it to a supposition, that he had been stigmatized by the commander-in-chief. On the 22d, the prosecutor replied. The court then closed, and adjudged colonel Beaufoy to be displaced from the command of the 1st royal Tower Hamlets regiment of militia, but recommended him to mercy, on account of the good character given him by several general officers. It represented the perjury of quarter-master Grant, for the consideration of the prince regent. It also stated, that several matters remarked to the court by the acting prosecutor, "led them to an opinion that he had not shewn due regard to the service." The prince regent has confirmed the displacing of colonel Beaufoy, and also commanded the dismission of quarter-master Grant; and, in consequence of the censure

of

of the court, caused it to be signified to lieutenant Scott, the acting prosecutor, that his services are dispensed with. No court-martial that has occurred at any time ever produced greater sensation in the military or the public.—The court continued crowded to the last.

26. The thaw, which commenced on Wednesday the 26th January did not continue longer than the Saturday following, when its progress was arrested by a sharp frost which set in on that night. The thaw had sent such a quantity of ice down the river as completely to choak up the Thames between Blackfriars and London bridges; and the renewed frost so united the vast masses as to render it immoveable by the tide. On Monday, January 31, several adventurous persons of light weight crossed the river, and their example was followed by a multitude of boys, many of whom, from the rottenness of the connecting ice, particularly near Blackfriars bridge, did not escape without an unwelcome immersion. After that period, the ice between the two bridges presented the novel scene of thousands of persons moving on the ice in all directions. Midway between the two bridges, and nearly opposite Queenhithe, above thirty booths were erected, for the sale of porter, spirits, gingerbread, &c. Skittles were played by several parties, and the drinking tents filled by females and their companions, dancing reels, while others sat round large fires, drinking rum, grog, and other spirits. Several tradesmen also attended, selling books, toys, and trinkets of every description. Several printers, having brought their presses, pulled off various impressions, which they sold for a trifle. Among the paths for the convenience of perambulation, the principal was dignified with the appellation of the City Road. The booths extended down to London bridge, under the centre arches of which numerous spectators were to be seen. The watermen and coal-heavers did not fail to benefit by this curiosity; as the progress of the visitors was much facilitated by their simple inventions at the different stairs and elsewhere, and they were at much trouble to beat footways in different directions. On Thursday, Feb. 3d, a sheep was roasted, or rather burnt, over a charcoal fire, in a large iron pan. The admission to the booth where this culinary skill was displayed, was 6*d.* per head. The ice from its roughness and inequalities, having been in many places covered several feet with snow, was totally unfit for skaiting or sliding.—The tide, from the obstruction at London bridge, did not ebb for some days more than half the usual marks. On Thursday the 3rd, a plumber, named Davies, attempting to cross near Blackfriars Bridge, with some lead in his hand, sunk between two masses of ice, and rose no more. On the fifth instant, a thaw again took place; and Kingston bridge, which had been built upwards of 300 years, gave way by the consequent pressure of the ice. Between high and low pier it sunk near three feet, which rendered it impassable for carriages. The frost again set in on the 11th; and continued very sharp; but, the snow having been removed, the inconvenience is by no means so great as it was in the last month.

THE KING V. WM. EARLE.

28. This was an indictment for a libel, inserted in a monthly publication, called The Scourge.

William Earle being placed upon the floor of the court,

The attorney-general adverted to the many aggravated circumstances in this case, not the least of which was the oath the defendant had thought fit to make respecting the withdrawing of his plea of not guilty. It seemed that he expected not to be indicted if he inserted an apology in the succeeding number of the Scourge. The attorney-general was at a loss to understand the doctrine of apoolgies as laid down by defendants in cases like the present. If in the heat of the moment an affront was offered by one gentleman to another, an apology might reasonably be deemed a satisfactory compensation; but here, a paltry hireling scribbler, in a garret, sat down deliberately, without a single fact on which to found his assertions, to write a low, coarse, vulgar, abusive, scurrilous, and not less malignant libel, against an individual of whom he knew but the name. Could an apology be any satisfaction for such an outrageupon a respectable individual, who was charged with being the illegitimate progeny of a Dutch fisherman and an oyster-wench, of being educated in vice and beggary, of being sent out of his own country, of frequenting seditious meetings in England, and belonging to the Corresponding Society? Was character, he would ask, of any value? Such a base detracter might attack the most exemplary characters. None could be safe; his (the attorney-general's) learned friends or himself might be the next to be attacked, and then the only redress was an apology in the Scourge of the succeeding month. He was sure the court would not allow honest and deserving individuals thus to be *shewn up*, the fashionable expression of all libellers since the proceeding on a late occasion.

Mr. justice Le Blanc delivered the sentence of the court, which was, That the defendant be imprisoned in Newgate for six months, should pay a fine of 100*l.* and give security, himself in 200*l.* and two sufficient sureties in 100*l.* each.

MARCH.

FRANCE.

1. The Bourbon standard has at length been hoisted in France; and this interesting event, if appearances can be trusted, is likely to be attended with the most important results.—The following is an extract of a letter, received from the count d'Escars, captain of the guards of Monsieur:

"*Vesoul, Feb.* 22.—We left Basle on Sunday the 19th, and have arrived in Franche Comte. We have been received in all the French towns and villages with acclamations by the whole of the people, and with cries of *Vive le roi Louis XVIII.—Vivent les Bourbons.* They are enchanted with our dear prince, who has conducted himself with great affability and condescension. The old, the women, and the children kissed his hands and his clothes. Happiness was painted in every face; and they were so touched with the affability of Monsieur, that tears of joy flowed on all sides.—The old men and women said, 'we shall die contented, since we have had the good fortune of beholding the return of our antient masters, who have ever lived in our hearts.' Others said 'I give you my heart, for the monster has only left that.'—On arriving here (at Vesoul), the population of the town, about 5000 souls, all came out to meet us. They requested we

we would walk in on foot, that they might behold their prince.—Gentleman arrive from all parts, announcing that all the peasants of their communes are at their command, and desire to march for their legitimate sovereign.—A person has arrived today from Alsace, requesting power to raise a legion with the white cockade.—Every place desires to surrender to Louis XVIII. All France is ready to rise. Attempts are every where made to throw difficulties in the way, but they will be got rid of, and France will liberate herself.—The first day Monsieur entered France, we travelled thirty-three leagues (about seventy miles) in the territories of his august ancestors. Had he been an angel from heaven, the people could not have shewn more eagerness to come to see him. I ought not to conceal from you that I shed tears in writing to you this; but they are tears of joy, and I am sure it will produce on you the same effect."

PROCLAMATION OF MONSIEUR, ON ENTERING FRANCE.

"We, Charles Philip of France, son of France, Monsieur, count d'Artois, brother to the king, and lieut.-general of the kingdom.

"To all Frenchmen, greeting.

"Frenchmen! The day of your redemption is arrived; the brother of your king is in the midst of you:—he comes to rear again the antient banner of the lilies in the heart of France, and to announce to you the return of happiness and peace, and the restoration of law and public liberty under a protecting government. No conqueror, no war, no conscription, no consolidated taxes, any longer! At the voice of your sovereign, your father, may your misfortunes be wiped off by hope, your errors by forgiveness, and your dissentions by the union to be effected, for which he is your security. He burns with desire to fulfil the promises he has made to you, which he this day solemnly renews, and by his love and benevolence to render happy the moment which, bringing him back to his subjects, restores him to his children.—*Vive le Roi!*"

On the 27th ult. the French army, under Soult, was attacked by the allied forces under lord Wellington's command, and, after an obstinate resistance, driven from a strong position near Orthes. Their retreat was at first conducted with admirable order; but the loss sustained from the combined attacks soon accelerated their movements, and the retreat became a disorderly flight. Six pieces of cannon had been taken, and a great number of prisoners; many soldiers had thrown away their arms, and the desertion had been immense. The whole country was covered with their dead.—A large magazine of provisions had been captured at Mont de Marsan.—On the 2d of March the enemy were driven from Aire, and their magizines taken.—Sir John Hope had crossed the Adour below Bayonne, and closely invested the citadel of that place.—Navareens and St. Jean Pied de Port were also invested.

12. Marshal sir William Beresford, with the division under his command, entered Bordeaux, and was warmly welcomed by the mayor and population. When the approach of the marshal, at the head of the allied troops, was known at Bordeaux, Mr. Lynch, the mayor, advanced on the way to meet him, attended by the constituted authorities, the principal inhabitants,

habitants, and an immense multitude, in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. In his capacity of mayor, he was decorated with the insignia of Buonaparte's government; but, on his drawing near to marshal Beresford, he tore them, and trampled them under foot. The white cockade was instantly substituted for them. This conduct was greeted with universal acclamation, and the mayor immediately addressed marshal Beresford in a prepared speech. He then, at the head of the procession, conducted the marshal into the city, in which were found 84 pieces of cannon, and 100 boxes of secreted arms. On the day following, his royal highness the duke of Angouleme approached the city of Bourdeaux. He was met at two leagues distance by a troop of 200 young men of the first families in the neighbourhood, mounted on horseback, and adorned with white cockades and sashes.

SWEDEN.

The crown prince of Sweden has addressed a proclamation to the French people, on his passing the Rhine; in which he declares that, after having defended the rights of the Swedes, revenged their insults, and assisted in the liberation of Germany, he thinks it necessary to apprise Frenchmen of his sentiments.—"The government under which you live" (says he) "has continually had in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you; it is high time that this state of things undergo an alteration. All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of France; but they, at the same time, wish that she may no longer be the scourge of the earth. The allied monarchs have not united themselvts to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other states; this is their sole motive and aim, and I will pledge myself for the integrity of their sentiments."

HOLLAND.

A proclamation of the prince sovereign to the Dutch people states, that the commission, to whom he had intrusted the important charge of forming a new constitution, had completed their labours; and that the proposed changes wanted only the sanction of the nation, to be carried into execution. The proclamation recommends, that the people should prepare lists of deputies, from whom a commission, to be appointed by the prince, should select 600 members, to whom the new constitution was to be submitted. This national assembly is to meet on the 28th of this month, under the title of the "grand assembly representing the United Netherlands." The sittings to be opened by the prince sovereign in person by taking the oath to the constitution.

AMERICA.

A dispatch from lieut.-general Drummond, at Quebec, states, that an attack had been made, on the 30th December, on the enemy's position at Black Rock, where he was advantageously posted with 2000 men. The enemy was attacked in the most gallant manner, and pursued in his retreat to Buffalo, where he attempted to make a stand; but was forced to make a precipitate retreat to the Eleven Mile Creek, on Lake Erie, leaving seven field-pieces, and four schooners and sloops, and a considerable quantity of ordnance stores. The whole

whole of our troops did not exceed 1000. No British officer had fallen on this occasion. Our loss did not exceed 25 killed, and 50 wounded. The enemy suffered severely; but from the rapidity of his flight, only 70 prisoners were taken, among whom is doctor, alias lieutenant-colonel Chapin.

A proclamation issued by general Prevost, announces, after long forbearance, a severe retaliation on the Americans for their inhuman mode of warfare in their different invasions of Canada; especially for their having, in the midst of a severe Canadian winter, wantonly burnt the beautiful village of Newark, and turned out four hundred helpless women and children to all the severity of the season, without shelter, and without a remnant of property. The case is made out with the utmost distinctness against the Americans, not only in this, but in a number of other instances, at Sandwich, at the settlements on the Thames, at York, and at Fort George. Sir George earnestly deprecates this mode of warfare; but he justly observes, that since it has been so long persevered in by the enemy, retaliation becomes an imperious duty. He has, therefore, ordered the villages of Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, to be burned; at the same time declaring, that he will no longer pursue a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so uncongenial to the British character, unless forced to it by the future measures of the enemy.

The Endymion, Statira, and Loupcervier, British ships, lately challenged the United States, Macedonian, and Hornet, American, to single combat—this the Americans accepted; but admiral Cockburn has disapproved of the challenge, as erroneous in principle, by allowing private feelings to originate a contest which ought to be undertaken wholly upon public grounds.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

We have received from Port Jackson, New South Wales, a series of the Sydney gazettes to the 1st of July. Their contents afford a view of the state of the different settlements, which, notwithstanding the scarcity of specie, and some other local inconveniences, that were likely to be remedied by the prudent regulations of governor Macquarrie, were advancing fast to prosperity and comparative opulence. The great object of the merchants and inhabitants was to establish an export trade with this country; and for this purpose to obtain leave to ship their surplus grain (which was rotting in the barns), salt pork and beef for his majesty's navy, and wool, said to be little inferior to that of Spain, in return for the customary importations, instead of making remittances in money, which drained the settlement of specie, and impoverished the colonists. Another object was, to obtain permission to distil spirits in the colony, which would greatly benefit the cultivator, and retain the money generally paid for spirits obtained from America, the East Indies, and other places. Memorials on these topics had been presented to governor Macquarrie, signed by the principal inhabitants of the different settlements, and transmitted by his excellency for the consideration of his majesty's ministers.

PRINTING PRESS.

14. A patent has been recently granted for a machine to facilitate the

the operations of printing. The objects of the machine are, precision, speed, and the saving of skill, labour, and expense.—It abrogates almost all the former apparatus of the press, and the preparations of the types; performs by its own action the several parts of furnishing, distributing, and communicating the ink, and giving the pressure. At its ordinary rate, 16 sheets a minute are discharged by it; and indeed its velocity is only limited by the power of placing and removing the sheet, which are all the manual assistances required. The machine has been exhibited to the syndics of the press at Cambridge, and was examined during three days last week by most of the principal members of the University; and on receiving the report of their deputation (dean Milner, master of the Queen's college; Mr. Wood, president of St. John's; and Mr. Kaye, tutor of Christ's), the syndicate agreed with Messrs Bacon and Donkin, of Norwich, the patentees, for its introduction at the office of the university.

CORPSE DISCOVERED.

16. In opening a vault in St. Maryport church, Bristol, for the reception of the remains of Mrs. Webb, of Queen's parade, the workmen discovered, very deeply concealed, a coffin of much antiquity. It is generally supposed that the corpse it contained was the body of —— Yeoman, esq. sheriff of Bristol in 1643, when the city was surrendered to the parliamentary army by prince Rupert.—Mr. Yeoman was hanged in Wine-street, by order of Fairfax, for his attachment to the royal cause, opposite his own house, that now occupied by Messrs. Boord and co. and in which there was some time since, if not at present, a very fine portrait of the sheriff. The corpse was, we understand, in the highest state of preservation: handsomely accoutred in the costume of the day; with gloves similar to those which the sheriffs at present wear; and there were considerable tumors visible in the neck, which inclined several medical gentlemen, who inspected the body, to be of opinion that they were occasioned by strangulation.

STOCKJOBBING FRAUD.

18. On Tuesday the sub-committee appointed to inquire into the late nefarious business relating to the death of Bonaparte, made their report to the stock exchange at large. A table was placed in the centre of the house, and four of the committee placed themselves on it. Mr. Lawrence read the report, which, after a concise exordium of the motives which induced the committee to take up the business, proceeded to state, that they were happy to say that not the least suspicion attached to any member of that body, as being concerned in so scandalous a transaction, and which would, if proved on any individual, have produced his certain expulsion from the society. It then stated the evidence of the post-boy, named Shelling, who drove the pretended colonel du Burgh, mentioning all the particulars that have already transpired relative to the imposition, stating that Bonaparte was dead, &c.; also of Crane, the hackney-coachman, who drove the colonel to No. 13, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, after he was set down at the Marsh gate, Lambeth.—The evidence of Sayer, the Bow-street officer, who was employed to find out who the house in Green-street was occupied by, stated that a Mr. Durrand

Durrand quitted it on the 12th of February, and let it furnished to lord Cochrane, the hon. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Butt, who came in on the 13th February, and occasionally met there several times previous to the colonel du Burgh arriving; that on the colonel's arriving, he inquired for a particular name, and was told he was gone to breakfast in Cumberland-street, &c. to which he instantly repaired. Mr. Lawrence then stated, that he went to Messrs. Bond and co. bankers, in Exchange-alley, to endeavour to trace some bank-notes paid away by the colonel in his passage up, and four of 1*l.* each were traced to have been taken out of the bank about one or two o'clock on Saturday the 19th of February; but they said it was difficult for them to trace one-pound notes, as it was but seldom they took the particulars. — Mr. Fearn's evidence was next read over. He stated that he latterly had been in the habit of doing business in the funds for lord Cochrane, Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Butt; that he always understood that what business he did for Mr. Butt was to be placed to lord Cochrane's account; that on the 21st of February, which was the day the fraud was put in practice, he sold for

Lord Cochrane. . .	£139,000 omnium.
Cochrane Johnstone. .	120,000 omnium.
For Ditto.	100,000 consols.
Mr. Butt.	124,000 omnium.
For Ditto.	168,000 consols.

That he was desired to sell them for the first account day in cash, but not to sell them for money: that he was surprised to find that lord Cochrane and Mr. Butt had taken an office for him (Fearn) in Shorter's-court, Throgmorton-street, without his knowledge, where they used to meet him and give their orders.—Mr. Pitches, another broker's evidence, was next read. It stated that he was too ill to attend; but to a Mr. Wakefield, one of the committee, who waited on him, he declared that he had sold for lord Cochrane, Mr. Johnstone, and Mr. Butt, about 565,000*l.* omnium. A Mr. Smallbones, another broker, had sold 40,000*l.* omnium for lord C. and 40,000*l.* for Mr. Butt. A Mr. Richardson, a bookseller, had been applied to, to sell for the above parties a very large sum, but refused on account of his not being responsible for such a sum. Mr. Christian, clerk to Mr. Fearn, the stock-broker, unwillingly at first, but afterwards confessed, that he had changed a 50*l.* note, obtained by a check of 75*l.* of Mr. Fearn's on Messrs. Bond, the bankers, for one pound-notes, on Saturday the 19th of February, four of which one-pound notes were paid away by colonel du Burgh. When further interrogated, he said the notes obtained for the 75*l.* check of Fearn's, was on account of Mr. Butt. Mr. Sandon, of Northfleet, one of the persons who came from Northfleet in the post-chaise, had appeared before the committee and given them some information, but protested his innocence as to being concerned in the fraud. A Mr. M'Rae, it seemed, was a distressed person, who had previous to the plan taking place, mentioned that such a scheme might be done.

Mr. David Ricardo, in a very animated speech, stated, that the stock exchange generally laboured under all the opprobrium of any foul transaction, when in fact they were the chief persons injured by such nefarious practices. He thought the investigation could not be made too public, as it might operate so as to deter any other desperate characters

racters from trying similar attempts. He therefore moved that the whole of the report might be printed, which motion was carried unanimously.

The profit on the bargains above made amounts, it is said, to upwards of 30,000*l.* The fur cap, worn by the sham colonel at Dover, is said to have been traced by Sayers, to a lady's house, at 13, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, whither, as appears by an advertisement placarded in the streets, the mock importers of news were traced, after they had discharged their chaise at the Marsh gate. The impostor who had personated col. du Burgh has not been found, notwithstanding the diligence used for that purpose. There are still hopes, however, that he will not long elude the vigilance of those in quest of him.—Lord Melville has had an interview with four of the committee of the stock exchange, upon the subject of the imposition.

DEPOSITION OF LORD COCHRANE.

15. "Having obtained leave of absence to come to town in consequence of scandalous paragraphs in the public papers; and in consequence of having learnt that hand-bills had been affixed in the streets, in which I have since seen, that it is asserted that a person came to my house, at No. 13, Green-street, on the twenty-first day of February, in open day, and in the dress in which he had committed a fraud, I feel it due to myself to make the following deposition, that the public may know the truth relative to the only person seen by me in military uniform at my house on that day.

"COCHRANE."

13 *Green-street, March* 11, 1814.

"*No.* 13, *Green-street, Grosvenor-street, March* 11.

"I, sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called lord Cochrane, having been appointed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty to active service (at the request, I believe, of sir Alexander Cochrane) when I had no expectation of being called on, I obtained leave of absence to settle my private affairs previous to quitting this country, and chiefly with a view to lodge a specification to a patent relative to a discovery for increasing the intensity of light.

"That in pursuance of my daily practice of superintending work that was executing for me, and knowing that my uncle, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, went to the city every morning in a coach, I do swear, on the morning of the 21st of February, which day was impressed on my mind by circumstances which afterwards occurred, I breakfasted with him at his residence in Cumberland-street, about half past eight o'clock, and I was put down by him (and Mr. Butt was in the coach) on Snow-hill, about ten o'clock.

"That I had been about three quarters of an hour at Mr. King's manufactory, at No. 1, Cock-lane, when I received a few lines on a small bit of paper, requesting me to come immediately to my house; the name affixed, from being written close to the bottom, I could not read; the servant told me it was from an army officer, and concluding that he might be an officer from Spain, and that some accident had befallen to my brother, I hastened back, and I found captain Berenger, who in great seeming uneasiness made many apologies for the freedom he had used, which nothing but the distressed state of the

the mind, arising from difficulties, could have induced him to do. All his prospects, he said, had failed, and his last hope had vanished of obtainining an appointment in America. He was unpleasantly circumstanced on account of a sum which he could not pay, and if he could, that others would fall upon him for full 8000*l*. He had no hope of benefiting his creditors in his present situation, or of assisting himself. That if I would take him with me, he would immediately go on board and exercise the sharp-shooters (which plan sir Alexander Cochrane I knew had approved of). That he had left his lodgings, and prepared himself in the best way his means allowed. He had brought the sword with him which had been his father's, and to that and to sir Alexander he would trust for an honourable appointment.

"I felt very uneasy at the distress he was in, and knowing him to be a man of great talent and science, I told him I would do every thing in my power to relieve him; but as to his going immediately to the Tonnant with any comfort to himself, it was quite impossible. My cabin was without furniture; I had not even a servant on board. He said he would willingly mess any where. I told him that the ward-room was already crowded, and besides, I could not with propriety take him, he being a foreigner, without leave from the Admiralty. He seemed greatly hurt at this, and recalled to my recollection certificates which he had formerly shewn me from persons in official situations; lord Yarmouth, gen. Jenkinson, and Mr. Reeves, I think, were amongst the number. I recommended him to use his endeavour to get them or any other friends to exert their influence, for I had none; adding, that when the Tonnant went to Portsmouth, I should be happy to receive him; and I knew from sir Alexander Cochrane, that he would be pleased if he accomplished that object. Captain Berenger said, that not anticipating any objection on my part from the conversation he had formerly had with me, he had come away with intention to go on board, and make himself useful in his military capacity; he could not go to lord Yarmouth, or to any other of his friends in this dress (alluding to that which he had on), or return to his lodgings, where it would excite suspicion (as he was at that time in the rules of the king's bench), but that if I refused to let him join the ship now, he would do so at Portsmouth. Under present circumstances, however, he must use a great liberty, and request the favour of me to lend him a hat to wear instead of his military cap; I gave him one which was in a back room with some things that had not been packed up, and having tried it on, his uniform appeared under his great coat; I therefore offered him a black coat that was lying on a chair, and which I did not intend to take with me: he put up his uniform in a towel, and shortly afterwards went away in great apparent uneasiness of mind; and having asked my leave, he took the coach I came in, and which I had forgotten to discharge in the haste I was in.

"I do further depose, that the above conversation is the substance of all that passed with captain Berenger, which from the circumstances attending it, was strongly impressed upon my mind: that no other person in uniform was seen by me at my house, on Monday the 21st of February, though possibly

sibly other officers may have called (as many have done since my appointment); of this, however, I cannot speak of my own knowledge, having been almost constantly from home, arranging my private affairs. I have understood, that many persons have called under the above circumstances, and have written notes in the parlour, and others have waited there in expectation of seeing me, and then gone away; but I most positively swear, that I never saw any person at my house resembling the description, and in the dress stated in the printed advertisement of the members of the stock exchange; I further aver, that I had no concern, directly or indirectly, in the late imposition, and that the above is all that I know relative to any person who came to my house in uniform on the 21st day of February before alluded to. Captain Berenger wore a grey great coat, a green uniform, and a military cap.

"From the manner in which my character has been attempted to be defamed, it is indispensibly necessary to state that my connection in any way with the funds arose from an impression, that in the present favourable aspect of affairs, it was only necessary to hold stock in order to become a gainer, without prejudice to any body: that I did so openly, considering it in no degree improper, far less dishonourable: that I had no secret information of any kind; and that had my expectation of the success of affairs been disappointed, I should have been the only sufferer.

"Further I do most solemnly swear, That the whole of the omnium on account, which I possessed on the 21st day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds, which I bought by Mr. Fearn (I think) on the 12th ultimo, at a premium of twenty-eight and a quarter; that I did not hold on that day any other sum on account, in any other stock, directly or indirectly; and that I had given orders when it was bought to dispose of it on a rise of one per cent. and it was actually sold on an average at twenty-nine and a half premium, though on the day of the fraud it might have been disposed of at thirty-three and a half. I further swear, that the above is the only stock which I sold of any kind on the 21st day of February, except two thousand pounds in money which I had occasion for; the profit on which was about ten pounds.

"Further I do solemnly depose, That I had no connection or dealing with any one, save the above mentioned, and that I did not at any time, directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other, take or procure any office or apartment for any broker or other person for the transaction of stock affairs.

"COCHRANE."

Sworn at my house in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, in the county of Middlesex, the 11th day of March, 1814, before me,

A. GRAHAM.

ROBBERIES.

28. On Saturday week, about eight o'clock, an aged man, many years a porter in the king's printing-office, and well known in all the public offices by the name of Old John, received a visit from a fellow of genteel appearance, at his obscure lodging in Daw-court, under pretence that he came from a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, at the Crown and Anchor, on

on charitable purposes, who all knew him, to desire his attendance upon them with all the silver he had got, and that for ten pounds he should receive fifteen in bank notes in return. Old John could not resist temptations so powerful—the vanity of being introduced to great men, to whom, from habits, John is extremely partial, added to the little stimulus of the reward proposed, quite overset the weak intellects of the poor creature, who, after counting his treasure to the amount of ten pounds, which he put into a bag, set out for the Crown and Anchor, in his best attire. His guide, instead of going to the tavern, stopped at the entrance of the Rainbow public-house near Temple-bar. Into this passage he entered, leading in the old man, desiring him to proceed to the bar of the house, and there wait till the meeting sent a deputation to receive him. In the mean time the miscreant withdrew, taking away the bag and its contents, the saving, perhaps, of sixty years industry.

Wednesday morning, the house of Mrs. Devines, of Arabella-row, Pimlico, was robbed of property to a considerable amount, by the following stratagem:—On the afternoon of Tuesday a young man, of decent appearance, who said his name was Jones, and that his father was a respectable tradesman, residing in the Minories, applied to Mrs. Devines to hire her first floor, which was to be let. Having agreed for price and other particulars, he said he should come that evening, and in the mean time referred Mrs. Devines to his father. He said he should come home to sleep that night, and desired to have a fire lighted in the dining-room against his return. About nine o'clock he arrived in a hackney-coach, bringing with him a large bundle, which he said contained clothes. Previous to his going to bed he told Mrs. Devines he should be under the necessity of being at his office, in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, soon after six in the morning, she would not therefore be surprised if she heard him go out early, and desired his breakfast might be ready by nine o'clock. About six o'clock Mrs. Devines heard the door open and shut, but took no notice of it, supposing her new lodger was gone out, as he said he should, but on the servant going into the apartment to get his breakfast ready; she soon discovered he had not gone empty-handed, for amongst other articles which had disappeared with him, were a large pier glass, the dining-room carpet, the window-curtains, the sheets, blankets, pillow-cases, and various other articles. It is needless to add that Mr. Jones did not come home to breakfast, nor has any diligence used on the part of Mrs. Devines enabled her to discover the residence of his father in the Minories. The large bundle brought in by Mr. Jones the night before, was left behind, but its contents were found to consist wholly of old rags, pieces of old carpet, and other rubbish.

DECLARATION OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France; the allied sovereigns receive favourably the wish of the French nation. They declare, that if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to bind down the ambition of Buonaparte, they may be more favourable, when, by a return to a wise government, France herself offers

the assurance of this repose. The sovereigns proclaim in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any of his family: that they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings: they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong. That they will recognize and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt. They, therefore, invite the senate to name immediately a provisional government, which may provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare the constitution which shall suit the French people. The intentions which I have just expressed, are common to all the allied powers.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

Paris, March 31, three o'clock in the afternoon.

APRIL.

1. At half-past three, the members of the senate met, in consequence of an extraordinary convocation: his serene highness the prince of Benevento, vice-grand elector, president.—His serene highness the prince vice-elector, president, then spoke as follows:

"Senators! The letter which I have had the honour of addressing to each of you, to inform you of this extraordinary convocation, acquaints you with the object of it. It is intended to lay proposals before you. This one word sufficiently points out the liberty which each of you brings into this assembly. It gives you the means to give a generous flow (*essor*) to the sentiments with which the soul of each of you is filled—the desire of saving your country, and the resolution of hastening to the assistance of a forsaken people.—Senators! circumstances, however difficult they may be, cannot be above the firm and enlightened patriotism of all the members of this assembly. You have, doubtless, all equally felt the necessity of a deliberation which may shut the door against all delay, and which may not let a day pass without re-establishing the action of the administration, the first of all wants, for the formation of a government, whose authority, founded on the necessities of the moment, cannot but re-assure people's minds."

The prince vice-elector having ceased speaking, several proposals were made by different members; the question being put, the senate decrees—1st. That there shall be established a provisional government, charged to provide for the wants of the administration, and to present to the senate the plan of a constitution which may suit the French people.—2d. That the government shall consist of five members; and then, proceeding to their nomination, the senate elects for members of the provisional government, M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento; count de Beurnonville, senator; count de Jaucourt, senator; duke of Dalberg, counsellor of state; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the constituent assembly. They are proclaimed in this quality by the prince vice-grand elector, president.

His serene highness added, "that as one of the first cares of the provisional government ought to be the drawing up of the plan of a constitution, the members of the government, as soon as they shall employ themselves on this plan, will give notice of it to all the members of the senate, who are invited to contribute by their wisdom to the perfection of so important a work."

Some

Some senators demand that this act shall contain an account of the motives which have determined the senate, and rendered its meeting indispensable.—Other members, on the contrary, demand that those motives shall form part of the address which will be published by the members of the provisional government. The senate adopts this last proposal.

A member proposes to lay down as a principle, and to charge the members of the provisional government to comprehend in substance in the address to the French people, 1. That the senate and the legislative body are declared integral parts of the intended constitution; subject to the modifications which shall be judged necessary to insure the liberty of the suffrages and opinions. 2. That the army, as well as the retired officers and soldiers, shall retain the ranks, honours, and pensions which they enjoy. 3. That the public debts shall be inviolable. 4. That the sale of the national domains shall be irrevocably maintained. 5. That no Frenchman shall be made answerable for the public opinions which he may have expressed. 6. That the liberty of worship and of conscience shall be maintained and proclaimed, as well as the liberty of the press, subject to the legal repression of the crimes which may arise from the abuse of that liberty.

These different proposals, seconded by several members, were put to the vote by the prince vice-grand elector, president, and adopted by the senate.

A member demands that, to reconcile the adoption of these proposals with the confidence due to the members of the provisional government just established, the address to the French people, which this government is to draw up, shall announce that they are charged to prepare a constitution, such that it shall not in any manner violate the principles which are the basis of these propositions. The senate adopts this amendment. The senate adjourns till nine o'clock this evening, to hear and adopt the definitive reduction of the *proces verbal*, and to sign it individually. Senator count Barthelemy, ex-president of the senate, is appointed president in the absence of the prince vice grand elector, who cannot be present at this sitting. It is decreed that the extract of the *proces verbal*, containing the nomination of the members of the provisional government, shall be immediately made out under the signature of the president and secretaries. The senators who, for want of being informed in time have not been able to attend this sitting, are to be again convoked for the sitting this evening. These deliberations being finished, the prince vice grand elector put an end to the sitting.

The same day, April 1, 1814, at nine in the evening, the sitting is resumed; senator count Barthelemy, president. The senate hears the *proces verbal* of this day read, and adopts it with some amendments. It is demanded that this *proces verbal* shall be printed, and six copies distributed to each of the members. This proposal is adopted. The members then proceeded to sign the *proces verbal* as follows:—M. M. Abrial, Barbe de Marbois, Barthelemy, cardinal de Bayanne, Belderbusch, Bertholet, general Beuernonville, Buonacorsi, Carbonara, general count Chasseloup, Laubat, Cholet, general Colaud, Cornet, Davous, de Gregory Marcorengo, general Dembarrere, de Pere, Destust de Tracy, general d'Harville

Daubersaert, general d'Hedouville, Dubois, Debay, Emmery, Tabre-de-l'Aude, general Ferino, Fontanes, Garat, Gregoire, Herwin, de Jaucourt, Journu Aubert, general Klein, le Jeas, Lambreschts, Lanjuinais, Launoy, le Brun de Rochemont, general Lespinasse, le Mercier, Maleville, Meermann, Monbadon, Pastoret, Pere Pontecoulant, Porcher, Rigal, Roger Ducos, St. Martin de Lamothe, general Sainte Suzanne, Saur, Schimmelpenninck, marshal Serrurier, general Soules, Tascher, general Valence, marshal de Valmy, Vendeden, Vandepoll, general Vaubois, general Villetard, Vimar, Volney. The members absent from indisposition sent their adherence. The senate met again on Saturday, April 2, at nine o'clock in the evening.

Letter of M. Senator Barthelemy, on the *decheance* (forfeiture) of the throne.

Gentlemen, members of the provisional government,—The senate commissions me to request you to signify to the French people tomorrow, that the senate, by a decree, passed in its sitting this evening, has declared that the emperor Napoleon and his family have forfeited all right to the throne, and consequently absolved the French people and the army from their oath of allegiance. This act will be sent to you tomorrow, with the motives and the reason of it. I have the honour to salute you.

The president of the senate,

BARTHELEMY.

Paris, April 2, half-past 9, P. M.

Nothing is more interesting and more affecting than what has passed this evening at the audience which the emperor of Russia has given to the senate, after having received the homage of this body. "A man who called himself my ally," said the emperor Alexander, "entered my states as an unjust aggressor; it is against him that I have made war, not against France. I am the friend of the French people; what you have just done redoubles this sentiment; it is just, it is wise, to give to France strong and liberal institutions which may be conformable to the present state of knowledge; my allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions." The emperor stopped a moment; then his majesty continued with the most affecting emotion, "As a proof of the durable alliance which I mean to contract with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners who are in Russia: the provisional government had already asked this of me: I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolutions which it has taken today." The senate withdrew, penetrated with sentiments of gratitude and the highest admiration.

Paris, April 3.

General order issued by marshal count Barclay de Tolly, general-in-chief of the combined Russian and Prussian armies.

Soldiers!—Your perseverance and bravery have delivered the French nation, oppressed by a tyrant who acted only for himself, and who forgot what he owed to an esteemed and generous people. The French nation has declared itself for us; our cause is become theirs; and our magnanimous monarchs have promised them protection and support. From this moment the French are our friends: let your arms destroy the small number of unfortunates who still surround the ambitious Napoleon; but let the cultivator and peaceable

inhabitant

inhabitant be treated with consideration and friendship, as allies united by the same interests. Given at head-quarters, Paris, April 2, 1814.

Acts of the provisional government.

Address to the French armies, Paris, April 2, 1814.

Soldiers!—France has just broken the yoke under which she has groaned with you for so many years. You never have fought but for the country; you can no longer fight, unless against it, under the colours of the man who leads you. Behold all that you have suffered from his tyranny; you were lately a million of men; nearly all have perished; they were delivered up to the sword of the enemy, without food, without hospitals; they were condemned to perish of misery and hunger. Soldiers! it is full time to end the calamities of the country; peace is in your hands. Will you refuse it to desolated France? Your enemies themselves demand it of you; they regret to ravage these fine countries, and wish only to take arms against your oppressor and ours. Shall you be deaf to the voice of the country which summons and entreats you? It addresses you by its senate, by its capital, and above all by its misfortunes; you are its noblest children, and cannot belong to him who has ravaged it, who has delivered it up without arms, without defence; who wished to render your name odious to all nations, and who would have compromised your glory;—if a man, who is not even a Frenchman, could have weakened the glory of our arms, and the generosity of our soldiers. You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon: the senate and all France absolve you from your oaths. (Signed prince of Benevento, Francis de Montesquieu, Dalberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt.)

Provincial government.—The provisional government declares, that the Moniteur is the only official journal.

Boux Laborie, secretary-general, April 3.

Reasons of the senate for deposing Bonaparte.

Extracts from the registers of the conservative senate.—Sitting of April 3, under the presidency of count Barthelemy. The sitting, which had been adjourned, was resumed at four o'clock, when the senator count Lambrecht read the revised and adopted plan of the decree which passed in the sitting of yesterday. It is as follows:—"The conservative senate, considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution on social compact: that Napoleon Bonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to article 55 of the act of the constitutions of the 28th floreal, year 12: that he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation he disputed: that he undertook a series of wars in violation of article 50 of the act of the constitution of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of

war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws; that he issued unconstitutionally, several decrees inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition; that he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the state: that he annulled the responsibility of the minister, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies. Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of his police; and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments: that acts and reports heard by the senate have undergone alterations in the publication. Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour; by the abuse which he made of all the means entrusted to him in men and money; by the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence; by various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases. Considering that for all these causes, the imperial government established by the senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first results of which should also be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the æra of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family:—the senate declares and decrees as follows: Art. 1, Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished. 2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte. 3. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in the capital.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER of France under Louis XVIII.

Extract from the register of the legislative senate of the 6th April, 1814,

The conservative senate, deliberating upon the plan of constitution presented to it by the provisional government, in execution of the act of the senate of the 1st inst., after having heard the report of a special commission of seven members, decrees as follow:

The French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. The French people call freely to the throne of France Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, brother of the last king, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon, in the ancient order. The ancient nobility resume their titles. The new preserve theirs hereditarily.

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The legion of honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The king shall fix the decoration. The executive power belongs to the king. The king, the senate, and the legislative body, concur in the making of laws. Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the senate and in the legislative body. Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the legislative body. The king can invite equally the two bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper. The sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law. There are 150 senators at least, and 200 at most. Their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the king. The present senators, with the exception of those who should renounce the quality of French citizen, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the senate and the senatorships belonging to them. The revenues are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment. The princes of the royal family and the princes of the blood, are by right members of the senate. The functions of a senator cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of twenty-one years. The senate decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret. Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it sent thither. The deputies who sat in the legislative body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay. In future they shall be chosen immediately by the electoral bodies, which are preserved, with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization. The duration of the functions of the deputies to the legislative body is fixed at five years. The new election shall take place for the session of 1816. The legislative body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The king may convoke it extraordinarily; he may adjourn it; he may also dissolve it: but in the latter case another legislative body must be formed in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges. The legislative body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, unless in cases where it chooses to form itself into a general committee. The senate, legislative body, electoral colleges, and assemblies of cantons, elect their president from among themselves. No member of the senate or legislative body can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs. The trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate. The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right: no tax can be imposed or received unless it has been freely consented to by the legislative body and the senate The land-tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body. The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the

army. The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardoning. The courts and ordinary tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The judges are for life and irremoveable, except the justices of the peace and the judges of commerce. The commissions and extraordinary tribunals are suppressed, and cannot be re-established. The court of cassation, the courts of appeal, and the tribunals of the first instance, propose to the king three candidates for each place of judge vacant in their body. The king chooses one of the three. The king names the first presidents and the public ministry of the courts and the tribunals. The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory of the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens. The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty. The senatorial commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved. The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given. Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments. All the laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled "Civil Code of the French." The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed king of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating—"I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed." This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

PRINCE OF BENEVENTO,
President, &c.

Extracts from the London Gazette extraordinary of April 5.

Foreign-office, April 5.—Dispatches from lord Burghersh and the hon. sir C. W. Stewart, K. B.

Fere Champenoise, March 26.

My lord, In considerable doubt whether this dispatch will reach you, I still am anxious to seize the first opportunity of informing you of the events which have taken place since my last letters, and which, up to the present moment, have been attended with the most brilliant successes.—In the morning on the 23d, the different corps of this army were assembled in positions, from whence the whole were directed upon Vitry. The Russian light division of cavalry

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of the guard, under general count Angerowsky, advanced from Metiercelin to Sommepuis, where they attacked a considerable body of infantry, killed and made prisoners a great number of them, and took 20 pieces of cannon. This attack was conducted with so much talent and rapidity, that the loss on the part of the Russians was inconsiderable. The enemy immediately after began to defile from all their positions near Arcis, directing themselves upon Vitry. Count Wrede endeavoured to intercept their march, but was unable to do so. The prince royal of Wirtemberg followed them, and did them considerable mischief. By a French courier taken at the charge of the Russian cavalry at Sommepuis, it was ascertained, that the corps of marshals Ney and M'Donald were in our front filing to join Bonaparte, who was already at St. Dizier. The commandant of Vitry had been summoned by marshal Ney, and threatened with the massacre of the whole garrison if he did not surrender; he had, however, refused; Vitry was still in our possession.—By an intercepted letter of Bonaparte's, the objects of his movements were discovered. Prince Schwartzenberg, in consequence, halted his army on the Marne during the night of the 23d, the French having entirely passed to the other bank of that river. Bonaparte having placed himself upon our line of communication with the rear, and our junction with the army of marshal Blucher being formed by the arrival of general Winzingerode from Chalons at Vitry, it was determined that the whole of the two great allied armies should march upon Paris. With this object the whole army broke up yesterday, and had advanced in one column upon this place. The corps of marshals Marmont and Mortier appear to have received orders to join Bonaparte; they arrived within two leagues of Vitry on the night of the 24th. The advanced guard of the prince royal of Wirtemberg fell in with them soon after he had commenced his march in this direction. The enemy, perceiving a considerable force advancing upon him, retired; the cavalry of the 4th and 6th corps pursued. The light cavalry division of Russian guards again distinguished itself; it charged first the enemy's cuirassiers, next his masses of infantry: in both it succeeded; a great number of killed and wounded were left on the field of battle; 10 pieces of cannon taken, and near 1,000 prisoners. Several other charges were made by the Austrian cuirassiers and the Wirtemberg cavalry; the enemy suffered from them considerably, and was pursued, with the loss of above 30 pieces of cannon, to Sezanne. The results of these affairs are not yet completely known; I will transmit them to your lordship by the first opportunity. Upon the arrival of prince Schwartzenberg at Fere Champenoise, a cannonade was observed upon our right; soon after, a body of infantry was seen moving upon the head-quarters. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia immediately directed a train of artillery which belonged to the 6th corps, and which was passing at the time, to place itself in position against this corps. The cavalry which was in rear of this body was soon after discovered to belong to the army of marshal Blucher, which had been pursuing it during the greater part of the day. Prince Schwartzenberg immediately brought up a considerable

able portion of cavalry from the corps that were pursuing marshals Marmont and Mortier; the emperor of Russia directed the advance of the Russian guns, the whole body of French infantry was surrounded, they were charged on all sides, under the immediate directions of the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg; after resistance which does honour to the enemy's troops, the whole of his two masses amounting to 4800 infantry, with 12 pieces of cannon, were taken.—Such have been, my lord, the triumphant results of yesterday. The troops are already in advance this morning, the cavalry will arrive today at La Ferte Gaucher. Gen. Winzingerode, with 10,000 cavalry, is in observation of Bonaparte's army, on the side of St. Dizier; its direction is not as yet known.—It is with the greatest regret that I have to announce to your lordship, that colonel Campbell was yesterday most severely wounded by a cossack. Colonel Campbell, continuing that gallant distinguished course which has ever marked his military career, had charged with the first cavalry which penetrated the French masses; the cossacks who came to support this cavalry mistook him for a French officer, and struck him to the ground. From the appearances this morning I am however in considerable hope of his recovery. Colonel Rapatel, late aid-de-camp of gen. Moreau, was unfortunately killed.

I have the honour, &c.

BURGHERSH, lieut.-col. 63d reg.

Head-quarters, Fere Champenoise, March 26.

My lord, Bonaparte having failed in his attempt to debouche from Nancy and Arcis, across the Aube, and having abandoned his idea of attacking prince Schwartzenberg in his position at Menil-la-Comtesse, seems to have been guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of prince Schwartzenberg and marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in this object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and make it as circuitous as possible. It is further manifest, by intercepted letters, that Bonaparte was of opinion that the movement he determined on, on the right of prince Schwartzenberg, might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications, —that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better situation to cover Paris.—It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head of an army; but Bonaparte, in his present undertaking, seems to have pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube with his whole army near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted. Bonaparte put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepuis; on the following day the advanced corps of his army arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place. It had been placed by colonel ——— in a very tolerable state of defence, and it had a garrison of between 3000 and 4000 Prussians. Marshal Ney endeavoured by every menace to obtain a surrender; but the brave Prussian colonel resolutely refused, and held the town, which reduced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt.

Frignicourt. Bonaparte here passed his whole army on the 23d and 24th, and was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of St. Dizier.—Three objects might benow in his view, by the movements round our right to force us back; if this failed, to operate upon our communications, and even proceed to form a junction with marshal Augereau; or finally, by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed us in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of the capital.—The allies on the 22d having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with a united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.—In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Lesmont, and Arcis, on Vitry, and his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of eight and twelve leagues, established his headquarters with those of the field marshal at Vitry on the 24th inst. —A very brilliant capture of several pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, and a large number of caissons, was made by general Augerauski, of the cavalry of the Russian guard, on the 23d; and on this day and the preceeding, several advanced guard affairs took place between general Wrede's corps, the prince of Wirtemberg's, and the enemy. So soon as the marshal took this decision, he made his dispositions accordingly, by forming a corps on the Bar-sur-Aube line, which he has committed to the care of general Ducca, to protect the head-quarters of the emperor of Austria, his supplies, &c. and carry them, if necessary, towards the army of the south, and also, by vigorously pressing forward in his operations towards the capital, to secure his rear, while he pursues his objects in front.—The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne. The 6th and 4th corps formed the advance of the centre column. The 5th was on the right, and the 3d corps, and the reserves and the guards, on the left.—Marshal Blucher was reported to have arrived with a great part of his army at Chalons. Gen. Winzingerode and general Czernicheff, with all their cavalry, entered Vitry on the 23d, and were immediately detached to follow up Bonaparte's march to St. Dizier, threatening his rear General Winzingerode's infantry had remained at Chalons with marshal Blucher, together with general Woronzoff's and general Zachen's corps. Gen. Bulow had marched to attack Soissons, and generals Yorck and Kliest had moved on the line of Montmirail. — By these general movements, your lordship will perceive, that had Bonaparte even not crossed the Aube, and passed between our two armies, he probably would have found himself in a similar position to that at Leipsick, and the result would have been, I have no doubt, of the same nature. The army was to have bivouacked on the 25th at Fere Champenoise.—It appears that the corps of marshals Marmont and Mortier, who had been retiring from before Marshal Blucher, were moving

moving down towards Vitry, to connect themselves with Bonaparte's operations, ignorant of his intentions, which may not have been fully formed until he found himself too far committed; these corps of his army were much perplexed on finding themselves close to prince Schwartzenberg's army when they expected to meet their own. It is a singular but a curious fact, that marshal Marmont's advance was within a very short distance, on the night of the 24th, to Vitry, without the enemy's knowing it was in the occupation of the allies.—On the morning of the 26th, the 6th corps, under General Reusske, fell in with their advance, drove them back to Conantray and through Fere Champenoise; in the former place a large number of caissons, waggons, and baggage, were taken. In the mean time on the left the Russian cavalry of the reserves under the grand duke Constantine, was equally successful, charging the enemy, and taking 18 cannon and many prisoners. But the principal brilliant movement of this day occurred after the allied troops in advance had passed through Champenoise; a detached column of the enemy, of 5,000 men, under the command of general Ames, had been making its way, under the protection of Marmont's corps, from the neighbourhood of Montmirail, to join Napoleon with his grand army. This corps had in charge an immense convoy with 100,000 rations of bread and ammunition, and was of great importance, by the force attached to it. It had left Paris to proceed to Bonaparte, and the cavalry of marshal Blucher's army were the first to discover and observe this corps on their March from Chalons. My aid-de-camp, captain Harris was fortunate enough, looking out with some cossacks, to give the first intelligence to marshal Blucher of their position. The cavalry of generals Kort and Basitschikoff's corps, were immediately detached after them, and they were driven upon Fere Champenoise, as the cavalry of the grand army was advancing. Some attacks of the cavalry were made on this corps, who formed themselves in squares, and it is but justice to say defended themselves in the most gallant manner, although they were young troops and national guards; when they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies, some officers were sent to demand their surrender, but they still kept marching on and firing, and did not lay down their arms; a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them; and renewed charges of cavalry completed their destruction; and generals Ames and Pathod, generals of division, five brigadiers, 5,000 men and 12 cannon, with the convoy, fell into our hands.—Marmont and Mortier's rear-guards seem to have drawn off in the direction of Sezanne, and it is difficult to say whether they will be able to effect their escape. Every disposition is making to harass and surround them; but the moment is so eventful, and every intelligence gives rise to such new conjectures, that I can only beg your lordship to excuse the very imperfect manner in which I am obliged to detail.—The grand army marches to-day to Mailleret; head-quarters at Treffau, and the advance is to push as far as La Ferte Gaucher. Marshal Blucher, who was last night at Etayes, is to advance against Montmirail.—Your lordship will, I am sure, lament to learn,

learn, that that very deserving officer, col. N. Campbell, was unfortunately wounded by a cossack, in the melee of the cavalry, not being known: the pike was run into his back, but he is doing well.—I am also particularly sorry to report the death of col. Rapatel, who was shot going up to one of the columns with a flag of truce. The loss of an officer so much and so justly beloved in this army, from his attachment to general Moreau, his excellent qualities, and his devotion to the good cause, has occasioned a general regret.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen.

PROCLAMATION.

King Joseph, lieutenant general of the emperor, commander-in-chief of the national guard, to the citizens of Paris.

"Citizens of Paris,—An enemy's column has proceeded upon Meaux. It is advancing by the road from Germany, but the emperor is following it close at the head of a victorious army. The council of regency has provided for the safety of the empress and the king of Rome. I remain with you. Let us arm for the defence of this city, its monuments, its riches,—our wives, our children, all that is dear to us. Let this vast city become a camp for some moments, and let the enemy find his disgrace under its walls, which they hope to break through in triumph. The emperor is marching to our succour; second him by a short and powerful resistance, and let us preserve the French honour. "JOSEPH."

Paris, March 29.

Heights of Belleville, March 30.

My lord, After a brilliant victory, God has placed the capital of the French empire in the hands of the allied sovereigns, a just retribution for the miseries inflicted on Moscow, Vienna, Madrid, Berlin, and Lisbon, by the desolater of Europe. I must very imperfectly detail the events of this glorious day at such a moment as the present, and therefore throw myself on your lordship's indulgence.—The enemy's army, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, aided by marshals Mortier and Marmont, occupied with their right the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville; their left was on Montmartre, and they had several redoubts in the centre, and on the whole line an immense artillery, of above 150 pieces. In order to attack this position, the Silesian army was directed on Montmartre, St. Dennis, the village of La Villette, and Pantin, while the grand army attacked the enemy's right on the heights before alluded to at Romainville and Belleville. Marshal Blucher made his own dispositions for his attack. The 6th corps under general Reifski moved from Bondy in three columns of attack, supported by the guards and reserves, and leaving the great route of Meaux, attacked the heights of Romainville and Belleville. These are very commanding, as well as Montmartre, the country between being covered with villages and country seats, and the possession of them commands Paris and the whole country round.—Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg's division of the 6th corps commenced the attack, and with the greatest spirit endured for a long period a very galling fire of artillery, being supported by the reserves of grenadiers; his serene highness, after some loss, carried the heights of Romainville, the enemy retiring to those of Belle-

ville

ville behind them. The 4th corps supported this attack more to the left and was directed on the heights of Rosny, and on Charenton, by the gallant commander the prince royal of Wirtemberg. The 3rd corps of the army was placed in echelon near Neuilly in reserve as well as the cavalry.—The attack of the grand army had commenced some short time before that of the Silesian, delayed by some accident; but it was not long before generals Kliest and Yorck debouched near St. Dennis on Aubeville, and here and at Pantin a very obstinate resistance was made. His royal highness prince William of Prussia, with his brigade, together with the Prussian guards, were much distinguished. The enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were brilliantly repulsed by the Brandenburgh and black hussar regiments. A strong redoubt and battery of the enemy's in the centre, kept gen. D'Yorck's corps in check for some part of the day, but their right flank being gained by the heights of Romainville, as well as their loss in every part of the field, and finally, the complete discomfiture on all sides, reduced them to the necessity of sending a flag of truce to demand a cessation of hostilities, they giving up all the ground without the barrier of Paris, until further arrangements could be made. The heights of Montmartre were to be placed, by the generosity of a beaten enemy, in our possession (Romainville and Belleville being carried) at the moment when count Langeron's corps was about to storm them, and had already taken possession of the rest of the hill. Count Woronzow's division also carried the village of La Villette, charging with two battalions of chasseurs; and possessing themselves of twelve pieces of cannon, were also stopped near the barrier of Paris by the flag of truce.—However, his imperial majesty, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg, with that humanity which must excite the applause, while it calls for the admiration of Europe, acceded to entertaining a proposition to prevent the capital from being sacked and destroyed. Count Par, aid-de-camp to the prince field-marshal, and colonel Orloff, aid-de-camp to his majesty the emperor, were sent to arrange the cessation of hostilities; and count Nesselrode, his imperial majesty's minister, went in at four o'clock this evening, when the battle ceased, to Paris.—The result of this victory cannot yet be known; numerous pieces of artillery taken in the field, and a large number of prisoners, have fallen into our hands. The number of guns in the margin are already reported.—Our loss has been something considerable; but we may have the consoling hope, that the brave men who fell will accomplish the work of the downfall of despotism, and rear the standard of renovated Europe under a just equilibrium, and the dominion of its legitimate sovereigns.—I take the liberty of sending my aid-de-camp, captain Harris, with this dispatch, being with me during the day; he will make his way, I hope, with the cossacks whom lieut.-general count Woronzow has given him, and will acquaint your lordship verbally with details I can but imperfectly enter into. When I receive col. Lowe's report, as well as col. Cooke's, I shall not fail to dispatch again, to put you in possession of all further information in my power of this interesting and wonderful day.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen.

LONDON

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Head quarters, Colomiers, March 27.

My lord, The reports from the different corps not having been received when I sent off my dispatch of the 26th, added to the hurry of the moment in which it was written, must be my apology for having much under-rated the sucoesses of the 25th inst.—Upon the retreat of Marmont's, Mortier's, and Arrighi's corps before the several columns of the armies whose junction had been effected between Fere-Champenoise and Chalons, above 80 pieces of cannon, besides the convoy alluded to in my dispatch of the 26th, and a great number of caissons, fell into our hands. The guns were abandoned in all directions by the enemy in the rapid retreat, and were captured not only by the cavalry of the grand duke Constantine and general count Pahlen, but also by the corps of general Reifsky and the prince royal of Wirtemberg. Generals d'Yorck and Kleist, who had moved from Montmirail on La-Ferte-Gaucher, where they arrived on the 26th, very greatly augmented the enemy's discomfiture; general d'Yorck's was very seriously engaged with the enemy, and took 1500 prisoners at the latter place; and it may be fairly estimated that this part of Buonaparte's army had been so roughly handled as to have lost one-third of its efficiency in point of numbers, with nearly all the artillery belonging to it. Nothing but continued forced marches could have enabled any part of the corps above alluded to to elude their victorious pursuers; and when I detail to your lordship, that marshal Blucher's army was at Fismes on the 24th, and was fighting at La Ferte Gaucher on the 26th, making a march of 26 leagues, it will be evident that no physical exertions can exceed those that the present unexampled crisis brings into action.—The grand army was in position at Mailleret on the 26th.—The march was continued in three columns from Fere Champenoise; the head-quarters of the emperor of Russia and prince Schwartzenberg were at Treffau; the cavalry of count Pahlen was pushed on beyond La Ferte Gaucher, joining generals d'Yorck and Kleist; the cavalry and the reserves were bivouacked at La Vergiere on the right of the great road; the 6th and 4th corps were in the centre; the 5th on the left; and the 3d remained in the rear, to cover all the baggage, artillery parks, and train, and to make the march of the whole compact. Generals Kaiseroff and Ledavin's partizan corps occupied and observed the country about Arcis and Troyes, between the Maine and the Seine.—Intelligence was received from generals Winzingerode and Czernicheff, who continued following Buonaparte's rear with 10,000 cavalry and 40 pieces of cannon, that he was marching by Brienne to Bar sur Aube and Troyes, hastening back to the capital with the utmost precipitation, a plain demonstration (if any were wanting) that superiority of manœuvring, as well as superiority of force, were in his adversaries scale. The prince field marshal continued his march this day without interruption; the head-quarters weve established at Colomiers; the 6th corps arrived at monson; count Pahlen's cavalry, and the prince royal of Wirtemberg, who were sent to turn the enemy's right, followed one part of the corps before us, which seemed now to have separated to Crecy while generals d'Yorck and Kleist pushed the other by advancing

vancing from La Ferte Gaucher to Meaux, where they will secure the passage of the Marne for marshal Blucher's army; the 5th corps took up its ground near Chailly, the 3d at Meveillyn, and the cavalry of the guard, the guards, and reserves in front of this place. Marshal Blucher's head-quarters are to-night at La Ferte Jouarre, and to-morrow his army will passthe Marne, which, I apprehend, the grand army will do at Lagny; thus concentrating nearly their whole force on the right bank of the river, and taking position on the heights of Mont-Martre. I am as yet ignorant of the motives that may have directed the corps of the enemy in our front; whether a part has fallen back to form a noyau to the national guards at Paris, and whether with some of these they will dispute momentarily the passage of the Marne to-morrow, and whether the other part is moving by Provins to join Buonaparte, remains to be seen, but in neither instance to be apprehended. Whatever may be the ultimate results of the operations in progress, however brilliant they appear, the sovereigns who are present, and the prince field marshal, who leads their armies, will have the proud and consoling reflection that by their intrepid manœuvre they have acted right by their countries, their people, and the great cause.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut. gen.

Foreign-office, April 5.

Since the receipt of the preceding intelligence, captain Harris has arrived with the following dispatches from lieutenant general the honourable sir C. W. Stewart, K. B; and lord Burghersh.

Head-quarters, Bondy, March 29.

On the 28th the grand allied army and that of Silesia continued their advance to Paris. The 6th corps, the Austrian grenadiers, the guards, and reserves, and the cavalry of his imperial highness the grand duke Constantine, took up their ground in the neighbourhood of Coulley and Manteuil. The 3d corps was this day at Mouron, the 5th remained at Chailly with the advanced guard in the direction of La Ferte Gaucher, observing the routes of Sezanne and Provins. The head-quarters of the army were established at Cuency. The passage of the Marne at Meaux was effected by the 6th corps with little resistance. A part of marshal Mortier's corps, under the immediate command of the French general Vincent, who retired through the above place, broke down the bridge in his retreat, and detained the allies in their advance. About 10,000 of the national guards, mixed with some old soldiers, endeavoured to make a feeble stand before the army of Silesia, between La Ferte Jouarre and Meaux; but general Horne attacked them, and placing himself gallantly at the head of some squadrons, he pierced into a mass of infantry, taking himself the French general prisoner.—The passage of the river was also disputed at Triport, where the army of the marshal passed; but notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, the bridge was soon completed, and the whole of this army passed the Marne to-day.—The French, on their retreat from Meaux, caused a magazine of powder, of an immense extent, to be blown up, without the slightest information to the inhabitants of the town, who thought themselves, by the monstrous explosion, buried in the ruins of the place; not a window of the town that was not shivered to atoms, and great damage was done to all the houses

houses, and to the magnificent cathedral. The corps of D'Yorck and Kleist advanced this day to Claye; the corps of general Langeron was on their right, and general Sacken's in reserve; the corps of Woronzoff was in the rear at Meaux.—Different bridges were constructed on the Marne to enable the grand army to file over in various columns.—Bonaparte's rear towards St. Dizier seems to have been assailed on the evening of the 26th and morning of the 27th, by a very preponderating force of the enemy, especially as to infantry. The details of the affair are not arrived, but it appears that the general was obliged to retreat in the direction of Bar le Duc. From the most recent reports Bonaparte was himself at St. Dizier on the 27th, and it is said his advanced guard is at Vitry. It would thus appear that he is marching after the allies, or directing himself on the Marne; but it is to be hoped this is now too late.—On the 29th, the army of Silesia, having a corps on the Marne, was directed to its right, to advance on the great road of Soissons to Paris; general count Langeron was on the right, near the village of La Villettes; generals D'Yorck and Kleist moved from the Meaux route into that of Soissons, to make room for prince Schwartzenberg's army; generals Sacken and Woronzow were in their rear.—On the 28th in the evening a very sharp affair occurred at Clave between general D'Yorck and the enemy's rear; the ground they were posted on was very favourable for defence; and in a very severe tiraillade general D'Yorck lost some hundred men; but the enemy were driven back at all points. The 6th corps passed at Triport, and reached Bondy at night, and the heights of Pantin. The 4th corps crossed at Meaux, with the guards and reserves and cavalry; the former was immediately directed to gain the high road from Lagny to the capital, and to take post on the heights of Chelle. The 3d corps was to support the 4th. The 5th moved to Meaux, and remained on the left of the Marne, having their cavalry at Cressy and Colomiers.—On the advance of the 6th corps some slight resistance was made at Villaparis; and as it was necessary to relieve generals D'Yorck and Kleist, and move them more to the right, a cessation of hostilities for four hours was agreed to by mutual consent, which delay prevented the march forward being so rapid as usual.—The army this night may be stated to have their right towards Montmartre, and the left near the wood of Vincennes.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen.

Proclamation of marshal prince Schwartzenberg to the inhabitants of Paris.

Inhabitants of Paris!—The allied armies are before Paris. The object of their march towards the capital of France is founded on the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France. The attempts made to put an end to so many misfortunes have been useless, because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you, an insurmountable obstacle to peace. What Frenchman is there who is not convinced of this truth?—The allied sovereigns seek, in good faith, a salutary authority in France, which may cement the union of all nations and of all governments with her; it is to the city of Paris that it has fallen, under the present cir-

cumstances, to accelerate the peace of the world. The wish of this city is looked for with that interest which a result of such importance must inspire. Let her declare herself, and from that moment the army before her walls becomes the support of her decisions.—Parisians, you know the situation of your country, the conduct of Bordeaux, the friendly occupation of Lyons, the evils brought upon France, and the real dispositions of your fellow citizens. You will find in these examples the termination of foreign war and of civil discord; you cannot search it elsewhere.—The preservation and tranquillity of your city will be the object of the cares and measures which the allies are ready to take, in conjunction with the authorities and notables, who possess the largest share of public estimation. No troops shall be quartered upon you. In these sentiments, Europe in arms before your walls, addresses you. Hasten to reply to the confidence which she places in your love for the country, and in your discretion.

The commander-in-chief of the allied armies,
Marshal prince SCHWARTZENBERG.

Heights of Belleville, above Paris, March 30, *seven* p. m.

My lord,—I sieze an opportunity, which offers at this instant, to transmit to you an account of the successes of this day. After the affair of Fere Champenoise, the details of which I had the honour of giving to your lordship in my last dispatch, the united army of prince Schwartzenberg and marshal Blucher passed the Marne on the 28th and 29th, at Triport and Meaux.—The enemy opposed a feeble resistence to the passage of the river; but on the 28th in the evening, general D'Yorck was severely engaged near Claye; he drove the enemy, however, at last from the woods about that place with very considerable loss.—Yesterday the whole army (with the exception of the corps of marshal Wrede and general Sacken, which were left in possession at Meaux,) advanced upon Paris. Continual skirmishing took place with the enemy; but he retired, giving up Pantin on his right, and the ground in front of Montmartre on his left. It appears that during last night the corps of marshals Mortier and Marmont entered Paris. The garrison which previously was assembled in it, was composed of a part of general Gerard's corps, under general Compans, and a force of about 8000 regular troops and 30,000 national guards, under general Hulin, the governor of the town. With this force the enemy, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, took up a position this morning, the right on the height of Belleville occupying that town, the centre on the canal de l'Ourque, the left towards Neuilly.—This position was strong from the intersected nature of the ground on its right. The heights of Montmartre commanded the plain in rear of the canal of l'Ourque, and added strength to the position of the enemy.—The disposition of attack for this morning was, the prince royal of Wirtemberg, forming the left, marched upon Vincennes; general Rieffsky upon Belleville; the guards and reserves upon the great chaussée leading from Bondy to Paris. Marshal Blucher was to march upon the chausées from Soissons, and attack Montmartre. All the attack succeeded; general Reiffsky possessed himself of the heights of Belleville; the troops under his orders

orders particularly distinguished themselves in the different attacks made by them.—The village of Pontin was carried at the point of the bayonet; the heights above Belleville were carried in the most gallant manner by the Prussian guards, these corps captured 43 pieces of cannon, and took a great number of prisoners. Nearly at the time these successes had been obtained, marshal Blucher commenced his attack upon Montmartre. The regiment of Prussian black hussars made a most brilliant charge upon a column of the enemy, and took 20 pieces of cannon.—At the moment of these decisive advantages, a flag of truce was sent from marshal Marmont, intimating a desire to receive any propositions that it might have been intended to make to him by a flag of truce which had previously been refused admittance. An armistice was also proposed by him for two hours, to obtain which, he consented to abandon every position he occupied without the barriers of Paris. Prince Schwartzenberg agreed to these terms. Count Nesselrode, on the part of the emperor of Russia, and count Par, from prince Schwartzenberg, were sent into the town to demand its surrender.—An answer is just arrived; the garrison will evacuate Paris by seven o'clock to-morrow morning. I may therefore congratulate your lordship on the capture of that capital.—The allied troops will enter it tomorrow.—Your lordship will excuse the hurry in which this letter is written; I have only time to give you the general details of the great events which have taken place; at such a moment it would be difficult to repress a feeling of exultation.—The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia were present in all the actions. Prince Schwartzenberg, by the decision with which he determined to march upon the capital of France, and by the mode in which he has conducted its advance, has obtained universal admiration.

I have the honour to be, &c.
BURGHERSH, lieut.-col. 63d reg.

Foreign office, April 9.—Dispatches have been received from his excellency general viscount Cathcart, and lieut.-gen. hon. sir C. Stewart, addressed to viscount Castlereagh.

Paris, March 31.

My lord,—the emperor Alexander, with the king of Prussia, marched into Paris this morning, where they were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The windows of the best houses were filled by well-dressed persons waving white handkerchiefs, and clapping their hands; the populace, intermixed with many of a superior class, were in the streets pressing forward to see the emperor, and to endeavour to touch his horse. The general cry was "Vive l'empereur Alexandre!" "Vive notre liberateur!" "Vive le roi de Prusse!" Very many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry of "Vive Louis XVIII.!" "Vive les Bourbons!" which gradually increased. Their imperial and royal majesties proceeded to Champs Elysées, where a great part of the army passed in review before them, and, as usual, in the most exact order. His imperial majesty is lodged in the house of M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento. It is impossible to describe the scenes of this day in the compass of a dispatch; the most striking were, the national guard

in their uniform, and armed, clearing the avenues for the troops of the allies passing through, in all the pomp of military parade, the day after a severe action. The people of Paris, whose political sentiments have at all times been manifested by the strongest indication, unanimous in their cry for peace, and a change of dynasty, enjoying the spectacle of the entry into the capital of France of an invading army, as a blessing and a deliverance. A rope placed round the neck of the statue of Napoleon, on the Colonne de la Grande Armée, and the people amused with pulling it, and crying "A bas le tyran." Much was said in the crowd of their wish for the restoration of amicable relations with Great Britain. The occupation of Lyons and of Bordeaux was known to all the people, as also the circumstance of the declarations at the latter place in favour of Louis XVIII. and the display of the white cockade; but not the independence of Holland. The events which have led to the occupation of Paris, will be understood from the following recapitulation:—Since the battle of Brienne, on the 1st February, the enemy has shewn no inclination to fight a general battle against the united force of the allies, but as used the utmost activity to attack all detachments. In the latter end of February, field marshal Blucher crossed the Marne, and moved upon Epernay, Soissons, and Laon, to meet and unite with the corps moving from the northern army, and those which had been relieved from the blockade of fortresses near the Rhine. The gallant and well-fought actions which took place between Soissons, Laon, and Rheims, having been detailed in the reports by colonel Lowe, and other officers. During these operations on the right, the marshal prince Schwartzenberg drew back the corps which remained with him on the left, and detached to reinforce the army between Dijon, Lyons, and Geneva, receiving at the same time, and distributing the velites from Hungary, and other Austrian reinforcements; his army, which had occupied the country between the Seine and the Yonne, with posts at Auxerre, Fontainbleau, Melun, and Mormont, and which had patroled into the suburbs of Orleans (near which city general Seslarini took some hundred prisoners) having fallen back to the Aube, where the affair of Bar-sur-Aube took place on the 13th. After this affair the prince field-marshal re-occupied Troyes, Auxerre, Sens, and Pont-sur-Seine. Napoleon, having declined a general action, which field-marshal Blucher repeatedly offered near Laon, returned to the left bank of the Marne, and indicated an intention of resuming offensive operations against the grand army. The conferences at Chatillon were terminated on the 19th inst. and on that day the French army moved upon Arcis, behind which the corps commanded by field-marshal count Wrede was posted. The allies under the prince Schwartzenberg, viz. the 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, under the prince royal of Wirtemberg, and the 5th under field-marshal Wrede, with the whole reserve, were concentrated on the Aube, near Pougy and Arcis, and a general attack was made by the allies on the 20th, in which the enemy was defeated at all points with great loss, and Arcis was retaken. At this juncture, Napoleon formed the desperate and extraordinary plan of passing between the

the armies of the allies, and of striking at their communications with the Rhine, intending at the same time to liberate the garrison of Metz. For this purpose he moved by Chalons on Vitry and St. Dizier, his head-quarters being on the 22d at Obcomte, between the two latter places. Vitry was held by a small Prussian garrison, which refused to surrender. The extent and nature of this project was fully ascertained on the 23d. A movement was immediately resolved upon Vitry, to secure that place, and to endeavour to cut off the corps of marshal Macdonald, said to be on the left bank of the Marne, between Chalons and Vitry, to operate a junction with the troops under general Winzingerode, which had moved upon Chalons, and to unite both armies. Their majesties the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia left Troyes the 20th, and had their quarters at Pougy. The emperor of Austria moved his quarters on the 19th to Bar-sur-Seine, with all the cabinet ministers, and came the 21st to Bar-sur-Aube. On the evening of the 23d the army broke up from Pougy, and having marched by Ramerne and Dompierre, assembled at day-break near Sommepuis; but the corps of marshal Macdonald had crossed the Marne the preceding day, before it could be intercepted. On the 24th the junction with general Winzingerode was effected at Vitry and Chalons, and the Silesian army came within reach of co-operating with the grand army. On the 25th, general Winzingerode, with his own and several other corps of cavalry, being left to observe the enemy, the united allied force began its movement, by rapid and continued marches upon Paris. The corps of marshal Mortier and Marmont were found at Vitry and Sommesons, and were driven back with loss, and pursued in the direction of Paris. On the 25th, the emperor, the king, and field-marshal the prince Schwartzenberg were at Ferre Champenoise, and on the 26th at Treffaux. Field-marshal Blucher was at Etoges on the 26th, and continued to march on Meaux by Montmirail. In the course of that week not less than 100 cannon and 9,000 prisoners were taken, with several general officers. At the affair near Ferre Champenoise, colonel Rapatel, late aide-de-camp to general Moreau, was unfortunately killed, while exhorting the French to surrender; and colonel Neil Campbell, who is on this service, and who has been with the advanced Russian corps in all the affairs since his return from the siege of Dantzig, was severely wounded, having been run through the body by a Russian lancer, who mistook him for an enemy during one of the charges; I am happy to say there was every reason to expect his recovery. On the 27th, the imperial and royal head-quarters were at Colomiers, and the Silesian army reached Meaux. On the 28th, head-quarters at Quincy. Bridges were prepared at Meaux and Triport. The Silesian army advanced to Claye, in front of which town a severe action took place, in which the enemy was repulsed. On the 29th, the emperor and the king, with field-marshal prince Schwartzenberg, crossed the Marne at Meaux; and the enemy being still in possession of the woods near Ville Paris and Bondi, he was attacked and driven beyond Bondi towards Pantin; the head-

quarters were established at the former of those places. Field-marshal Blucher the same day marched in two columns to the right, pointing upon Montmartre, through Mory, Draucey, and St. Denis. The enemy had improved the defences which the ground afforded on Montmartre, and in front of it, by redoubts and batteries, and had a considerable force of regular troops near the villages of Pantin, Romainville, and Belle Ville. The navigable canal, the woods and houses, together with some ground, so deep as to be nearly impassable for horses, afforded considerable means of resistance. A disposition for a general attack having been made on the 30th, the 6th corps, supported by the grenadiers and reserve, was engaged at an early hour to prevent the enemy from holding Pantin. The remainder of the troops, under the prince royal of Wirtemberg, was to turn the enemy on his right, and to push on to occupy in succession all the heights on the left of the road to Belleville inclusive. The day was considerably advanced before the troops reached their several positions, and the enemy made a determined resistance, especially at the village of Pantin; the whole of his force was commanded by the duke of Treviso, the right wing by the duke of Ragusa. A message had been sent on the 29th to deprecate resistance, and to explain that it must be vain, as the whole army was present; but the messenger was not received. In the evening of the 30th, count Nesselrode was admitted within the barriers of Paris; and at the same time one of the emperor's aides-de-camp was sent to marshal Marmont, who agreed that all firing should cease in half an hour, if the allied sovereigns would consent that no part of the army should pass the barrier of Paris that night. This was consented to, and the enemy withdrew from Montmartre within the town. The advanced corps bivouacked within pistol-shot of the town. The emperor returned to Bondi with the field-marshal, and at four in the morning the deputies of the city arrived. Seventy cannon, three colours, and 500 men, were taken; the number of killed and wounded of the enemy was very considerable, but this victory was not gained without some loss on the part of the allies.

I have the honour, &c.

CATHCART.

Paris, April 1.

My lord, I have the honour to annex herewith a copy of the capitulation of the city of Paris. I feel it impossible to convey to your lordship an accurate idea of a just description of the scene that presented itself yesterday in this capital, when his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzenberg, made their entry at the head of the allied troops. The enthusiasm and exultation that was exhibited must have very far exceeded what the most sanguine and devoted friend of the ancient dynasty of France could have pictured to his own mind; and those who are less personally interested, but equally ardent in that cause, could no longer hesitate in pronouncing, that the restoration of their legitimate king, the downfall of Bonaparte, and the desire of peace, has become the first and dearest wish of the Parisians, who have by the events of the last two days been eman-

emancipated from a system of terror and despotism impossible to describe, while they have been kept in an ignorance, by the arts of falsehood and deceit, incredible for an enlightened people, and incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind. The cavalry, under his imperial highness the grand archduke Constantine, and the guards of all the different allied forces, were formed in columns, early in the morning, on the road from Bondi to Paris. The emperor of Russia, with all his staff, his generals, and their suites present, proceeded to Pantin, where the king of Prussia joined him with a similar cortage; these sovereigns, surrounded by all the princes in the army, together with the prince field-marshal, and the Austrian etat-major, passed through the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and entered the barrier of Paris about eleven o'clock, the cossacks of the guard forming the advance of the march. Already was the crowd so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but before the monarchs reached the Porte de St. Martin, to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding; all Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot; one animus, or spring, evidently directed all their movements; they thronged in such masses round the emperor and the king, that with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. They were positively eaten up amidst the cries of "Vive l'empereur Alexandre!" "Vive le roi de Prusse!" "Vive nos liberateurs!" nor did the air alone resound with these peals, for with louder acclamations, if possible, they were mingled with those of "Vive le roi!" "Vive Louis XVIII.!" "Vive les Bourbons!" A bas le tyran!" The white cockade appeared very generally; many of the national guards, whom I saw, wore them. The clamorous applause of the multitude was seconded by a similar demonstration from all the houses along the line to the Champs Elysées; and handkerchiefs, as well as the fair hands that waved them, seemed in continued requisition. In short, my lord, to have an idea of such a manifestation of electric feeling as Paris displayed, it must have been witnessed—my humble description cannot make you conceive it. The sovereigns halted in the Champs Elysées, where the troops defiled before them in the most admirable order, and the head-quarters were established at Paris. I have the honour to annex the declaration of the emperor Alexander. Bonaparte, it now appears, moved his army from Troyes, by Sens, towards Fontainbleau, where, I suppose, the debris of marshals Mortier and Marmont's corps will join him. He arrived at Fromont the day before yesterday, and would have been in Paris, had it not been in possession of the allies. On hearing what had occurred, he retired to Corbeil, and from thence has probably collected his army in the neighbourhood of Fontainbleau, which cannot amount to more than forty or fifty thousand men. That he may make a desperate attempt I think probable, if his army stands by him, which will be questionable, if the senate and nation pronounces itself. The allied armies march tomorrow (with the exception of the

guards and reserves, who remain here) towards Fontainbleau, and will take up a position, or be regulated by the movements of Bonaparte.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen.

CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

The four hours' armistice which had been agreed upon for the purpose of treating on the conditions relative to the occupation of the city of Paris, and to the retreat of the French corps therein, having led to an arrangement to that effect; the undersigned, after being duly authorised by the respective commanders of the opposed forces, have adjusted and signed the following articles:

Article 1. The corps of the marshals dukes of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.—Art. 2. They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their corps d'armée.—Art. 3. Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city, that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.—Art. 4. All the arsenals, military establishments, work-shops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state that they were in previous to the present capitulation being proposed.—Art. 5. The national or city guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the allied powers.—Art. 6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie shall, in every respect, share the fate of the national guard.—Art. 7. The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock shall be prisoners of war.—Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allied powers.

Done at Paris, the 31st of March, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed) Count ORLOFF, aide-de-camp of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Colonel count PAAR, aide-de-camp general of marshal prince Schwartzenberg.

(Signed) Colonel BAROY FABRIER, attached to the etat-major of his excellency the marshal duke of Ragusa.

Colonel DENYS, first aide-de-camp of his excellency the marshal duke of Ragusa.

Foreign-office, April 9.

Dispatches have been this day received at this office from general lord Cathcart, K. T. announcing the abdication of the crown of France and Italy, by Napoleon Bonaparte, in terms of which the following is a translation:

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe; the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

"Done at the palace of Fontainbleau, the —. April 1814."

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, April 9.

Foreign-office, April 9.

Colonel Lowe arrived this night at

at this office with the following dispatches from lord viscount Burghersh.

Paris, April 7.

My lord, the great events which have of late occurred in this capital will be best detailed to you by his majesty's ministers assembled at this place. The corps of marshal Marmont, amounting to 12,000 men, passed in the night of the 4th within the lines occupied by the allied troops. This corps has taken its cantonments near Versailles. Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by general Caulaincourt, arrived at the same time, as bearers of Bonaparte's proposal, to submit to the decision of the senate and the people of France, and to abdicate in favour of his son. This proposition not having been agreed to, he has now surrendered himself to the wishes of the nation. The senate have this day announced the adoption of a constitution for the government of France, under the dominion of their antient line of kings. There seems no diversity of opinion in the nation. All have obeyed the call of the provisional government. Bonaparte stands alone and unprotected in a country where, but a few days past, he disposed at pleasure of the lives of its inhabitants. In this concluding scene of the most memorable æra which history records, it is impossible, my lord, I should resist a feeling of public duty, prompted also by a sense of gratitude and affection, in calling your attention to the able and distinguished manner in which prince Schwartzenberg has conducted the operations of this campaign. Exclusively of the talent which he has marked when in the field of battle, to the successes which have ever attended his career, the world will still look with almost increased admiration to the conduct he has pursued since his entry into Paris. Where conciliation, where every kind feeling of the heart, was required to change a system of carnage and desolation to the protection of a people, but of late a most bitter enemy, the character of prince Schwartzenberg secured to him success. More security, more order, never reigned in this capital. Peace and tranquillity, the happy omens may we hope of the future regenerated state of Europe, exist here amidst the troops of every nation, in spite of feelings lately of so great hostility. From his great and exalted situation, from the virtues which adorn his character, the emperor of Russia has been best able to appreciate the merits of prince Schwartzenberg. In token of the esteem he bears him, and in estimation of his great services, he has decorated him with the grand order of St. Andrew, and has presented it in diamonds.

BURGHERSH, leut.-col. 63d reg.

Paris, April 7.

My lord, Bonaparte having accepted the conditions proposed to him, marshals Ney and Macdonald, and general Caulaincourt, have this day arranged with prince Schwartzenberg the following line of demarcation to be observed between the allied and French armies:—From the mouth of the Seine, the allies will occupy the right bank of that river, and in addition the southern limits of the departments, 1st. of the Lower Seine. 2d. of the Oise. 3d. of the Seine and Oise. 4th. of the Seine and Marne. 5th. of the Yonne. 6th. of the Cote d'Or, 7th. of the Saone and Loire. 8th. of the Rhone. 9th. of the Isere as far as Mount Cenis. On the side of lord Wellington,

lington, it has been decided, that the line of demarcation shall be fixed according to the ground occupied by his army, and the one opposed to him, at the moment the couriers now dispatched shall reach him.

BURGHERSH, lieut.-col.

SWINDLING.

12. A gang of swindlers has been detected, which, perhaps, for deep laid schemes of depredations, has but seldom been exceeded. For this purpose chambers in Clement's-inn were hired, which one of the gang occupied, as an attorney, where there were papers and books, with writing going forward, like any other office for regular business; but the papers are proved to be for the purpose of fraud, such as plausible advertisements in the public papers, to deceive the unguarded, and a variety of schemes on paper, for the purposes of plunder. Many of the advertisements of cases of real distress they had caused to be inserted, and thus obtained subscriptions to a very great extent; the respectability of a supposed attorney's office, in an inn of court enabled them to carry on their depredations without suspicion. One of their advertisements was headed "misery unparalleled;" it went on to state the case of a widow confined in child-bed, surrounded by her numerous offspring, and afflicted with complicated misfortunes. It then proceeds, in very pathetic language, to solicit a further bounty in addition to what she had already received, and directs the subscriptions to be paid at a house, very respectable in appearance, in Maddox-street, Hanover-square, which belonged to the gang; at the office in Clement's-inn, and other places connected with them. To give the whole additional plausibility, they had the case handsomely printed on the best wove paper, and sent in great numbers to humane persons in the form of a letter, with a certificate, by a student in midwifery of one of the principal hospitals; assigning as a reason for adopting that mode of address, its being cheaper than advertising. This imposing address appears to have had the desired effect on a great number of those whose hearts and pockets are always open to the afflicted. The gang had got possession of a number of houses for carrying on their schemes of depredation, some of them in the most respectable neighbourhoods in London. They contrived to live rent-free, in most of the houses which they occupied, by means of one of them getting possession of the houses by a false character, and giving it up to another of the gang, whom the landlord had no claim upon. The discovery of the gang was made by a youth, lately from Gloucestershire, of the same of J. B. Shepherd, who answered one of their plausible advertisements. When he applied in Clement's-inn, he saw a man calling himself Andrew Thompson, who appeared to be an attorney, and a young man acting as his clerk; having been referred to this office from Peele's coffee-house, where the advertisement referred to. Thompson told the youth that the place to be disposed of was in a life-insurance office, for which a premium of 30*l.* was expected. The youth took time to consult with his friends. After several interviews with his friends, the business was settled that the youth should have the place at the advanced sum of 35*l.* and that as a matter of favour, some other persons having offered 50*l.* for it. Shepherd paid the 35*l.* and received

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a receipt, signed G. Hutton and co. and he understood him to belong to the firm. Shepherd was afterwards introduced to an old gentleman in Maddox-street, who passed as the principal in the insurance-office, and signed a document purporting to be his appointment. He was then informed, that his salary would not commence till Lady-day, and that he would not be wanted to commence business till the first of the month following. From a variety of suspicious circumstances, Shepherd and his friends applied to Bow-street office, when Mr. Nares, having received a full description of the transaction, had no doubt but the whole was a deception, especially when he heard he was to be put in possession of the place on the first of April. Mr. Nares, therefore, directed T. Jones to bring Thompson, the pretended attorney of Clements-inn, before him. On his being taken into custody, he appeared to feel extremely indignant, stating himself to be merely an attorney in the business: but on being brought to the office, he was recognised by Bishop as having been often in custody on similar charges; that being the case, Mr. Nares sent Jones to seize the papers, books, &c.; and on their being examined, they proved that the most nefarious practises had been carrying on. Bishop was dispatched to apprehend the pretended principal of the insurance-office, in Maddox-street, who called himself John Mason, and whose papers were also seized. They also corresponded in infamy with those seized at Clement's-inn. They were committed. This J. Mason proves to be John Eccles, who was tried about thirty years ago at the Old Bailey, and sentenced to transportation.

On Wednesday, another case was gone into, similar to the above. From the friends of George Crow, a youth 16 years of age, the son of Mrs. Crow, who keeps the gate at the stable-yard, St. James's, Thompson obtained 30*l.* for a place in the insurance-office. Samuel Maine, the uncle of the youth, stated, that he answered the advertisement and received a letter desiring him to call at Clement's-inn, where he had several interviews with Thompson. Mason carried on the farce to such an extent as to write to the boy's schoolmaster 28 miles out of London, for his character as to morals and abilities, and received such a flattering answer, that Mason said he should pay particular attention to his improvement in the office. At length, Mr. Maine gave Thompson a check for 30*l.* on a banker, and Thompson gave him a similar receipt, without a stamp, and signed it Hutton and co.—Several gentlemen attended, and proved their having given money to Thompson and Mason, in consequence of their advertising distressed cases. Witnesses were ordered to be advertised for.—The prisoners were committed for further examination; and Mr. Nares informed them if their cases were only considered frauds, he should expect their bail in each case 400*l.* and two sureties in 200*l.* and 24 hours notice.

13. The Hebrus frigate, of 38 guns, captain Palmer, has captured a beautiful French frigate, of 44 guns, called the Etoile. The action took place on the 27th ult. near La Hogue, and lasted for two hours and eight minutes, in which the enemy had 40 men killed and 78 wounded; and the Hebrus 16 men killed and 25 wounded; both ships are very much cut up in their masts, sails,

sails, rigging, &c. The French frigate lost her mizen mast. The Etoile has been out of port about four months, in company with the Sultane, during which time they had captured 17 vessels, and were returning to port, when the Hannibal and Hebrus fell in with them.

The name of the French frigate which has been captured by the Majestic off Madeira is the Terpsichore. The Majestic fell in with this frigate, in company with the Atalante, and, without the loss of a man, captured and carried the former into Madeira; the Atalante made her escape. The list of French frigates captured within these few months will, therefore, stand thus:—The Trave, Weser, Iphigenie, Alcmene, Clorinde, Sultane, Etoile, Terpsichore, and it is believed, the Sirius.

An unfortunate action took place through mistake, near Lisbon, between the duke of Montrose packet and the Primrose sloop of war. By an extract from the duke of Montrose's log, it appeared that the action commenced at half-past seven P. M. and lasted, broadside to broadside, within half-pistol shot, till a quarter before nine, when the Primrose attempted to carry the packet by boarding, but was gallantly resisted, and so much damaged as to oblige her to haul off at nine o'clock. The Primrose again came down, and recommenced the action, which was continued with the same unabated spirit on both sides until ten minutes before ten, when the Primrose hailed, and asked what ship it was? The mistake was soon discovered. The loss on board the packet is lieutenant and adjutant Andrews, of the 60th regiment (a passenger), and the master killed, and 10 men wounded. The loss on board the Primrose is her master and 4 men killed, and 13 wounded. The circumstance attending this unhappy rencontre seem to require investigation.

The John Palmer Eastindiaman, a country ship from Bengal and Bourbon to London, was totally lost on the 9th ult. off Ovar, and all on board perished!

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Morgan v. *Harvey.*

19. This was an action brought by the assignee of Messrs. Reynolds and Kendall, bankrupts, wine and brandy merchants, of Savage-gardens, against Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, attorney, who lately appeared as candidate for the situation of member of parliament for Colchester. The action was founded on the statute of usury, in a loan of 1500*l.* made by the defendant to the bankrupts. It appeared that the bankrupts were in want of money, and having been long connected with the defendant, he agreed to lend them the sum in question. It had been originally proposed, that, the defendant should bring 3000*l.* into the bankrupt's concern as a partner, the profit of the business being stated at 25*l.* per cent.; and upon his advancing only half that sum as a loan, it was agreed that he should have 15*l.* per cent. interest. This was secured to him by an assignment, without consideration, of the bankrupt's lease of their premises; and by his granting them an under-lease, at 230*l.* per annum, they still paying the ground-rent of 60*l.* per annum; and also by a bond at lawful interest, by way of collateral security. Upon this agreement, it was proved that the defendant received half a year's interest.

Mr. Harvey pleaded his own cause

cause, and attempted to prove there was no usury in the transaction, and that he had himself been the sufferer in this wish to serve Mr. Kendal, as he had borrowed the money for him, and was at present paying an interest of 10*l* per cent. for it. He failed, however, to make out this case; and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs, damages 4500*l*. being triple the amount of the loan, as the act directs.

KING LOUIS XVIII.

20. This day Louis XVIII. arrived in London from his residence at Hartwell. The prince regent went to Stanmore to meet him, from which place they were to proceed in state. When his majesty had got within a short distance of the village, the populace took the horses from his carriage, and drew him into the village. The prince received his majesty at the door of the inn, according to the French custom, by affectionately embracing him. They rode together in the state carriage to town, where an immense concourse of spectators of all ranks had assembled to view the interesting procession. Every care was taken to mark his reception with the honours due to his rank and virtues. His majesty proceeded through an immense multitude, whose feelings were pervaded by one common sentiment of respect towards him, to Grillon's hotel, Albemarle-street.

21. On Thursday, a chapter of the order of the Garter was held at Carlton house. Every thing being prepared, the prince regent took his seat in a superb state chair, at the head of a table. The knights then bowed to his royal highness, and took their seats, and, dispensing with the usual form of election, they unanimously declared his most christian majesty, Louis XVIII. king of France, duly elected a member. The two senior knights, the dukes of York and Kent, retired to introduce the king from the princes closet. Their royal highnesses then presented the king to the prince, when his majesty knelt on a crimson cushion, and the prince waved the sword of state, and conferred the honour of knighthood on his majesty, and afterwards the prince placed the garter of the order on the king's left knee, &c. &c.—The king and the English royal family then retired to the prince regent's closet, where the king was pleased to take off the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost from his person, and invest the duke of York with it. The royal assembly afterwards dined with the regent.

23. At eight o'clock this morning Louis XVIII. set off from Albemarle-street, (where a great crowd of eager spectators had assembled) on his return to France. The dukes of Kent and Sussex had paid their respects to him early; and the duchess of Angouleme soon after arrived, remained with his majesty for a short time, and at her departure appeared nearly overcome with her feelings.—His majesty, on entering his carriage, was greeted with enthusiastic acclamations by the multitude. He was accompanied by three noblemen, escorted by a party of light-horse, and followed by the prince of Conde and the duke de Bourbon. The duke of Sussex also accompanied him some way out of town. As soon as the royal carriage entered Kent, it was met by lord Camden, the lord lieutenant of the county, and a party of volunteer cavalry, who escorted his majesty to Dover.—The prince regent (who had set off from London two hours before his majesty) dined with him in the evening on board his yacht. On the following

following day his majesty set sail from Dover, and the yacht was seen to enter Calais roads in safety shortly afterwards. His feelings at his departure evinced in the strongest manner his gratitude to this country for the friendship he had so long and so invariably experienced.

MAY.

FRANCE.

The progress of Louis XVIII. from Calais to Compeigne, which he reached on the 30th ult. was much retarded by the prodigious concourse of people who flocked from all quarters to welcome his return. At Compeigne he was waited on by Monsieur his brother, the allied sovereigns, French marshals, &c. His majesty replied to the various addresses with much kindness. He spoke to each marshal individually. When he arose, he leaned on the arms of the two nearest to him, and said, "It is on you, marshals, I wish always to support myself; approach, and surround me. You have always been good Frenchmen. I hope France will no longer have need of your swords. If ever, which God forbid, we are forced to draw them, afflicted as I am with the gout, I will march with you."—The marshals replied: "Sire, Be pleased to consider us as the pillars of your majesty's throne. It is our wish to be its firmest support."

His majesty reached the castle of St. Ouen, about three miles from Paris, on the evening of the 2d inst. Every where the country people received him with enthusiasm, and, in the true language of the heart, exclaimed, "*Louis le desiré, Vive notre père!* During his stay at St. Ouen he signed an important document, approving the fundamental principles of the constitutional plan of the senate, but avowing an intention to subject it to the revision of a select committee of the senate and legislative body. The following is a copy:

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre—To all those to whom these presents come, greeting:—

"Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, enlightened by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first thought is to invoke that mutual confidence so necessary to our repose, and to her happiness. After having read attentively the plan of the constitution proposed by the senate in the session of the 6th of April last, we have acknowledged that the bases were good, but that a great many articles bearing the appearance of precipitation with which they have been digested, cannot, in their actual form, become the fundamental law of the state—Resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together for the 10th of June, of the present year, the senate and the legislative body: we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken with a commission chosen out of those two bodies, and to give for the bases to that constitution the following guarantees:—The representative government shall be maintained the same as exists this day, divided into two bodies, viz. The senate, and the chamber, composed of deputies of the departments. The duties shall be liberally granted. Public and individual liberty secured. The liberty of the press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity.

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The liberty of worship guaranteed. Property shall be inviolable and sacred; the sale of national estates shall remain irrevocable. The ministers being responsible, may be prosecuted by one of the houses of legislature, and judged by the other. The judges shall be irremoveable, and the judicial power independent. The public debt shall be guaranteed, the pensions, degrees, military honours, shall be preserved, as well the ancient as the new nobility. The legion of honour, of which we shall determine the decoration, shall be maintained. All Frenchmen shall be admissible to employments, civil and military. Finally, no individual can be disturbed for his opinion and votes.

"LOUIS.

"Done at Saint Ouen, the 2d May, 1814."

On Tuesday, the 3d, his majesty made his solemn entry into Paris, attended by the members of the household and of government, the marshals of France, the court attendants, and a long file of carriages, preceded by cavalry of the national guards and of the line. The particulars of this grand and interesting ceremonial have been given at much length in the French papers. The whole population of Paris was assembled to witness the joyous *entrée*; and, to judge from the description given, their enthusiasm was boundless on thus witnessing the restoration of their legitimate king. That part of the procession in which the sovereign was immediately present, consisted of fourteen state carriages, each drawn by eight horses. The monarch was in a rich and elegant open landau, drawn by eight white horses, presented to him by the prince regent of England. Their heads were adorned with plumes of white feathers. On the left of the king was seated the daughter of Louis XVI. Monsieur the count d'Artois, and his son the duke de Berri, were on each side of him, on horseback. The marshals of the empire were almost all of them present with their suites, either on horseback, or in equipages. The number of troops in array exceeded 33,000, 25,000 of which were national guards.

The triumphal arch of Porte St. Denis was ornamented with the arms of France, and a crown of flowers, surmounted by the spotless standard decked with lilies. The prefects of the Seine and of the police were stationed at the barrier: the former addressed his majesty, and presented to him the keys of the city. His majesty replied: "I am at last in my good city of Paris. I experience a lively emotion from the proofs of affection which are at this moment given me. Nothing could be more agreeable to my heart than to see erected the statue of him, the recollection of whom, among all my noble ancestors, is the most dear to me. I touch the keys, and restore them to you; they could not be in better hands, nor entrusted to magistrates more worthy of guarding them." The procession advanced to the cathedral; when the senate, legislative body, university, and judicial courts, mixed with the military and clergy. The *Domine, salvum fac Regem*, and *Te Deum*, were performed. The procession then continued to the palace of the Thuilleries, where the duchess d'Angouleme was received by 144 ladies. The king and the royal family appeared at the windows, and embraced Monsieur (count d'Artois) amid the acclamations of the people. *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!* were unceasingly

ingly heard from an immense concourse of spectators. At night there was a general illumination. Fireworks were let off on Point Louis XVI. The musicians of the Conservatory played several airs under the windows of the Thuilleries. At half-past ten the king appeared again at the windows, and saluted the assembled thousands with affection. Swiss guards do the duty at the Thuilleries as formerly.

Not a single foreign soldier joined the procession. The allied sovereigns appeared only at the windows of a private house. The next day they visited Louis XVIII. and there was a grand review of the allied troops, at which the duke of Wellington was also present, who left the army on the 30th ult. During his grace's stay in Paris, he was treated with the highest distinction by the king of France, and the other great personages; and followed by the acclamations of the populace.

Louis XVIII. has issued an animated proclamation; in which he observes, "that the happiness of France shall mark his reign; and his inmost wishes are, that it may leave recollections worthy of being associated to the memory of those kings whose first and most noble virtue was paternal goodness. The declaration forbids compliance with requisitions contrary to the armistice, but commands the different authorities to take care that the armies of the allies are regularly and well supplied. This has reference to discontents prevailing in the provinces, in consequence of exactions by the allied troops.

The funeral service for the late king and queen, their son, and madame Elizabeth, was celebrated on the 14th. Monsieur, the duke de Berri, and the princes of the blood, were the chief mourners. The king and the duchess of Angouleme occupied an elevated tribune. The funeral oration was pronounced by the abbe Gris Duval. The public accounts say that it was received with peculiar approbation; but private letters say that it was censured by many well-disposed persons, as a departure from the royal declaration, in exasperating those who ought to be conciliated.

At the head of the new ministry, is M. d'Ambray as chancellor, and M. Talleyrand as minister for foreign affairs. The abbe de Montesquiou is the minister of the interior; and M. Malouet, minister of finance.

By an ordinance of the king, Monsieur resumes the title of col.-general of the Swiss guards, the prince de Conde that of colonel-general of the infantry of the line, the duc d'Angouleme is appointed colonel-general of the cuirassiers and dragoons, the duc de Berri colonel-general of the chasseurs and light horse lancers, the duc d'Orleans colonel-general of the hussars, and the duc de Bourbon colonel-general of light infantry.

A council of war has been appointed, to consist of 14 members, most of them lately the principal generals of Bonaparte; Ney, Augereau, and Macdonald, stand at the head of the list—these marshals have dropped their old titles, and are to receive others instead.

The emperor of Austria is now called in the French papers, the emperor of Germany. In reply to an address from the French senate, this monarch said: "I have combated for twenty years those principles which have laid waste the world. By the marriage of my daughter, I made, as a sovereign and

and a father, an immense sacrifice, to the desire of putting an end to the misfortunes of Europe. The sacrifice has been in vain, but I shall never regret having done my duty. Peace, but lately impossible, is going to become easy and stable, under the eyes of a regular and paternal government, re-established in France. Let all parties rally round the king; let only one sentiment animate the nation; and my efforts, united with those of my powerful and generous allies, will be crowned with the first success of which I am ambitious. France will be powerful, tranquil, and happy."

SPAIN.

5. It is with infinite regret that we see the revolutionary flame likely to be rekindled in Spain. Accounts have been received of the repugnance of Ferdinand VII. to the new Spanish constitution—that is, to the popular and representative part of it. The cortes, although nothing more than a revival of a branch of the antient free form of government used in all the Christian kingdoms of Spain, is, it appears, thought inconsistent with the dignity of the more recent despotism, not only by the king and the grandees, but by a great part of the army, and of the people also. King Ferdinand, it seems, has refused to accept the constitution, delivering his formal refusal to the archbishop of Toledo, representing the regency, and to two leading members of the cortes, who waited upon him at Valencia. It is added, that after the king's refusal to accept the constitution, he proceeded to Madrid, and dismissed the cortes.

Porto Ferrajo Isle of Elba, May 8.

"On the 3d instant, at six in the evening, there appeared in our roads an English frigate; it hoisted out a boat, which landed several officers of the Russian, English, and Austrian staffs, with two French generals accompanying the ex-emperor Napoleon, who was on board the frigate. These officers having officially communicated to the commandant of the port the events which had taken place in France, the abdication of Bonaparte, and his arrival at Elba, preparations were made during the night for the reception of this famous personage. Next morning, a flag sent by the dethroned emperor was brought into the town, and immediately hoisted on the castle, amidst the salute of artillery. Some time after, Bonaparte landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied with a salute of 24 guns. Bonaparte was conducted to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior civil officers; he affected an air of confidence, and even of gaiety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle. After reposing some moments, Bonaparte got on horseback, and, with his suite, visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio. On the morning of the 5th, the ex-emperor, with the commissaries of the allied powers, rode to Porto Longona, five miles from this town. He also visited the iron-mines, which constitute the wealth of the isle of Elba."

NORWAY.

12. By a decree of the 1st of March, prince Christian Frederick, regent of Norway, appointed a council of regency to act under his authority, in the administration of the interior of the kingdom, and addressed the following proclama-

tion to his troops:—"Brave Norwegian warriors! Upon your courage depend the hopes of a whole people. Know, that the first condition exacted for the surrender of Norway was, that all the fortresses and munition of war should be yielded up to the Swedish troops, and that all of you should be disarmed. But this shall not be. Your heroic valour shall preserve Norway. The old men, the mothers, and the children of this kingdom, shall rest in safety under the Ægis of those warriors who are led to the field by your general and your regent. Let our motto be, "*Victory and liberty, or death!*"

The Norwegian diet has formed a new constitution, making Norway an hereditary limited monarchy, and prince Christian to be king. The Lutheran is the established religion of the state, but the professors of every other religion preserve their liberty and privileges. The king has the right of making war and peace, and the right of pardoning. The people exercises, by its representatives, the legislative authority, and the rights of levying the taxes. The judicial power is always to remain distinct from the other branches of government, and henceforward no hereditary privilege shall be allowed either to persons or corporations. Industry and civil occupations shall not be subjected to any new restriction. The press shall be free from all restraints.

DECLARATION.

"His majesty the king of Sweden having declared to the people of Norway, by a proclamation addressed to them, that he reserved to them all the essential rights which constitute public liberty, and having engaged himself expressly to leave to the nation the faculty of establishing a constitution analogous to the wants of the country, and founded chiefly upon the two bases of national representation and the right of taxing themselves; these promises are now renewed in the most formal manner. The king will by no means interfere directly in the new constitutional act of Norway, which must, however, be submitted for his acceptance. He wishes only to trace the first lines of its foundation, leaving to the people the right of erecting the rest of the building. His majesty is also invariably determined not to amalgamate the financial systems of the two countries. In consequence of this principle, the debts of the two crowns shall remain always separate from each other, and no tax shall be collected in Norway for the purpose of paying the debts of Sweden, and *vice versa*. The intention of his majesty is not to suffer the revenue of Norway to be sent out of the country. The expense of administration being deducted, the rest shall be employed in objects of general utility, and in a sinking fund for the extermination of the national debt."

AMERICA, &c.

15. The intelligence of the counter revolution in France has been received at Washington, and has spread alarm and dismay among the members of the executive. President Madison, contemplating the indignation of his own countrymen, and the vengeance of Great Britain, now that a continental peace would enable her to employ her ample and undivided means against the United States, has on a sudden renounced all his warlike measures, and recommended conciliation. About the 6th ult. he sent

sent a message to congress, recommending the repeal of the embargo. Next day, the 7th, a bill passed the house of representatives by a majority of 115 to 37 for repealing the non-importation act, and raising the embargo. No doubt was entertained of the concurrence of the senate. Mr. Madison is also stated to have sent dispatches of a nature decidedly pacific to the American negociators at Gottenburgh, with instructions not to insist on the American doctrine on the subject of impressment. The place of negociation is to be Ghent, in Flanders.

LIBEL ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

18. On Thursday Daniel Isaac Eton, having suffered judgement to go by default, appeared in court to receive sentence for having published a book called *Ecce Homo*, or the Life of Christ,—which was described in the information as being a blasphemous and profane libel on the Christian religion.—An affidavit was offered of the defendant's deplorable state of health, and of the probability that he would not survive an additional imprisonment one month.—The defendant's appearance fully proved the truth of his affidavit, for he seemed to be sinking under poverty, age, sickness, and despair.—Lord Ellenborough intimated that the court was placed in a very distressing situation by the miserable spectacle before it, but still it must not be blind to its duty. It was clear, he said, that the miserable defendant was only used as an instrument, for it was evident that the author of the book was a man of no ordinary talent,—that he had a great faculty for mischief.—Sir W. Garrow said, that he too felt for the miserable condition of the defendant, who had lately been imprisoned for 18 months, for publishing the third part of Paine's Age of Reason. Whatever some might think, (continued sir William) he did not set on the watch, or hunt for libels; yet he did give directions for the purchase of this book, and he did sit down to mark out particular passages for a criminal prosecution! but he was so disgusted with the task that he renounced it, for all was bad alike. If the defendant would give up the author or printer, he would drop the prosecution against him.—The court ordered that the matter should stand over till Monday, when he gave up the author, and was liberated. He is since dead.

19. The gallant capt. Broke was this day presented with the sword voted to him by the corporation of London, together with the freedom of the city, in the chamberlain's office, Guildhall. Although not yet quite recovered from his wound received in the contest with the Chesapeake, his head being still enveloped with bandages, he looked extremely well.—Having taken the oath of a freeman, he was addressed by the chamberlain, who read to him the resolution of the common council, voting to him the sword. The chamberlain then said, "he was not aware of the honour which awaited him, that of presenting a sword to an individual so meritorious, when he came to the office, or he should have been prepared to have expatiated at length on the brilliancy of his achievement, by which he had taught the Americans, the descendants of Great Britain, that the parent country had neither abandoned the right, nor lost the power, to support her own dignity and authority over her froward children." The sword was then presented to capt Broke; who, upon receiving it, said, "he was grateful

for the fortunate opportunity which had been afforded him of upholding the honour of his country's flag; he was bound to say, however, that his merit was but of a trifling nature, for he was convinced there was not an officer in the British navy who would not have performed his duty with equal zeal." There were present upon this interesting occasion the lord mayor, the recorder, Mr. alderman C. Smith, Mr. alderman Heygate, Mr. alderman Scholey, and several of the common council.

20. An interesting discovery has lately been made by the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. In clearing out some secret places in the jewel-office, a royal sceptre was found, equalling in splendor and in value the others which are there exhibited. It is imagined, from the decayed state of its case, and the dust wherewith it was enveloped, that this sceptre must have been thrown into that neglected corner in the confusion of Blood's well-known attempt on the crown-jewels, nearly a century and a half ago.

25. A meeting was held of the gentlemen interested in the French funds prior to the accession of Bonaparte. Mr. Impey, one of the largest claimants (representing the family of sir Elijah), stated the progress of the business connected with these claims since 1802, and computed the extent of the demands, on English account, as something below two millions sterling. In the sequel it was agreed that a subscription should be opened to prosecute the claims; that a committee should be appointed to conduct the business; that an agent should be resident at Paris, to be rewarded by the proportion of one per cent. upon the sum recovered—the remuneration not to exceed 10,000*l.*

An indictment having been preferred against the suspected authors of the late fraud on the stock exchange, the grand jury returned a true bill, April 28, against the persons included in the indictment, whose names are as follows:—Charles Random de Berenger; sir Thomas Cochrane (Lord Cochrane), K. B.; Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, Esq.; Richard Gathorne Butt; Ralph Sandom; Alexander M'Rae; John Peter Holloway; Henry Lyte; for a conspiracy. The indictment has since been removed by the prosecutors by *certiorari*, to the court of king's bench, and the defendants have pleaded thereto not guilty.

JUNE.

ABSTRACT OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

The reign of blood and desolation at length has ended. Tyranny has fallen; and virtuous bravery, magnanimity, and moderation, have deservedly triumphed. Long may the triumph last, and blessed may its effects be on all the nations of the earth!

Redeunt Saturnia Regna.

May it be perpetual!

FRANCE.

The definitive treaty of peace and amity between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty was signed at Paris on the 30th ult. and the ratifications thereof have been since exchanged. At the same time artillery announced to all Paris the signature of treaties of peace with Austria, Russia, and Prussia. This intelligence diffused the most lively joy; and the first impression was for a moment blended with emotions of the public gratitude for a blessing which so auspiciously signalizes the re-establishment of the house

house of Bourbon on the throne of France.

On the 4th inst. the French parliament was opened by Louis XVIII. who was attended by most of his family, and was received with unbounded acclamation. Having ascended the throne, he delivered the following speech:

"Gentlemen,—When for the first time I enter this hall, and am surrounded by the great bodies of the state, representatives of a nation which incessantly lavishes upon me the most affecting marks of attachment, I congratulate myself upon being the dispenser of the benefits which divine providence deigns to confer on my people.—I have made with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, a peace, in which all their allies are included, that is to say, every prince in Christendom. The war was universal, so is our reconciliation.—The rank which France always occupied among nations, has not been transferred to any other, remains entire. All that which other states have acquired for their security equally increases ours, and consequently adds to our real power. Whatever France does not keep of her conquests, ought not to be regarded as taken from her real strength.—The glory of the French armies has received no blemish; the monuments of their valour remain, and the *chefs d'œuvre* of the arts belong to us henceforward by rights more stable and more respected than those of victory. The paths of commerce, long shut up, are about to be made free. The market of France will no longer be open to the productions of her soil and her industry alone. Those productions, which habitude has rendered necessary, or which are required in the arts already exercised, will now be furnished by possessions which we recover. The people will no longer be deprived of them, nor forced to procure them upon ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to revive, our maritime towns are about to flourish once more, and every thing promises that a long calm abroad, and a durable felicity at home, will be the glorious fruits of the peace. A melancholy recollection will always interrupt my joy. I was born, as I once flattered myself, to be during the whole of my life the most faithful subject of the best of kings, and alas! I now occupy his seat! But he is not entirely dead, he lives again in that testament which he intended for the instruction of the august and unhappy infant to whom I was destined to be the successor! With my eyes fixed upon this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which dictated it, guided by the experience, and seconded by the counsel of several among you, I have drawn up the constitutional charter which you are about to hear read, and which establishes on solid bases the prosperity of the state."

The hall resounded with applause.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

Public rights of the French.—All Frenchmen are equally under the protection of the law, whatever may be their rank or title. They are to contribute without distinction in proportion to their property, to the public burthens. They are all equally admissible to civil and military employments. Individual liberty is equally protected; no one can be prosecuted or arrested, except in cases provided by the law, and in the manner which the law prescribes. Every one may follow his own religion, and shall enjoy the

same protection in his mode of worship. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion is the religion of the state. Frenchmen have a right to print and publish their opinions, conforming to the laws made for repressing the abuse of that liberty. All property is irrevocable, without any exception of that which is called national. The state may require the sacrifice of private property, where it can be legally proved that the public interest requires it; but the proprietor shall be previously indemnified. The conscription is abolished by law.

Form of the king's government.—The person of the king is inviolable and sacred. His ministers are responsible. The executive power belongs solely to the king. The king is the supreme chief of the state. He commands the land and sea forces, declares war, and makes peace and treaties of alliance and commerce; has the appointment to all the offices of public administration, and issues the necessary orders and regulations for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state. The legislative power is exercised collectively by the king, the house of peers, and the house of deputies of the departments. The king proposes the law. Every law is to be discussed freely, and voted by the majority of each of the two chambers. The houses have the faculty to intreat the king to propose a law, and to suggest to his majesty the points which they think it ought to contain. If the proposition is adopted by the other chamber, it shall be laid before the king. If it is rejected, it shall not be proposed during the same session. The king alone sanctions and promulgates the law. The civil list shall be fixed during the continuance of the present reign, by the first legislative assembly after the return of the king.

The chamber of peers. —— The chamber of peers, which is an essential part of the legislative power, shall be convoked by the king at the same time with the chamber of deputies. The sessions of both to commence and terminate at the same time. The chancellor of France presides in the chamber of peers. The nomination of peers of France belongs to the king; their number is unlimited. The king can vary the dignities, and may grant them for life, or make them hereditary. The peers take their place at 25, and have a deliberative voice at 30. All deliberations of this chamber to be secret. The princes of the blood, though peers by birth, can only take their seat by order of the king, expressed each session by a message. No peer can be arrested except with the authority of the chamber, and must be tried by it in criminal matters. This chamber to take cognizance of the crime of high treason.

Chamber of deputies of the departments.—The chamber of deputies to be chosen by the electoral colleges; the deputies to be elected for five years, and in such a manner that the chamber shall be renewed every year by a fifth. No deputy to be admitted under 40, nor unless he pays 1000 francs in direct taxes. No person to vote for deputies under 30, nor unless he pays in direct taxes 300 livres. The president to be chosen by the court out of five names. The sittings to be public, but the demand of five members shall make it a secret committee. All amendments to laws must be proposed by the king. All propositions relative to taxes must originate with this chamber. The

consent

consent of both chambers and of the king must be necessary to form a law. The land-tax is imposed for only one year; indirect taxes for many. The king convokes the two chambers every year; he prorogues them; and can dissolve that of the deputies; but must then convoke a new session within three months. Members can neither be prosecuted nor arrested without written permission of the chamber.

The ministry.—The ministers may be members of either house; they have the right of entry into both, and must be heard.—They may be impeached for treason or extortion (but no other crime) by the chamber of deputies, and can be tried only by the peers.

The judicial power.—All the judges are named by the king, and are irremovable. The constitution of juries is preserved; but changes recommended by experience may be made. The king can pardon offences and commute punishments.

Individual rights guaranteed by the state.—The military embodied on service, officers and soldiers on half-pay, widows, officers, and soldiers, who have pensions, shall preserve their rank, honours, and pensions.—The public debt is guaranteed; every kind of engagement entered into by the state with its creditors is inviolable.—The ancient nobility resume their titles, the new preserve theirs. The king creates nobles at pleasure; but he bestows upon them only rank and honour, without any exemption from the offices and duties of the state.—The legion of honour is continued.—Given at Paris, the year of grace 1814, 19th of our reign. (Signed) Louis.

On the 7th the chamber of deputies presented to Louis XVIII. an address of thanks for the constitutional charter; in which address were the two following passages:

"In the number of wise men, whose institutions have laid the foundation of social happiness, history cannot offer one who was more calculated than your majesty to impress on the laws the character which commands respect. France beholds in you, sire, what Bossuet said of the great Condè—'*A something indescribably perfect, added by misfortune to the great virtues.*'

"Sire, every interest, every right, and every hope, harmoniously unite under the protection of the crown. We shall see for the future in France only true citizens, reverting to the past with no other view than that of seeking there lessons of utility for the future, and disposed to sacrifice their conflicting pretensions as well as their resentments. The French, filled with an equal affection for their country and their king, will never separate these noble feelings; and the king whom providence has restored to them, uniting the two great springs of ancient and modern states, will conduct his subjects, now free and reconciled, to the true glory and happiness they shall owe to *Louis the much-wished for.*"

The king answered—

"I am deeply affected by the sentiments which the deputies of the departments have testified. In what you have said to me on the subject of the constitutional charter, I behold a pledge of that harmony of will between the chamber and me which must insure the happiness of France. The last words of your address affect me in a very lively manner. Many titles have been bestowed by enthusiasm; but in that which the French people, always distinguished for love of their kings, have decreed me to-

day, through your organ, and which I accept with all my heart, I see the expression of those sentiments which always united them to their kings, and which constituted my solace in the long season of my adversity."

Both these documents were ordered to be inserted on the registers of the house. It was also proposed, to have the answer engraved upon marble, and placed in a conspicuous part of the hall; which proposal was referred to a committee.

In the Moniteur of the 7th appeared a list of 150 noblemen named by the king as members of the chamber of peers for life. This list comprehends nearly all the old dukes and other chief nobility of the times prior to the revolution; with some of the new titles, among which are those of Talleyrand, prince of Benevente; Clarke, duke of Feltre; Lebrun; marshals Berthier, Macdonald, Ney, Suchet, Moncey, Marmont, Augereau, and Oudinot.

A new ordinance, published at Paris, orders the strict observance of the sabbath, and of holy days, under the penalty of 300 livres; by shutting the shops, exhibitions, theatres, gaming-houses, and desisting from labour. Since the Revolution this had been wholly disregarded. Entering Paris on a Sunday, one was shocked at seeing all the solemnity, all the reverence with which that sacred day ought to be clothed in every Christian country, ridiculed and profaned, and a whole people lost to the common exercises of Christianity. The shops all alive, the gaming-houses filled, the theatres crowded, the streets deafened with ballad-singers and mountebanks, the house of God alone deserted, and the voice of religion the only one that was not heard. This ordinance has excited the loud and furious murmurs of the Parisians. "Bonaparte (say they) never did any thing half so tyrannical as this."

The duke of Wellington arrived at Bourdeaux on the 11th ult. One of his first acts was to restore every vessel, public and private, which had been seized at the entrance of the allies. This act of munificence had of course given great joy. Everywhere in France the good conduct of the allied generals has met with the approbation of the inhabitants.—A part of the property which belonged to the house of Orleans, and which had not been sold, has been restored to it by the king. It consists, in part, of woods and forests, among others the forest of Villers Coteret; and their annual produce is estimated at four millions of francs (170,000*l.* sterling.)

SPAIN.

3. Ferdinand VII. is said to have issued an edict, dated the 4th instant, by which he confirms the decree of exile, passed by the Cortes, against all those officers, civil and military, who had acted under the pretended authority of the usurper Joseph.

The three members of the regency have been banished:—the cardinal of Bourbon to Rome; Agar, to Carthagena; and Ciscar to a north-eastern fortress.

Madrid, June 2.

"The king has appointed a council to consider of the best means of speedily convoking a legitimate assemblage of the cortes, including also the deputies of the Indies. To this body his majesty will propose a constitutional charter, conformably to the true principles of the monarchy; but a limited

mited monarchy is what the intelligence of the age requires, as well as modern manners, and the generous and elevated character of Spaniards."

ITALY.

4. On the 20th ult. the king of Sardinia made his solemn entry into the capital of Piedmont. The people made the air re-echo with the cries of "Long live king Emanuel! Long live our good father!"

The pope made his public entry into Rome on the 24th ult. attended by the ex-king of Spain, his consort, the queen of Etruria, the king of Sardinia, &c. His holiness has interdicted cardinal Maury from his functions, and summoned him to Rome. His holiness has also sent cardinal Gonsalvi to England, with a letter of congratulation to the prince regent.

Murat, king of Naples, has abolished the conscription in his kingdom.

SWITZERLAND.

The Helvetic diet admitted Geneva on the first instant among the number of Swiss cantons.

GERMANY.

12. We learn from Hamburgh, that the bank was opened June 7. The capital was expected to be increased, by the patriotism of the inhabitants, to five millions of marks banco; numerous gold and silver articles, as well as coin, had been sent in to be melted down. On the 16th, payments were made there in louis-d'ors, the value of which had been raised to twelve marcs. 4000 Russians garrisoned the city.

Some travellers, recently arrived from Wallachia, have brought an account of a terrible calamity which has befallen the inhabitants of Oybestein. That district, one of the most populous in the country, was situated in the neighbourhood of several lofty mountains; some of these were cultivated to their summits, and the sides were covered with the dwellings of the natives; the base of the highest, however, is supposed to have been sapped by the long rains. On the night of the 20th of April, while the inhabitants, unsuspicious of such a calamity, were buried in repose, the peak called the "Devil's Neck" descended with a noise resembling an earthquake, and overwhelmed in its progress houses, forests, and innumerable cattle. The concussion was so frightful, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages started from their beds, and were seen running quite naked from their habitations to seek safety in the plains. The extent of this calamity had not been ascertained; but it was supposed that 400 souls had been buried beneath the ponderous fragments, which extended and covered a mile of ground. The general distress was much increased by the groans which were heard issuing from the ruins four days after the avalanche. It was impossible to render these unfortunate sufferers timely aid; and their sufferings must have been augmented with the protraction of their lives.

SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND NORWAY.

The Swedish government has suspended one material restriction of its navigation laws. It has been officially announced at Gottenburg, that, from the date of the notice to the commencement of next year, it will be permitted to foreign vessels to load from that port such exportable commodities as are the produce of Sweden. The reason assigned for this concession is, that the native ships are retained to be employed

as transports.—The crown prince of Sweden has arrived at Stockholm, and has been received by his future subjects in a manner commensurate with the services which he has rendered the nation. Numerous addresses of congratulation had been presented to him; particularly one from the citizens of Stockholm, proposing and requesting permission to build a bridge opposite the mint across the river Werth, in commemoration of the king, and the prince, and the æra.

The crown-prince's reply to an address from the citizens of Stockholm.

"I am sensible of the marks of joy which the people of Stockholm show on the return of the army. It quitted its country to defend the rights of nations; I lead it back, proud of having contributed to attain this end. Its bravery and discipline are all that can be wished. Fathers will see their children, and wives the objects of their love. The courage of the army will, if necessary, insure the execution of the treaties that unite Norway to Sweden. This union, necessary to the prosperity of the North, being guaranteed by the powers, our allies, cannot be distant. The Norwegians will obtain all that is just and reasonable. The king is ready to make every concession consistent with the Swedish honour and the prosperity of trade. His majesty did not desire the union with Norway to increase his territory, but to secure the future peace of both countries. Norway, far from having to fear an increase of its burthens, may expect a diminution of taxes by its union with Sweden. So many thousand hands taken from the plough to fight a criminal cause, may be restored to their labours. If the Norwegians understand their interest, they will listen to duty, reason, and humanity; they will avoid a war which must be fatal to them, and will not expose their country to be ravaged to satisfy the ambition of a few individuals.—The king of Denmark has ceded his rights to Norway, and never was cession more solemn. I always hoped to see this union accomplished, but never was I more sure of it than now; guaranteed by all Europe, it will soon be brought about, if we resolve firmly. Our means are great. Our army is brave and experienced. The union between the people and the king is secure against time and events. In leaving you for a short time, it is to combat for your interests, and ensure the liberty and independence of Swedes.—Be assured, gentlemen, of my constant gratitude, affection, and confidence."—*Stockholm, June 7,*

Prince Christian has refused to receive the allied commissioners, unless they are furnished with letters of credence to himself and the Norwegian government. The Swedish army is expected to attack Norway towards the end of next month.

RUSSIA.

A report which prevailed five weeks ago, of Poland being about to be erected into a kingdom, of which the emperor Alexander would assume the sovereignty, and devolve its government upon the grand duke Constantine as viceroy, is revived.

AMERICA.

Papers have been received to the 22d ult. At that period the deposition of Bonaparte was not known; but enough had transpired to throw president Madison and his adherents into the agonies of despair. The Fair American had brought

brought out news that the allies were in possession of Paris, and were negociating for peace. It had also brought accounts of the victory of Orthes, the entry of the British into Bourdeaux, and the victorious march of lord Wellington on Toulouse. The friends of a just and honourable union between America and Britain now loudly inveighed against the infamous treachery which had driven the United States from the path of so wise a policy, into one beset with danger and disgrace. Their representations were strengthened by the difficulty in which the president found himself to raise the supplies; and still more by the alarm excited on account of the large reinforcements expected out from England to our army in Canada. The proclamation for the blockade of the whole American coast has caused great alarm; and the National Intelligencer comforts the people by observing that all the states are by it put on a footing of equality.

On the 5th April sir James Yeo's squadron effected a landing at Oswego, after some opposition; when they captured the fort, and re-imbarked, after destroying or taking away public property to the value of 40,000 dollars. The Americans themselves, on the approach of the English, scuttled and sunk the Growler, with several other vessels. On the lake Champlain also the British flotilla was superior. It had appeared off Burlington on the 11th, 12th, and 13th April, and thrown that place into the utmost terror and confusion. On the southern coast sir Alex. Cochrane had created equal alarm. News had reached Charleston on the 7th ult. that he was off St. Mary's Bar with a large force; and this had produced the usual effect of such events in America—much vapouring—much apprehension—and many mutual charges of treachery among themselves.

The trials of the unsuccessful generals afforded the different parties in the United States an additional source of discontent and wrangling. Wilkinson's trial was going on. Hull's had been decided against him on charges of "treason and cowardice in the affairs of Malden and Detroit, neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct, &c." Two-thirds of the court concurred in finding him guilty of all the charges except that of treason, and sentenced him to be shot to death; with a recommendation however to mercy, on account of his advanced age and revolutionary services. The president confirmed the sentence, but remitted the execution; cashiering him however by a general order, in the following terms:—"The rolls of the army is not to be longer dishonoured by having upon it the name of brig. gen. Wm. Hull." Whilst Hull, far from acknowledging this lenity as a favour, published an appeal to the people on the persecution and injustice which he contended he had undergone.

A paragraph in the New York Gazette of the 17th May, stating that the 17 British hostage prisoners, lately confined at Philadelphia, were to proceed in the steamboat northward, has occasioned a rumour, that the dispute on that subject had been settled amicably, by the mutual release of prisoners.

We have information of the state of affairs at St. Domingo, so recent as April last. At Port-au-Prince very high expectations were indulged of the success of a powerful expedition projected by the president Petion against the soi-disant Henry I. emperor of Hayti. The forces

forces of the former were about 15,000 men, and might have been augmented to 20,000, had sufficient arms been provided. The troops of the Cape were about equal in number. The country had been devastated by four or five different candidates for power, and the productive trade for which it had been distinguished no longer existed. All the precious metals had disappeared on the island; and, for the purposes of interchange, a species of tin had been substituted, to which a nominal and arbitrary value was assigned. It is supposed by the passengers in this vessel, who had the best opportunities of judging of the political and military relations of that country, that if, in fulfilment of the 8th article of the late treaty of Paris, France should send a considerable force to St. Domingo, to re-establish it as a colony, the two parties of Petion and Henry would unite for their common defence, however inveterate may have been their former hostility.

A Jamaica paper, of April 9, states that a vessel had arrived at Kingston, which spoke a brig from Dominica to Barbadoes, and learned from the captain that the former island had, a short time previously, been visited by a dreadful hurricane, that had laid waste the greater part of it.

DIARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS.

June 6. The two sovereigns, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, to whom Europe is so deeply indebted for their share in the overthrow of the general disturber of the civilized world, and in the restoration of the blessings of peace, landed, from the Impregnable and Jason, on the British shores at Dover, this afternoon at half-past six. This is the second time that a Russian emperor and the first that a Prussian king, has visited this country. Their majesties were accompanied by the two eldest sons of the king of Prussia, prince William his brother, prince Frederic his nephew, prince Augustus his cousin, marshal Blucher, baron Humboldt, counts Hardenberg and Nesselrode, baron Anstet, prince Garldriske, gen. Czernicheff, Dr. Wyllie (physician to the emperor), sir S. Stewart, col. Cooke, capt. Wood, &c. Their majesties were received on shore by lords Yarmouth, C. Bentinck, and the earl of Rosslyn. The duke of Clarence, who brought them from Boulogne, had provided a splendid entertainment, of which most of the royal and illustrious persons partook. Counts Platoff, Barclay de Tolli, and Tolstoi, and prince Metternich (the Austrian Minister), had previously landed. The emperor Alexander, on receiving an address from the inhabitants of Dover, replied to the deputation in English as follows:—"Although, gentlemen, I understand your language, I do not feel myself sufficiently acquainted with it to reply to you in English; and I must therefore request those gentlemen of the deputation who speak French to be my interpreters to those who do not." The remainder of his majesty's answer was in French, in substance as follows:—"I am much pleased to find, by the sentiments you have expressed, that the services rendered by my armies in the great cause in which we have been engaged, are so highly considered by the British nation. I can assure you that by no means the smallest gratification I derive from the late campaign, is the opportunity it has afforded me of visiting England, a country for which I have long entertained

tertained the highest esteem.—Gentlemen, I beg you will accept my thanks for this mark of your attention, and my best wishes for the welfare of your town; and assure yourselves I shall always endeavour to preserve a cordial friendship between England and Russia."

June 7. At an early hour, the road from London to Dover presented a spectacle unequalled in its kind. The whole population of the neighbouring districts seemed to have poured itself forth to hail the arrival of our allies; beneficent monarchs, patriotic princes, and generals distinguished for valour and success. At three the multitude became quite impatient, when intelligence arrived at Shooter's Hill, that, at Welling, sir C. Steward had said that their majesties had gone up to town, two hours before, in a private manner. The emperor had indeed entered London about half-past two, in the carriage and four of count Lieven, the Russian ambassador, without a single attendant; lords Yarmouth and Bentinck preceded him in a post-chaise. When the emperor's arrival at the Pulteney Hotel in Piccadilly was known, the people expressed their joy by huzzas, and "long live the emperor." His imperial majesty appeared shortly afterwards at the balcony, and bowed in the most condescending manner (which he continued to do occasionally till eleven o'clock at night), the people shouting their applause. At half-past four, the emperor, accompanied by count Lieven, went to see the prince regent, at Carlton-house. He was received in a very private manner by the prince regent, who gave his majesty a most hearty welcome.—The king of Prussia, his sons, and their numerous suites, came also in a private manner, and arrived at Clarence-house (which had been fitted up for their residence), St. James's, about three. About four his majesty went to Carlton-house, and was cordially received by the regent, with whom he remained half an hour. His majesty afterwards visited the duke and duchess of York, whose house is just opposite. At six, marshal Blucher arrived in St. James's park by the Horse guards, in the prince regent's open carriage. His countenance is most manly and expressive, bearing the effects of the severities he has encountered: the mustachios on his upper lip are exceedingly prominent. The drivers made first to Carlton-house: no sooner were the stable-gates opened, than there was a general rush-in of the horsemen and the public at large. All restraint upon them was in vain; the two sentinels at the gate with their muskets were laid on the ground, and the porter was overpowered. The multitude proceeded up the yard, shouting the praises of Blucher. Colonels Bloomfield and Congreve came out and received the general uncovered, and in that state conducted him to the principal entrance of Carlton-house. The crowd assembled in Pall-mall now lost all respect for the decorum of the place; they instantly scaled the walls, and their impetuous zeal upon this occasion was indulged, and the great doors of the hall were thrown open to them. After the first interview of the general with the prince, an interesting scene took place. The prince regent returned with the gallant Blucher from his private apartments, and in the centre of the grand hall, surrounded by the people, placed a blue ribbon on his shoulder, (fastening it with his own hand), to which was hung a beautiful medallion with a likeness of the prince richly set with diamonds

diamonds. Marshal Blucher knelt while the prince was conferring this honour, and on his rising kissed the prince's hand. The prince and the general afterwards bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description. The general afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Gortin, in St. James's palace, adjoining the duke of Cumberland's, followed by an immense multitude.

June 8. The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the grand duchess of Oldenburgh, afford evident proofs of praiseworthy curiosity and good taste. He has a perfect indifference to show and parade. Such is his activity, that they who would observe him well, must be at least as early risers as himself. In the morning he breakfasted by eight, and walked in Kensington gardens with his sister. He returned to the Pulteney hotel at ten, and proceeded to view Westminster hall, and the abbey, the tombs of the illustrious dead. His sister and himself afterwards visited the British museum. At one he held a levee at Cumberland house, which he used as his state-apartments, and was visited by the prince regent, who afterwards attended the levee of the king of Prussia, at Clarence-house. Between five and six both the illustrious sovereigns, with their respective suites, attended the court of her majesty, held, expressly for their introduction, at the queen's palace. Her majesty, the princesses, the allied sovereigns, their families, &c. dined afterwards with the prince regent, at Carlton-house.

June 9. The emperor Alexander rode in Hyde park between seven and eight, accompanied by lord Yarmouth and col. Bloomfield. From thence they rode to Westminster, and through Southwark into the city, passing the royal exchange, and proceeding through Finsbury-square along the City-road, and the New-road, returned down the Edgeware-road and Hyde park to the Pulteney hotel. After breakfast, the emperor, with the duchess and a party of distinction, left the hotel in their open carriages, without military escort, and proceeded through the Strand and city to the London docks—those great works and symbols of unexampled commercial prosperity.—The veteran Blucher visited the Admiralty at two o'clock, and was received by lord Melville and other members of the board. After viewing the interior, he examined the telegraph. The view from thence to the east over the Thames, and to the south and west over St. James's park, and into Kent and Sussex, is particularly attractive; and, together with the immense concourse of spectators parading the streets, struck the attention of the marshal in a great degree; and he observed to col. Lowe in German, "that there was no such place as London in the world." In the evening the hero accompanied the duchess of York, the Prussian princes, &c. to the Opera. The populace uniformly thronged round Blucher and Platoff to shake hands, which those veterans did with great cordiality, adding "I thank you; I thank you."—At a court held at Carlton house, the king of Prussia, emperor of Austria, with lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, were elected knights of the order of the garter. The prince regent was, the same day, invested by the Austrian minister with the order of the golden fleece; and by the Prussian monarch, with the order of the golden eagle.

June 10. The allied sovereigns breakfasted together at the Pulteney hotel, with the grand duchess. They afterwards

afterwards set out, accompanied by marshal Blucher, gen. Platoff, and a numerous suite, for Ascot races. They went by the Fulham road, and arrived at Richmond-hill at nine, at the Star and Garter tavern, where they partook of a cold collation. The whole party then walked on the terrace, and expressed themselves quite delighted with the beauty of the scene. Between 10 and 11 they proceeded to Hampton court, and viewed its beauties with as much attention as the short time admitted. The emperor of Russia and his sister arrived at Ascot about one. The king of Prussia and his company followed. The queen of England and the princesses arrived next; and shortly after the prince regent and suite. All the royal personages occupied the royal stand. About four the illustrious party left Ascot, and proceeded to Frogmore, where dinner for 100 had been provided by the queen.

June 11. About 11 o'clock the emperor of Russia and the duchess of Oldenberg, accompanied by the prince of Orange, count Lieven, lord Yarmouth, and other distinguished characters, passed through the city, and alighted at the gate of the bank in Lothbury. The governor, deputy-governor, and directors conducted the visitors through the various departments of that extensive building. His imperial majesty listened with great attention to the explanations which were given of the several offices, and expressed much admiration at the systematic manner in which the business appeared to be conducted. He added with much affability and condescension, that he was extremely obliged for the polite attentions shown to him and his sister; and that he was convinced by what he had seen and heard, that the character acquired by the people of England for their extensive commerce, their wealth, and their liberality, was not more great than deserved. The illustrious party partook of a cold collation. At five, his imperial majesty, accompanied by his suite, proceeded to his state apartments at St. James's. About six, he was waited on by the lord mayor, recorder, sheriffs, and the whole of the aldermen and common council, in their civic robes, with an address of congratulation. His imperial majesty with great courtesy returned his thanks for the honour conferred on him in a short speech in English, which was very elegant, and gracefully delivered. The corporation next waited on the king of Prussia at Clarence-house with a similar address. He did not answer them in English, but received them very graciously, and with the utmost politeness.—In the evening the earl of Liverpool entertained the prince regent, the allied sovereigns, and the other illustrious characters who shed such a lustre on the British court, at dinner. At seven, the prince regent set out from Carlton-house in his carriage alone, but attended by his usual escort, and followed by loud cheers. The emperor of Russia, accompanied by the grand duchess, soon after appeared, attended by an escort of the blues; he was dressed in a British uniform, the same in which he had received the city address. The king of Prussia next arrived, attended by a troop of horse. The dukes of York and Kent, general Platoff, &c. were present.—The intention of the allied sovereigns to visit the Opera having been publicly announced, the doors were no sooner thrown open, than every place was filled, and the house presented a brilliant and unexampled display of rank and fashion. The illustrious visitors did not arrive

rive till half-past ten. The prince regent first entered the box, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts of applause, followed by the emperor of Russia, and the duchess of Oldenburgh, the king of Prussia, his two sons, and other of the distinguished characters who had dined at Fife-house. The applause of the audience lasted many minutes. A hymn composed in honour of our august visitors, sung in admirable style, was received with rapture. "God save the King" was twice sung. Just as the second act of the opera was about to begin, the princess of Wales, with lady Charlotte Campbell, entered her box, on the opposite side of the theatre. The spectators burst again into a loud and reiterated shout of applause; upon which the prince regent and the two illustrious sovereigns rose and bowed, which the princess of Wales returned by a graceful reverence. The delight of the spectators was inexpressible. Owing to the immense crowd, the interior doors of the opera-house were broken to pieces, and nearly 2000 persons gained admission without payment.

June 12. In the morning the king of Prussia, his family and suite, went privately to Westminster-abbey.—In the afternoon the allied monarchs appeared in Hyde park, on horseback, to gratify the curiosity of the public. The emperor left the Pulteney hotel about two o'clock, mounted on a most beautiful horse, dressed in an English scarlet uniform, with a large collection of feathers in his hat. He proceeded to St. James's palace, and called at Clarence-house for the king of Prussia to accompany him; but, his saddle-horses not being in readiness, he proceeded towards the park, and his majesty followed. By command of the regent, lord Sydney, the ranger of the park, dressed in the Windsor uniform, headed the royal equestrians. They were also attended by the duke of Montrose, master of the horse, in full military uniform, and wearing the order of the garter; col. Mellish, the equerry in waiting, &c. &c. They remained in the park till five o'clock, to the extreme gratification of John Bull and his numerous family, who received the monarchs with the most enthusiastic applause, of which they appeared truly sensible. In the evening the prince regent gave a second banquet to the illustrious monarchs and their suites. On this occasion the pages appeared in new uniforms, the yeomen of the guard and servants in their state dresses.—The prince regent and the sovereigns afterwards met a select party at the marquis of Salisbury's.

June 13. At 9, the illustrious visitors and the prince regent embarked at Whitehall, in the admiralty, navy, and ordnance barges, for Woolwich. There were, in the whole, 17 barges; and a line of man-of-war boats on each side to keep order; with two large bands of music. The effect of the spectacle was exceedingly grand.—On their arrival at the new wharf in the Royal Arsenal, his royal highness the prince regent landed amidst a salute of cannon, and assisted the duchess of Oldenburgh, the emperor, and the king of Prussia up the stairs. A guard of honour was stationed on the wharf, consisting of the horse-guards and royal artillery. Gen. Lloyd, and the officers of the garrison, received the royal visitors, and conducted them first to the range of store-houses, where every sort of military appointment is preserved in the greatest order. In the model-room they inspected the curious

rious model of Quebec; and went from thence to the Rocket-ground, where several experiments were prepared to show the strength and effect of col. Congreve's rockets. A superb tent was erected on the mound for the illustrious visitors and their suite; and after they had taken their station, a most interesting exhibition ensued. On a signal given by col. Congreve, who superintended the rocket-department, a demonstration was made of the power of the rocket-composition. At about two hundred yards north-east of the mound, where the royal visitors were stationed, a quantity of the composition placed on three pieces of timber exploded, producing columns of flame awfully grand. The discharge produced a volcanic appearance, attended by a tremendous roaring; but the burning property of the material was most remarkable. After the discharge, the timber remained in flames, and actually consumed to a cinder. The next operation was a display of the rockets as used in besieging. They shot upwards to a considerable elevation, carrying a tube filled with burning materials a considerable distance.—They were larger than any used on a former occasion, and made a tremendous roaring. The next experiment was a proof of the havock these engines occasioned in a field of battle. They were fired from the opposite side of the Thames horizontally over the low grounds, to the distance of 800 or 1000 yards. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by these discharges. Wonder was expressed by the beholders. The shells thrown by the rockets flew to the distance required, and exploded with horrible sounds. There can be little doubt that a single volley would disunite a body of cavalry. Against that description of force they are peculiarly operative, as they not only kill, but spread terror among the horses. The foreign officers were struck by the effect of this new engine in the art of war. The royal party, leaving the extraordinary exhibition, went to the new saw-mill, where human invention appears elevated to a very high point. Sawing, both vertical and horizontal, is here performed by machinery moved only by steam. Huge logs of elm, ash, and fir-timber, were cut into planks on this occasion, with order and precision truly astonishing. They were then conducted to the royal carriage department, where major-gen. Cuppage attended; and having visited other machinery, they went up to the cadet barracks, where an elegant collation was prepared. The prince and his staff took their station, and the brigade went through a variety of evolutions and rapid firing till near six o'clock. Gen. Blucher, the king and prince of Prussia, and the foreign generals, appeared much interested in the general appointments of this brigade; and rode up to inspect the boxes, limbers, &c.—The last visit was to the royal repository, which forms an immense depôt; and after a minute examination they proceeded to their carriages for town, amidst a royal salute, and dined with the marquis of Stafford.

Oxford, June 14. This morning being fixed for the expected arrivals, the utmost activity prevailed. Half past ten was the time appointed by the chancellor for the assembling of the university to meet their august visitors. At a meeting of the chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors, held in the delegates' room, a programma was drawn up and issued, by which all

the arrangements were ordered; according to which all members of the university, under graduates and bachelors, all masters of arts, proctors, doctors, heads of houses, and noblemen, in short, all the university, went out, each in his proper habit, and ranged themselves in lines on either side of the High-street, from St. Mary's church to the west end of Magdalen bridge, to which the seniors were nearest. The centre of the street was left entirely open and uninterrupted by horsemen or carriages. The yeomanry were stationed between the gownsmen and the footway, which was thus left incommoded for the numerous spectators. The windows of all the houses in High-street were crowded with ladies. Lord Francis Almaric Spencer was commanding officer of the troops on duty. Within a few minutes of the appointed time, an avant-courier announced the approach of the prince regent; and lord F. A. Spencer rode out to meet his royal highness. The prince came in his travelling-carriage and four; but, on perceiving the university assembled on foot to receive him, he was pleased to alight at the extremity of the bridge, and to confer on the assembly the most distinguished honour, by walking through the whole line of gownsmen, uncovered. He was attended by the hereditary prince of Orange, and three or four gentlemen.—The cheerings were incessant on every side as he passed along. He bowed to all with the greatest condescension and kindness. The arrival of the prince being more private, and also more punctual than could be calculated on from a distance of 58 miles, the procession had not time to repair to the bridge, and was obliged to meet his royal highness opposite to the entrance of Magdalen college. Here the chancellor laid the staves of the university bedels at his feet. Here also the mayor, at the head of the city procession, in their full dresses, presented the ensigns of his office. When his royal highness had been pleased most graciously to return these different insignia, the two processions uniting, and the chancellor and the mayor immediately preceding the prince regent, the whole moved forward up the High-street. His royal highness was in the Windsor uniform (dark blue and scarlet), and wore the order of the garter, and the Russian and Prussian orders. The duke of York was on his right, wearing his doctor's gown, and the order of the garter; and their royal highnesses were followed by lord Sidmouth, the earls of Darnley, Harcourt, Essex, Pembroke, Spencer, and Fortescue, the bishop of Peterborough, and a long train composed of the nobility, clergy, and members of the university. The combined procession moved on to the divinity school, on approaching which the members of every rank formed lines to the right and left, while the chancellor, attended by the proper officers, conducted his royal highness to his seat. The chancellor then humbly read and presented a loyal address, to which his royal highness returned a most gracious answer.—The officers of the university were then presented, and Dr. Cole, the vice-chancellor, whose still remaining weakness disabled him from joining the procession, but who was awaiting the prince's arrival in the divinity school, was, on being introduced, received very graciously, and had the honour of kissing his royal highness's hand. The chancellor then accompanied the prince to the suite of apartments prepared for his royal highness's reception at Christ-church,

church, and awaited his royal highness's commands for conducting him and his illustrious guests, who were every moment expected, to such of the public edifices and colleges which it might please his royal highness to visit.—At length, after the lapse of about an hour, Alexander and his amiable and accomplished sister appeared in an open barouche of the prince regent's, drawn simply by four post-horses. The emperor was dressed in a plain blue coat, wore his hair without powder, and with his hat continued bowing to the public, constantly and gracefully, the whole way up the High-street. The emperor and his sister drove to Merton college, where they were received by the warden, and conducted to very elegant apartments. Within a few minutes afterwards, the king of Prussia, accompanied by his two sons, arrived in a style equally simple with his brother sovereigns. He also wore a plain dark blue coat, covered with a brown travelling coat; and as soon as he was recognised, he acknowledged to the shouting multitude the gratitude he felt for their warm reception. His majesty's residence was at Corpus Christi college, in the front of which a guard of honour immediately raised the Prussian eagle. The illustrious strangers, in less than half an hour, having joined, proceeded through the eastern entrance to wait on the prince regent in his rooms in Christchurch. The chancellor and the dean received them uncovered at the door. The prince having assumed his academic robe, and his black velvet cap adorned with a gold tassel, came forth, followed by the emperor and his sister, the duke of York, and the king of Prussia, the young Prussian princes, with the prince of Orange, and a number of foreign nobility, accompanied by the duke of Devonshire, earl Fortescue, the earl of Essex, and several other distinguished characters. Their first object was the hall of Christchurch, with which they seemed highly delighted; the cathedral and library were also inspected. From Christchurch they proceeded to Merton, where Dr. Vaughan, the warden, conducted them through the college and gardens, and led them by the garden-gate into the broad walk of Christ church. Magdalen college, Queen's, and All Souls', in turn, occupied their attention: but the stay of the royal party was longest, and their admiration most evident, at the chapel of New college. The party then honoured the Clarendon press with their presence, and from thence proceeded to the Bodleian library, with which they were highly pleased; and the chancellor and curators presented the prince regent with a copy of Aristotle's Poetics, splendidly bound, which his royal highness was pleased to accept.—The loud huzzas of the populace announced their discovery of the great and venerable Blucher. The people were almost mad with joy, and paid him the ample homage he deserved.—The banquet at the Radcliffe library was the next object of public attraction. The imperial and royal parties assembled in the library of All Souls' college. At half-past seven they proceeded to the library, on a carpet laid across the street, and sat down to dinner. The upper gallery was then thrown open to the populace. The sight was truly gratifying. In the centre of the building, directly under the dome, was placed a table covered with ornaments of plate. Around this, and so extensive as to occupy the whole circle within the arcades

of the building, was placed a table almost circular; and branching off from this in lines leading from the centre, five tables occupied the spaces under five of the eight arcades, into which the exterior circle of the library is divided. In the centre of the circular table sat the chancellor, with his illustrious guests. About 200 sat down to dinner, 50 of whom were considered as the prince's party, and occupied that part of the table nearest to his royal highness. The tables were loaded with elegant plate; the dresses of the company were superb, many gentlemen being in court dresses or regimentals, and wearing, thrown loosely over them, the scarlet academic robe. The whole presented a scene scarcely ever equalled, owing to the beauty of the building, the perfect convenience for spectators, the rank of the guests, and the unique and classical effect which the robes gave to the whole scene. The prince was in high spirits; and whenever, on the announcing of a favourite toast, the spectators loudly testified their approbation, his royal highness was pleased repeatedly to wave his hand with enthusiastic delight, accompanied with a cheerful and dignified aspect. At about 11 the party separated, in order to see the illuminations, which then blazed universally through the streets of Oxford. Between 12 and 1, a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning burst suddenly over the city, and a torrent of rain soon extinguished the numerous lights.

June 15. Before eight, the ladies' seats in the theatre, where there is room for 600, were completely filled; the front line immediately behind the royal seats being occupied by lady Grenville's party. The upper gallery and orchestra contained at least 900 under-graduates and bachelors. The area received the masters of arts, bachelors of law, &c. and the strangers admitted by tickets. About ten o'clock the great door of the theatre opened, Dr. Crotch at the organ, accompanied by the whole band, playing the march in the occasional overture. But, by desire of the duchess of Oldenburgh, the music ceased some time before the procession entered the theatre.

At length his royal highness the prince regent, preceded by the bedels, proctors, vice-chancellor, and chancellor, (for they walked in that order,) appeared uncovered upon the threshold, and in an instant thunders of applause pealed on every side. Next to his royal highness came the emperor, and then the king of Prussia, in their robes as doctors of law. Then followed the duchess of Oldenburgh, accompanied by the duke of York; the Russian and foreign princes and noblemen, and all the honorary members of the university who were present: the heads of houses and doctors formed the rest of this beautiful and unique procession. The applause had continued long after the whole had reached their places, and the assembly of between two and three thousand persons continued standing till it had been loudly intimated by the prince, and stated by the chancellor, that his royal highness wished every one to be seated. It is impossible to describe the combined effect of the scene. Above the rest of the university, to the left of the prince, sat the chancellor, in his robes of black and gold, and his long band of most exquisite lace. Even with the chancellor on the right sat the duchess of Oldenburgh, in a simple dress of white satin, and no ornament upon her head. And still

still higher than all, the three sovereigns were seated on superb chairs of crimson velvet and gold, and their feet resting upon footstools of the same. The chair of the prince regent was surmounted by a plume of feathers in gold, and the whole platform on which these five seats were placed, was covered with crimson velvet.—As soon as silence could be obtained, the chancellor opened the convocation in his usual dignified and impressive manner. And now the rapture of the assembly was past all restraint. For some time the order of the business was interrupted, whilst the names of the prince regent, Alexander, Frederic, the duchess of Oldenburgh, the duke of York, and the chancellor, were severally and distinctly announced from the upper gallery, and followed by peals of approbation. While this was going on, each of the great personages in turn was pleased to arise and bow.—At this period of the ceremony, the public orator appeared in the rostrum, from whence he addressed the regent and his princely guests in a Latin oration, which, added to the chastity and elegance of the style, received all the energy of expression which Mr. Crowe is so well calculated to give, and for which he has so long been celebrated. His royal highness honoured it with marked and particular attention.—After this Dr. Phillimore, the regius professor of civil law, delivered a panegyric upon the two great monarchs, on whom the degree of doctor in civil law, by diploma, had been conferred. The chancellor upon this delivered the diploma of the emperor to the two proctors, with a command to present it to his imperial majesty; which was accordingly done. The like ceremony was observed with respect to the king of Prussia. The chancellor then proposed a diploma degree to the duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to prince Metternich the prime minister of the emperor of Austria, count Lieven the Russian ambassador, and to prince Blucher. The three latter were accordingly introduced, and presented by the regius professor of civil law. The Latin speeches of Dr. Phillimore, on presenting each candidate, were highly classical; but especially the one which recommended the venerable Blucher to the university, was pointed, vigorous, and appropriate. It was continually interrupted with the loudest cheerings; nor was the tumult of applause abated, till some time after the venerable warrior had, after repeatedly bowing to the assembly, the prince, and his sovereign, retired to his appointed seat.

Eight original congratulatory addresses in verse were then recited. A Greek ode, by the hon. Mr. Ellis, of Christchurch; another by Mr. Mildmay, of Brasennose; one in Latin, by lord Clifden, of Christchurch; and five in English; viz. by Mr. Bosanquet, gentleman commoner of C.C.C.; by Mr. Coleridge, B. A. of Exeter college; by Mr. Ingham, commoner of Oriel college; by Mr. Mascall, but written by Mr. Hughes, both gentlemen commoners of Oriel college; and by Mr. Dalby, B. A. fellow of Exeter college.—These also were honoured with universal applause. The prince and royal sovereigns paid the most marked attention to these compositions. Each got up on a compliment paid to him, and made his acknowledgment by a low bow. On one occasion, on the mention of his royal father, the prince rose and made three bows, and seemed visibly affected. His royal

highness afterwards marked his approbation of particular passages by inclinations of his head; and distinguished those particularly in which allusion was made to the forbearance and moderation in the midst of victory, displayed by the allied powers. The chancellor then dissolved the convocation, and the procession left the theatre in the same order as it entered.—The prince regent, accompanied by the allied sovereigns and their suites, honoured the corporation of Oxford with a visit in their council chamber. The city fitted up the whole interior of the town hall with flights of seats for 600 spectators, leaving an avenue railed off and carpeted for the passage of the procession. These seats afforded, to a great number of ladies who had been unable to obtain admission at the theatre, the gratification of a full view of the royal and distinguished visitors. Upon the arrival of the procession in the council chamber, a loyal address was read to the prince regent by the town clerk, William Elias Taunton, esq.; which his royal highness received most graciously, and, at the conclusion of it, conferred on the town clerk the honour of knighthood. The same distinction was conferred on the mayor, now sir Joseph Lock.—The honorary freedom of the city was then announced as having been voted to the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, the hereditary prince of Orange, the prince of Mecklenburgh, prince Metternich, prince Blucher, and several other illustrious personages.—At one, the royal party, accompanied by the chancellor and lord Sidmouth (one of the trustees), visited the observatory. The professor of astronomy pointed out its most striking features, and the different instruments; with which they were highly pleased; and at two, partook of an elegant breakfast at All Souls' college. Soon after which the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and their party, left the university, on a tour to Blenheim and Stowe.—The prince regent then held a levee in the upper room of the Christchurch library, which was attended by the nobility, heads of houses, professors, and by many of the graduated members of the university.—His royal highness was likewise pleased this morning to receive an address from the county of Oxford, which was presented at the deanery at Christchurch by the high sheriff, accompanied by the earls of Abingdon and Harcourt, the bishop of Oxford, John Fane, esq. one of the members, (lord Francis Spencer, the other member, being absent on military duty,) and a great number of the most respectable gentlemen of the county. The address was read by the high sheriff, and his royal highness returned a most gracious answer.—His royal highness honoured the society of Christchurch with his company at dinner in their hall, to which the nobility, and all the members of the society, were invited. The dean of Christchurch took his seat in the centre of the upper table, with the prince on his right, and the duke of York on his left hand. On the right of the prince sat the chancellor of the university, and on the left of the duke of York the prince Blucher. The dinner consisted of all the delicacies which could be procured, but not garnished with the sumptuous plate exhibited at the feast in the Radcliffe library. Nothing was displayed which was not in daily use. The graces were said by the junior students, as is usual on great occasions. After dinner his royal highness ordered

dered the college book to be brought, and the dean, by his command, inserted his name among the list of members. The most interesting incident on this occasion was a speech from marshal prince Blucher. The gallant veteran addressed the company in German with a powerful voice and most expressive energy. The prince, with a condescension which did him the highest honour, instantly undertook to interpret the sentiments of the brave warrior. His royal highness commenced with saying, that although it was impossible for him to do justice to the eloquence of the gallant and excellent man who had just addressed them, he would nevertheless attempt to convey his meaning to the audience. His royal highness then was pleased to say, that prince Blucher had always heard of the fame and grandeur of this country —that he had in consequence been induced to visit it, and that from every thing he had seen, it far transcended all accounts he had heard of it—that he himself was an old man, seventy years of age, whose hairs had grown grey in the service of his king and country; that he had, therefore, but little time to live in this world—short, however, as it might be, the reception he had met with in this country was an ample reward to him for all his labours—that he was but little used to universities and their ceremonies, but that he should be insensible indeed, if, from what he had witnessed here, he did not know how to value institutions such as that of the university of Oxford.—This was the substance, although by no means the exact words of his royal highness's interpretation, delivered with a most inimitable grace, and altogether conceived and expressed with a taste which excited the admiration of all his hearers. The party broke up at nine o'clock. The illuminations were renewed in the evening with increased brilliancy. The university church was magnificently adorned with lamps, in exact correspondence with its architecture, and was uncommonly splendid. A ball was given in the town hall under the patronage of lords Stopford, Elcho, Newbattle, and Valletort, and attended by the prince regent, duke of York, prince Blucher, the chancellor of the university, and a numerous assemblage of nobility and gentry.

June 16. Soon after ten, his royal highness left Oxford on his return to London; and at eleven the chancellor held a convocation, in which the honorary degree of D. C. L. was conferred on the earl of Harrowby, lord president of the council; the earl Bathurst, secretary for the war and colonial department; lord Kenyon; the right hon. Bragge Bathurst, M. P.; the right hon. N. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; admiral sir John Borlase Warren, bart. K. B.; admiral sir J. Saumarez, bart. K. B.; major-gen. the hon. sir Charles Stewart; sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, bart. M. P.; the earl of Ilchester; the right hon. lord Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department; the right hon. G. Canning, M. P.; sir Edward Hartopp, M. P.; and J. Round, esq. M P. The Theatre was again thronged with ladies and with gownsmen. All the public and respected characters, as they retired from the theatre, were greeted with loud plaudits; and particularly the proctors, &c. whose conciliatory and gentlemanly conduct has given to all the fullest satisfaction.

June 16. His imperial majesty

and the duchess of Oldenburgh arrived this morning between two and three o'clock at the Pulteney hotel, Piccadilly. They travelled all night in an open carriage, and experienced the inconvenience of a fall of rain and a thunder storm on their way. The emperor, notwithstanding the fatigues of his journey, and the hour of the morning, merely stopped at his hotel to change his dress, and repaired with great expedition to the countess of Jersey's festive meeting, where he remained till six. His majesty rose about ten, and at half-past eleven, attended by lord Yarmouth, proceeded to St. Paul's cathedral. Here his majesty witnessed the annual assemblage of upwards of 6000 of the charity children belonging to the different parishes of the metropolis—an interesting sight, which does so much honour to British benevolence, and which cannot fail to make the most affecting impression on every beholder. His Prussian majesty and the princes his sons were also present. At three o'clock the emperor, accompanied by the grand duchess, proceeded to view the New Mint, where they were received and attended by the deputy warden and other officers of that establishment. After seeing the various machinery and the different processes through which the coin passes, they partook of a cold collation provided on the occasion. His imperial majesty was presented with a gold medal, of the same impression as the one presented to the grand duchess, his sister, of his imperial majesty's likeness, on her former visit.

In the evening their imperial and royal majesties dined with lord Castlereagh in St. James's-square. There also were present the princes of Prussia, the princes of Orange, Wurtemberg, Metternich, Hardenberg, the duchess of York, the dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, Saxe-Weimar, and Orleans, the count and countess of Lieven, &c. &c.—After dinner their majesties honoured Drury-lane theatre with their presence. The house was crowded to excess. At 25 minutes before 11 the two monarchs entered amidst the general shouts of the audience. The curtain then drew up, and about 200 of the performers appeared, and sang God save the king. The emperor joined most cordially in the chorus: his imperial majesty and the king of Prussia clapped heartily at the conclusion. They remained till the performance ceased, and then went to a grand entertainment at the marchioness of Hertford's, where his imperial majesty stayed till half-past five o'clock, engaged in the festive dance; at six he retired to his hotel.

June 17. At eleven the emperor set out on a visit to the military asylum and Chelsea hospital. He was accompanied by the duchess of Oldenburgh, and attended by lord Yarmouth and his suite. At the military asylum his imperial majesty was joined by the king of Prussia; and the royal party was received by the duke of York as governor, and the other officers of this noble institution. After inspecting its various departments, the emperor of Rusaia, accompanied by his sister, proceeded to Greenwich hospital, and then returned to the Pulteney hotel. The king of Prussia, after viewing Chelsea college and the military asylum, visited the duchess of York and St. James's palace.—Soon after eight o'clock

o'clock the same evening, the emperor of Russia, king of Prussia, duchess of Oldenburgh, &c. &c. went to Merchant Tailors' Hall, and partook of a splendid dinner given by the merchants and bankers of London. The duke of York was in the chair (the prince regent being prevented from attending by some cause), the emperor of Russia on his left hand, and the king of Prussia on his right. Next to the emperor sat the duchess of Oldenburgh; the rest of the table was filled with princes, ministers, and ambassadors, all in the most splendid dresses, and chiefly military. The toasts given were chiefly complimentary to the illustrious visitors. At eleven they left the hall, and repaired to Covent-garden theatre, where they remained till the close of the entertainment, and then retired amid loud and universal plaudits.

June 18. The entertainment given by the corporation of the city of London to his royal highness the prince regent, and the illustrious monarchs of Russia and Prussia, was, in costly splendour and magnificence, never exceeded in this country. The prince regent, to give effect to the scene, went in state, with the full splendour of his court. The streets east of Temple bar were lined with nearly 8000 troops. The houses were filled and covered with tens of thousands of spectators, and windows in particular situations to view the procession were disposed of so high as from 20 to 30 guineas each.

At four o'clock the cavalcade departed from Carlton house in the following order:

The 11th dragoons. Seven of the prince regent's carriages, in which were the officers of his household and foreign officers of distinction. The state carriages of the prince of Orange, duke of Gloucester, duke of Cambridge, and duke of Kent, each drawn by six horses. These illustrious individuals were accompanied by several of the foreign princes. The state carriage of the duke of York, who was accompanied by the two princes of Prussia. The speaker of the house of commons in his state carriage. Between each of these carriages were sections of the Oxford blues. Then came the carriages of his majesty's ministers, including those of the earl of Liverpool, lord Sidmouth, lord Melville, earl Bathurst, Mr. Vansittart, &c. &c. These were followed by two troops of the horse-guards in new uniforms. His majesty's heralds in their official costume; twelve marshals with their staves; the whole of the king's yeomen in their state uniforms, and carrying their halberts. The prince's carriage of state, in which were his royal highness, the king of Prussia, and two foreign princes. The carriage was drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, and was followed by the remainder of the horse guards; after which came a vast number of other carriages containing foreigners of distinction; the marquis of Wellesley, lord and lady Castlereagh, prince de Wagstadt (Blucher), count Platoff, lords Hill and Beresford, and a long line of persons of distinction.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and city officers had previously arrived at Temple bar in their state carriages—and, on the approach of the procession, they mounted horses which were decorated for the occasion with crimson ribbons.—The first part of the cavalcade having advanced, the carriage of the prince regent drew up, when

when the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs advanced; and, after a short conference, took the lead of his royal highness's carriage, in the following order:—A number of sheriffs' officers, the city marshals, the lord mayor's footmen, the band of the London militia playing God save the king.—Sixteen aldermen in their robes, bareheaded. The common crier bearing the city mace, and the sword-bearer. The lord mayor, also bareheaded, carrying the sword of state, and dressed in a rich velvet robe which cost 150 guineas. He was followed immediately by the carriage of the prince regent. In this order the procession proceeded to Guildhall, cheered as it went by the spectators in the houses and streets.

Upon approaching Guildhall, the first object of notice was a temporary passage which had been erected from the principal door of the hall, half-way across Guildhall-yard. This passage was lined with green cloth, and the flooring covered with matting; it was illuminated by a profusion of lamps, and led to the porch of the hall, which was also lined with green cloth and converted into a temporary arbour, in which were displayed the most costly flowering shrubs and evergreens, arranged upon shelves and, ornamented with moss. This arbour extended into the hall, and being illuminated with variegated lamps, had the most enchanting effect. Thus conducted into the hall, a scene of dazzling splendour burst upon the sight. The whole of this Gothic pile exhibited a profusion of rich and brilliant cut glass lustres with some thousands of wax lights, which were suspended from the ceiling. The table for the prince regent and his royal visitors was raised four steps above the floor of the hall. Over the centre was a canopy extending in front, ornamented with the prince's feathers and the Russian and Prussian eagles. It was a single table reaching nearly the width and the length of the hustings. It was served entirely with gold and silver plate. On each side of the canopy were three large mirrors, which reflected the whole of the company. Three beautiful lustres of cut glass were suspended from the lofty ceiling. The east window was decorated with a transparency of the king's arms, which was illuminated. The monuments of lord Chatham and of his son William Pitt, on the opposite side, were left entirely open for the contemplation of the illustrious visitors. The floor of the hall was filled, but not crowded as on ordinary occasions, with dinner tables; and on each side a gallery was raised, and the pillars which supported it formed large recesses for tables. The gallery was nearly 20 feet in depth, so as to contain four seats, and, where the windows admit, a fifth, and extended on both sides of the hall to the west window, where it was enlarged so as to afford eight seats. The common-councilmen dined on tables laid in the recesses. Below the gallery, and next to the two monuments, were two boxes facing each other, and extending with circular fronts, designed as orchestras, and in which were placed messrs. Bellamy, Goss, Leete, Taylor, and other celebrated glee-singers. A music gallery was raised over the clock, which was hid from view. The two giants were newly painted, and little more of them than their busts, hands, and staves appeared. From the noble gallery already described, folding doors were opened over the

the kitchen and over the comptroller's house for every accommodation. This gallery was appropriated solely to the ladies. The whole of the walls and galleries were covered with cloth of crimson, plaited in folds, and forming a circular drapery over each of the recesses. Lustres were pendant from all parts, intermingled with banners of the arms of companies and of opulent citizens. The rise of a few of the steps to the king's bench court led to a splendid room, also lined with crimson cloth, and a volant figure of Fame, in transparency, an olive branch encircling her trumpet.

On the procession arriving at Guildhall, the prince regent and royal visitors were ushered into the council chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The regent being seated on the throne, the recorder delivered an address of the lord mayor, &c. upon his royal highness's visit to the city, which was most graciously received. Here the royal and noble visitors promenaded for some time in familiar conversation; and the prince regent, with the most gracious and condescending freedom, thus addressed the worthy chief magistrate:

"This, my lord mayor, is the first time of my coming into the city as regent. On similar occasions it has been customary to bestow some compliment on the city of London. I rejoice that, on this interesting occasion, the chief magistracy has fallen into your lordship's hands, as it enables me at once to evince my respect for the city, and my personal esteem for your lordship, by declaring my intention of creating you immediately a baronet; and I wish you health to enjoy this honour."——Dinner was then announced, and the regent with his royal guests and attendants proceeded to the hall; the regent, emperor of Russia, and king of Prussia, taking their seats under a grand state canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated 21 personages of the blood royal, including the grand duchess of Oldenburgh. The dinner, which consisted of every delicacy, whether in or out of season, was served up on gold and silver plate, and the wines and dessert were of the most choice and costly kind. The appearance of the hall was beautiful beyond description. The prince regent left the hall at half past eleven; but the whole of the company were not able to depart till three the next morning.

June 19. The king of Prussia met earl Percy at Sion-house, Brentford; and thence proceeded to Oatlands to dine with the duchess of York. The emperor of Russia and duchess of Oldenburgh went to the Russian private chapel in Welbeck-street—and thence proceeded to the meeting of the society of Friends in St. Martin's-lane—returned to Pulteney hotel, and at three visited the princess Charlotte at Warwick-house. — They next went to Chiswick, to partake of a public breakfast given by the duke of Devonshire — got back at a quarter before seven to the Pulteney hotel; and at ten o'clock the emperor and the grand duchess went to Carlton-house, to meet her majesty at a dress party. In the course of the day the emperor received deputations from the "Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress." "The Bible Society," with lord Gambier at their head—and Mr. Soane had the honour of laying

ing before him the drawings of the Bank and other buildings, which his imperial majesty desired to examine, and which he was pleased to accept.

At seven a deputation from the Royal Humane Society (of which his imperial majesty is a member, in consequence of having restored a Polish peasant, apparently dead by drowning,) waited upon him for the presentation of the diploma of the society. The deputation consisted of lord Brownlow; sir Abraham Hume, bart.; sir William Garrow (attorney general); Sam. Whitbread, esq. M. P.; Mr. alderman Wood,; Dr. Lettsom, the treasurer; the rev. J. Pridden, F.S.A.; the rev. R. Yates, F.S.A.; J. J. Angerstein, esq.; J. Blackburn, esq.; I. H. Browne, esq.; W. Watson, esq. F.R.S.; J. Blades, esq.; J. Nichols, esq. F. S. A.; J. B. Nichols, esq. F. L. S.; T. J. Pettigrew, esq. F. L. S. the secretary, and about 20 other governors. They were introduced to his imperial majesty, and were most graciously received; the truly benevolent monarch, in the most condescending manner, expressing his high approbation of the laudable institution, and cordially shaking hands with each member of the deputation.

The following is the address presented:

"May it please your imperial majesty: The vice-patron, president, vice-presidents, directors, and governors, of the Royal Humane Society, instituted for the recovery of the apparently drowned or dead, humbly approach your imperial majesty to offer their respectful and cordial welcome to your imperial majesty on your happy arrival in Great Britain. In common with all their fellow-subjects, they feel that lively interest and high exultation so naturally the consequence of the mighty efforts and glorious victories of the brave armies of your imperial majesty and your illustrious allies; victories by which nations oppressed by a most hateful tyranny have been emancipated, and by which the latent spark of liberty has been fanned to the flame which now re-animates the world. But the Royal Humane Society, which the beloved sovereign of Britain has so long patronized, feels, in its approach to your imperial majesty, peculiar emotions, in the remembrance that it addresses a monarch whose powerful arm maintained the cause of freedom against confederated hosts, yet has deigned his own assiduous exertions in rescuing a subject (though of the meanest class) from premature death;—a monarch who can adopt with eminent propriety, and whose generous tears on a successful result confirmed a right to, the claim of the worthy sage of antiquity, '*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*'—The Royal Humane Society is impressed with the sincerest gratitude for the condescension with which your imperial majesty has been pleased to accept the medal of the society, the highest token of admiration and respect in its power to offer; and for the gracious manner in which your imperial majesty has been pleased to consent to be an honorary member of the Royal Humane Society.—The vice-patron, president, vice-presidents, directors, and governors, in order further to testify their respectful veneration for your imperial majesty, humbly beg leave to present, personally, to your imperial majesty's acceptance, the diploma by which the Royal Humane Society has had the

the honour to enrol your imperial majesty among its members.—That your imperial majesty may long reign over a brave, united, and unconquered people, and be gratified with the effects of a peace so gloriously achieved in the effusions of emancipated millions, is the fervent prayer of, sire, your imperial majesty's most obedient humble servants, the members of the Royal Humane Society."

June 20. At an early hour persons of every description were making preparations to go to Hyde park, for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, not only in seeing the royal visitors, the prince, &c. but also for the purpose of seeing almost the whole of the military of London and its environs. At nine o'clock the different corps were on the ground, and the whole of Hyde park from Tyburn to Hyde park gate was covered with soldiers equipped in their best regimentals. It was near eleven before the numerous corps were properly arranged, when a spectacle was presented to the public which has not been surpassed for a series of years. After the lines were arranged, the different bands belonging to the infantry and cavalry continued to play several martial airs. The crowd became so excessive, that it was deemed expedient to send a detachment of cavalry to clear them to the extremities of the park. Every beholder by this time appeared to fix his eyes on Hyde park gate, where the illustrious personages were to make their grand *entrée*. Every tree in the park was heavily laden with persons of various descriptions, and the balconies, windows, and roofs of the houses fronting the park were crowded with a great assemblage of beauty and fashion. At half past eleven a royal salute of 21 cannon announced that the royal party were on their way; and soon after another discharge of 21 guns gave intimation of their arrival at Hyde park gate. A detachment of the greys proceeded to meet the great potentates, accompanied by the hetman Platoff and a small detachment of cossacks. They were received with the loudest shouts by the populace. The prince regent, who was accompanied on one side by the king of Prussia and on the other by the emperor of Russia, kept his hat off, and bowed respectfully to the populace. He was followed by Blucher and a most magnificent staff superbly attired. The different lines were soon arranged, and the royal party passed, while they preserved the greatest order and decorum, and the bands played "God save the king."—After this the numerous regiments passed in review, and then fired a *feu-de-joie*. The illustrious visitors were pleased to express the greatest satisfaction at their discipline; and about half past three the different corps marched from the ground, highly gratified with the honour paid them by the great generals. The king of Prussia afterwards went to the house of lords, to see the ceremony of passing bills by the lords commissioners.

June 21. The emperor of Russia and duchess of Oldenburgh went, plainly dressed, to dine with the count and countess of Lieven. They returned to Pulteney hotel at ten o'clock, and dressed for the prince regent's grand party. The emperor put on the English uniform, and wore the order of the garter.

The duke of Oldenburgh and prince of Wirtemberg were introduced

duced to the queen on Tuesday, by earl Morton, her chamberlain, for the purpose of formally taking leave of her majesty. The king of Prussia visited the India house, and the warehouses of that establishment.

This evening the prince regent, the illustrious visitors, and their suites, went by invitation to White's fête, which was graced by one of the most handsome assemblages of women ever seen in this country. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia paid due homage to their charms—the former by keeping it up "on the light fantastic toe" till five in the morning.

June 22. The emperor and grand duchess sent for M. Escudier, the proprietor of the hotel, and, acknowledging the great attention he had shown them, kindly bid him adieu. Count Orloff, count Woronzow, baron Nicholai, colonel Fenshaw, and a number of Russian gentlemen who remain in England, attended to take their farewell of the emperor; and they embraced, according to the custom of their country. The emperor, the grand duchess of Oldenburgh, the duke of Oldenburgh, and the prince of Wirtemberg, entered an open carriage of the prince regent's exactly as the clock struck nine. The carriage then drove to the Tower of London, which they viewed *en passant*; and passed over London-bridge, at half-past twelve, on their way to the seat of the earl of Liverpool, at Coombe Wood, to breakfast. The king of Prussia, followed by the princes, left Clarence-house at half-past nine, in a royal carriage, for the earl of Liverpool's seat. His royal highness the prince regent set off from Carlton-house a few minutes after nine, accompanied by his royal brother the duke of Cambridge and gen. Bayley, in his travelling carriage, for Portsmouth.

Portsmouth, June 22. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia arrived here this evening, but too late to be present at the Government-house at the dinner of the prince regent; they therefore drove directly to the houses prepared for their reception; the emperor and his sister to commissioner Grey's in the dock-yard; and the Prussian king and princes to the lieutenant-governor, general Houston's.

June 23. Early this morning the royal standards floated in the air over the public buildings, and the troops were drawn out in front of the Government-house. The prince regent got into his carriage under a discharge from the battery, at half-past nine, with the duke of York, and drove to the residence of the emperor, whither the king and princes of Prussia, the duke of Saxe-Weimar, &c. shortly after repaired. The illustrious company walked from thence about eleven, to the place of embarkation, where the whole naval procession, headed by the duke of Clarence as admiral of the fleet, was ready to receive them. It commenced with men-of-war's barges commanded by captains clearing the way. The admiralty barge, with its characteristic ensign, came first; and was followed by the royal barge, with the royal standard; and two other barges, one hoisting the Russian flag of yellow, with the black spread eagle, the other of white, with the sable eagle of Prussia. They contained the regent, the emperor, the duchess of Oldenburgh, the king of Prussia, his sons and relatives, many German princes, and the suites of the three royal personages. The procession

sion passed along the line of men of war, amid a general salute of 42 guns from each ship. The ships' yards were all fully manned, and the loud cheerings of the crews, and of the countless company in the surrounding boats, emulated the roar of the cannon. The duke of Clarence had previously gone on board the Impregnable, where the procession had stopped, to welcome the visitors. A short interval elapsed after their going on board, when the universal shout for the emperor Alexander brought his imperial majesty to the entering port, where he stood some minutes, bowing very graciously and gracefully to the surrounding spectators. Similar calls were made to the Prussian monarch, who in a similar way testified his gratification. The same honours were paid to the prince regent, who in recognising the public attention seemed highly delighted. The duchess of Oldenburgh was the next object of applause, and her imperial highness in the kindest manner imaginable bowed repeatedly. The dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge, were in like manner hailed; and each appeared, bowed, and thanked. Blucher and Platoff were loudly vociferated; but the duke of York declared they were not on board. Another grand salute was then fired, mixed with the cheerings of the ships' companies, in which the prince regent heartily joined. Soon after the royal party came on board, they proceeded to explore the ship, each as he pleased. The regent was very curious and attentive. The king of Prussia examined much, and appeared a very careful observer. Alexander lost no time: he left the main deck, and went about the ship alone for a time. He then took his illustrious sister, and descended to the place where the crew were receiving their allowance, at twelve o'clock. He made inquiries concerning it, and asked what quantity of water was added to the rum? Being told that the proportion of water was as six to one, a tar observed, that it would be no worse for being stronger. Alexander requested the usual allowance, and drank it off readily, smiling, and adding his approbation of the liquor, "which," said his majesty, in very intelligible English, "you call grog, and I think it very good." He had a smaller quantity poured out for the duchess, who drank it with much good humour. The men were ordered an extra allowance. Alexander then went into a marine's birth (of about eleven who were at dinner.) He seated himself by them, and took a portion of their mess. He then pulled out a sum of money, and left with the company, bidding them "good bye." He did the same in crossing from Dover, where he gave the marines coin worth about 50*l*. The sons of the king of Prussia also drank grog with the men with much satisfaction. A grand collation was now prepared in the cabin, where a most superb display of the regent's plate decorated the tables. Adm. Blackwood, captain of the fleet, and capt. Adam, captain of the ship, did the table honours to this exalted party. On coming again on deck, nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the guests. It has been said, that the place where a British king should receive ambassadors is the deck of a man of war. The prince regent can never feel himself more truly the sovereign of the greatest maritime power that ever existed, than when he thus beheld his country's greatness witnessed by foreign monarchs on his country's own element. He evidently felt his high destiny,

destiny, and declared it to be the grandest sight he ever saw. The duchess of Oldenburgh particularly expressed her delight, and bore the shock of firing with much fortitude. The amiable and meditative Frederic was wrapped up in the sublimity of a spectacle so new to him. Alexander seemed to dwell upon it with ecstasy. The young German princes were quite enraptured: the veteran leaders of hosts contemplated, with the firmness becoming their martial character, an exhibition of a sort to which they had been hitherto perfect strangers. Leaving the Impregnable, salutes were again fired for the regent, the emperor, and king, followed by a general salute; after which the whole party repaired to the Government house, where another grand banquet was given by the regent to near 150 persons. Blucher arrived in the evening at nine, at the bank on the parade; and appeared at the window several times.

June 24. The prince regent, the duke of York, the king of Prussia, with the Prussian and other princes, repaired early to the emperor, whence they proceeded to view the various establishments. The ships building or repairing in the slips, the immense naval stores of every description in the warehouses, the rope-house, the copper-works, and all the other important branches, were examined with much attention. But the emperor and king appeared more peculiarly interested by the machinery for making the ships' blocks, the rapid operations of which they witnessed with particular pleasure. The numerous objects of curiosity and utility in the yard occupied all the forenoon. About two o'clock the royal barges, and the rest of the grand aquatic procession, left the King's stairs at the dock-yard, in the same order as the day before, to pay another visit to the fleet in the roads. Royal salutes were fired from all the batteries. On their arrival at the fleet, they went on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, which immediately hoisted the royal standard. The emperor had previously gone with the duke of Clarence on board the Impregnable, the interior of which seemed to afford his imperial majesty peculiar delight. He was as assiduous as before, in making himself personally acquainted with nautical arrangements. The fleet formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, in front of the Isle of Wight. They received the royal visitors with a general salute, after which they slipped their cables, and were immediately under sail with a brisk north-east gale. They speedily cleared St. Helen's, and went quite out at sea. The Royal Sovereign yacht led the van. The yachts and barges of the admiralty, the naval commissioners, the ordnance, and other public offices, a great number of private yachts, and above 200 vessels of all descriptions sailed out, keeping at various distances from the fleet. About five o'clock the whole line-of-battle ships hove-to by signal, when the prince regent, the king of Prussia, &c. left the Royal Sovereign, and went to the emperor of Russia in the Impregnable, to which the royal standard was accordingly shifted. At this time the leading ships were about 12 miles from Portsmouth. The royal circle partook of some entertainment in the Impregnable's cabin. The signal was made soon afterwards for the return of all the ships of war to their anchorage. The wind was not so favourable for sailing back; but the general effect of so many vessels of war and pleasure-boats,

sure-boats turning to windward through a narrow channel, the men of war ranging up alongside of the smaller vessels, and the frequent repetition of signals in both directions along the line, together with the amazing accuracy of the naval movements, was of the most beautiful and of the grandest kind imaginable. As they returned, they continued their firing, so as to afford, in some respects, the idea of a naval engagement. In the visit of yesterday, the ships lay at anchor, with their sails down; in that of this day, they displayed, before assembled sovereigns, the proudest boast of this sea-girt isle, a British fleet in a state of activity. In the course of the night and morning, many private vessels had come in from various parts of the coast, so that the number had considerably increased. The Prince, of 98 guns, was in the night splendidly illuminated. The oldest boatmen of the harbour never saw before so great a number of vessels collected together, nor so fine a sight at Portsmouth. The whole line were at their anchorage by half-past seven, off Spithead, when the emperor, king, regent, princes, &c, &c. all quitted the men of war, and got into their respective barges, sailed up the harbour, and landed. The salutes, on their coming away, were very imposing on shore and in the harbour. The discharge of all the artillery round the works of Portsmouth and Portsea, on the Blockhouse, Cumberland, and South Sea forts, and on the different batteries at Haslar and elsewhere, followed by ten *feux de joie* of the many thousand military drawn up, chiefly on the ramparts, was prodigious. Under this tremendous firing, the sovereigns retired to their several residences.—When the prince regent arrived at the Government-house, he found the duke of Wellington, the deliverer of nations, waiting his approach. The multitudes without filled the royal ear with the shouts of "Wellington," from the landing-place to the doors of the Government-house. The populace instantly took the horses from his carriage, and drew him, in their triumphant tumult of patriotic joy, to the portico of the regent's abode. When he went in, the voices of a gladened public resounded from the streets and ramparts; and, after the lapse of a few minutes, his grace appeared on the balcony, and bowed very frequently. Lord Stewart (late sir Charles Stewart) also came in, and was highly honoured. Between eight and nine o'clock the company were arriving to dine with the prince. All the streets were lined with hussars, dragoons and infantry. The duke of Wellington dined with them; and about half-past ten appeared at the balcony again, in company with the regent, emperor, king, and princes, about a dozen in number; and was again received with enthusiastic acclamations. The duke lodged at the George inn. The town was again illuminated, and with additional splendour.

June 25. At 11 this day, the prince regent and the allied sovereigns and retinue left Portsmouth for Portsdown-hill. About 7000 troops were drawn up in review order; and, after their majesties had inspected them, they drove off for Goodwood, to breakfast with the duke of Richmond. From Goodwood the emperor of Russia, the duchess of Oldenburgh, the king and princes of Prussia, the prince regent, &c. arrived at Petworth, the seat of lord Egremont, to dinner on Saturday, about six. The emperor travelled in an open carriage; and, on his arrival at Pet-

worth, expressed himself highly delighted with the picturesque beauty of the road.

Dover, June 26. This afternoon at six, the guns of the Castle announced the return of the king of Prussia and his two sons to this port; they went to Payne's hotel. About 11 the emperor of Russia, accompanied by the duchess of Oldenburgh, lord Yarmouth, &c. also reached Dover, amidst the thundering of cannon and cheers of the people.

June 27. This morning the king of Prussia, after taking a farewell of his imperial majesty, at 11, accompanied by his sons, embarked on board the Nymphen frigate, under a royal salute from the shore and from the ships, and landed at Calais the same evening.—The Jason frigate, the hon. captain King, bearing the flag of his royal highness the duke of Clarence, at this time brought up in the roads, and took part in the salute. The rain did not cease all day, so that little of the royal visitors was seen. The emperor and the grand duchess embarked at half-past six. His imperial majesty was moved even to tears at his embarkation at Dover; and all the people certainly were. His majesty stood on the deck of the yacht, with his glass to his eye, as long as the objects were visible, cordially returning the salutations and blessings bestowed upon him. The emperor disembarked at Calais at seven next morning. [For the foregoing account of the royal visit we are chiefly indebted to the Gentleman's Magazine.]

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Wednesday, June 8.

In the court of king's bench, Guildhall, capt. Random de Berenger, lord Cochrane, hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, R. Gathorne Butt, Ralph Sandom (a spirit merchant at Northfleet), Alex. M'Rae, J. Peter Holloway, and Henry Lyte, were tried, for conspiring to defraud the Stock Exchange, by circulating false news of Bonaparte's defeat, his being killed by the Cossacks, &c. to raise the funds to a higher price than they otherwise would have borne, to the injury of the public, and to the benefit of the conspirators.—Mr. Gurney called witnesses to prove that colonel de Bourg, who pretended to have been conveyed in an open boat from France, and landed at Dover, with the above intelligence, was Random de Berenger; that he wrote to admiral Foley, who, but for the haziness of the weather, would have telegraphed the intelligence to the admiralty—the precise object which the conspirators had in view; that he afterwards proceeded through Canterbury to London, dressed as a foreign officer, repeatedly telling the post-boys that he was the bearer of glorious news, until he came to the Elephant and Castle in the Kent-road, when, finding no hackney-coach there, he was set down at the Marsh-gate, Lambeth, where he stepped into a hackney-coach, and was traced to a house then recently taken by lord Cochrane in Green-street Grosvenor-square. The effect which this news had on the funds, particularly omnium, is well known: the latter rose from 27¼ to 30 per cent. premium. But no confirmation having been received at the admiralty, omnium began again to get down; when an important auxiliary to this fraudulent contrivance appeared. This was the arrival of three apparently military officers in a post-chaise and four from Northfleet, having the drivers and horses decorated with laurel. These were San-

dom

dom, M'Rae, and Lyte, in disguise. To spread the news, they drove through the city, over Blackfriars bridge, and were set down near the Marsh-gate, where they tied up their cocked hats, put on round ones, and walked away. This last contrivance raised omnium to 32 per cent. Much evidence was adduced by the counsel to connect the parties; and to show that the two arrivals were branches of the same conspiracy. The amount of the stock in the possession of lord Cochrane and Messrs. Johnstone and Butt amounted to nearly one million; and, but for this plan of raising the funds, they must have been defaulters to the amount of 160,000*l.* and nearly ruined by their speculations. Sandom, Holloway, and Lyte, were jobbers in the funds; the two latter had confessed what was their object to the Stock Exchange committee, though they denied any participation with the other parties. Berenger's handwriting was proved; and the coat, purchased at Solomon's of Charing-cross, was identified as having been bought and worn by him, and then sunk in the Thames, from whence it was accidentally drawn up by a fisherman. M'Rae, who was in distressed circumstances, lodged at Mrs. Alexander's in Fetter-lane, and received 50*l.* for his services: he made no defence. — Mr. serjeant Best, for the defendants, contended, and proved by calling lord Yarmouth, colonel Torrens, and admiral Beresford, that lord Cochrane was acquainted with de Berenger on honourable grounds, not arising from stock-jobbing transactions, having exerted himself to get him into the navy; likewise that he had authorized his broker to sell his stock whenever he could get a profit of one per cent. To account for the 450*l.* found upon De Berenger when taken, being the produce of a cheque of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, he called Mr. Tahourdin, the solicitor, and other witnesses, who were employed to survey some grounds belonging to him near the regent's park, upon which it was in contemplation to build a new Ranelagh, and for which prospectuses had been issued. For this purpose Mr. Tahourdin had remitted him money on Mr. C. Johnstone's account. Mr. serjeant Pell addressed the jury in behalf of Sandom, Holloway, and Knight. An alibi was set up on the part of De Berenger; and his servants Smith and his wife were called to prove that he slept at home on the night of Sunday Feb. 20.; and Mr. M'Guire, a servant at a livery stable, deposed that he saw him at Chelsea on that evening; but they varied as to the dress he wore. At three on Thursday morning the court adjourned: it afterwards met at ten o'clock, when, Mr. Gurney having replied, lord Ellenborough took two hours to sum up. The jury then retired two hours and a half: on their return they found *all the persons Guilty.*

June 15.

On Tuesday lord Cochrane addressed the court in person. He said, that understanding from his counsel that they could not appear for him, to move for a new trial, in conformity to his wishes, as the rule was, that where there were many persons embraced by the indictment, all must be present; and as that was not possible, the other parties not being within his control, he appeared in person, though scarcely recovered from the shock he had experienced on being found guilty by a jury of his country, to entreat the court, that, for the sake of justice they would grant a new trial.

Lord Ellenborough assured his lordship that he could not hear him. The rule of court prevented it. All the parties must be present.

Lord Cochrane had to complain, that on the trial evidence of great importance to the proving his innocence had not been brought forward. If their lordships would allow him to read to them the evidence to which he alluded, they would be better able to judge.

Lord Ellenborough.—It cannot be, consistently with the established forms of the court.

Lord Cochrane said, he should be extremely brief: he held in his hand affidavits.

Lord Ellenborough assured his lordship, that it gave the court pain to interrupt him; but they could not, consistently with the solemn and established rule of the court, suffer him to proceed.

Lord Cochrane trusted, that in deviating from their rule, in such a case, their lordships would do an act more calculated to promote the ends of justice, than by inflexibly acting up to it. What could there be inconsistent with justice, in suffering him, who, though he had no counsel, was ready to assert and prove his own innocence, from doing so, merely because those who were guilty were not present, and dared not show their faces?

Lord Ellenborough said, if they were to yield this rule to one, they must do so to all.

Lord Cochrane begged only to state—

Lord Ellenborough.—It would be idle in the court to announce to your lordship that there is such a rule as I have mentioned, if we did not intend to act upon it. We did act upon this rule this very day, in the case of an obscure individual, and are we now to act differently in your lordship's case? That would indeed be to furnish evil-minded persons with a handle for saying that we have one rule of law for the poor, and another for the rich.

Lord Cochrane said, he had been so conscious of his own innocence, that he had never thought it necessary to instruct counsel, as several gentlemen in court knew, nor had he even read a brief on the subject, till after the trial, when he found that a very great error had crept into it, in respect to the evidence of his servants, as to the dress of the stranger who called at his lordship's house in his absence. They were represented as admitting that he was dressed in a red coat, whereas all they had stated was, that he appeared to be a military officer, to which character they as a matter of course attached the idea of a red coat, though it might equally well have been green.

Here the matter dropped, and his lordship, of course, took nothing by his motion.

WILLET AND ANOTHER V. DRURY.

16. This action was brought by the plaintiffs, who are masters of a respectable school at Loughborough House, against the defendant, to recover money due to them for the education of her son for half a year. The defendant pleaded coverture. —Mr. Scarlett, for the defendant, stated, that she was a native of America, and related to the celebrated Dr. Franklin, by whom she was taken, when a child, to France, where she was educated, and received the estate and title of La Roque from the late unfortunate queen Antoinette; — that she is now the wife of vice-admiral Thomas Drury; and that he should produce the certificate of the marriage, the clergyman who married them,

them, the certificate of the baptism of their son (lord Brownlow sponsor), a letter from the rev. Mr. Drury, admiral Drury's father, addressed to the defendant as his daughter, full of affectionate expressions, and strongly advising separation; and the deed of separation itself, in which it was expressly agreed that the father should provide for the education of the children.

The coverture being proved by the evidence of the clergyman, the rev. Mr. Rees, rector of Kingston, Jamaica, and by the relatives of the family, the plaintiffs consented to be non-suited.

June 20.

Mr. Gurney moved for the judgement of the court on the defendants in the case of lord Cochrane and others. — They were accordingly called on, when Random de Berenger, lord Cochrane, R. Gathorne Butt, John Peter Holloway, Ralph Sandom, and Henry Lyte, appeared to their names; and the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone and Alexander M'Rae failed to appear.

Mr. serjeant Best, on the part of R. G. Butt, having urged various legal objections to the conviction, all of which were overruled by the judges,—

Lord Cochrane addressed the court: he said, "It has been my very great misfortune to be apparently implicated in the guilt of others with whom I never had any connection, except in transactions, so far as I was apprized of them, entirely blameless. I had met Mr. De Berenger in public company, but was on no terms of intimacy with him. With Mr Cochrane Johnstone I had the intercourse natural between such relatives. Mr. Butt had voluntarily offered, without any reward, to carry on stock transactions, in which thousands as well as myself were engaged, in the face of day, without the smallest imputation of any thing incorrect. The other four defendants were wholly unknown to me, nor have I ever, directly or indirectly, held any communication with them. Of Mr. De Berenger's concern in the fraud I have no information, except such as arises out of the late trial. With regard to Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Butt, I am willing to hope that they are guiltless. They repeatedly protested to me their innocence. They did not dare to communicate any such plan to me, if such was projected by them, or either of them. Be they guilty, then, or be they, one or both, erroneously convicted, I have only to lament that, without the most remote suspicion of their proceedings, if they or either of them were concerned in the fraud, I have, through my blameless intercourse with them, been subjected to imputations which might, with equal justice, have been cast upon any man who now hears me. Circumstanced as I am, I must keep myself unconnected with those whose innocence cannot be so clear to me as my own. Well had it been for me if I had made this distinction sooner. I do not stand here to commend myself—unhappily, I must seek only for exculpation; but I cannot exist under the load of dishonour which even an unjust judgement has flung upon me.—My life has been too often in jeopardy to make me think much about it; but my honour was never yet breathed upon; and I now hold my existence only in the determination to remove an imputation as groundless as it is intolerable."—His lordship then proceeded to comment on the evidence: he explained the circumstance of his leaving King's tin-shop, on account of the expecta-

tion of hearing an account from his brother, who was ill in Spain. He urged the improbability of his disclosing the name of De Berenger, if he had been an accomplice, since this was to afford the only clue for detecting the transaction. As to the difference of swearing respecting De Berenger's coat, it was possible that he might have changed his coat in his way to Green-street, and also have taken off his stars and other insignia: his having with him a portmanteau implied at least a possibility of his having so acted. De Berenger might be afraid to appear before him in his assumed dress, as he was afterwards unwilling to go to lord Yarmouth in his real uniform, because such a circumstance would be exceedingly unusual.—He concluded by saying, that he had often had an opportunity of showing his character: this was the first time, thank God, that it had been called in question; and he hoped that, if not now, he should speedily be cleared from all guilt in the estimation of the public.—He then put in his affidavits. The first was one of his own making, in which he re-stated that the assertions in his former affidavit were true, and urged that his trial had been materially defective from the absence of an important witness, who was compelled to go to sea, and also by the lateness of the hour at which his counsel, fatigued and exhausted, were called upon for the defence.—He next offered an affidavit of his servant Thomas Dewman; but lord Ellenborough observed, that it could not be heard; that the deponent had been a witness on the trial, and had then an opportunity of saying all that was necessary. Lord Cochrane then put in the affidavits of some persons who were on the trial, but not heard. Mr. justice Le Blanc said it was clear that the affidavits of persons so situated could not be heard. The affidavit of the hon. William Erskine Cochrane was then read: it stated that the deponent had been dangerously ill in January and February last. To this was added the certificate of the surgeon.—Lord Ellenborough said, that his lordship should have been prepared to verify when he received these documents.

Mr. Butt was then called upon, and expressed a wish for a new trial, confident that, whatever might be the guilt of the other persons, he should then receive a separate acquittal.

Mr. Park put in an affidavit for De Berenger, in which the deponent stated, that he had served the country for many years as a volunteer without reward; that his father was an American loyalist, and had spent a patrimonial fortune in the service of this country; that he had suffered much by his imprisonment under the alien act, which had prevented him from proper communication with his advisers.

Mr. serjeant Pell spoke in behalf of Holloway, Lyte, and Sandom. He maintained that the plots were connected by no direct proof, but only by some striking coincidences. Two of his clients had made some atonement by a voluntary confession; and the third, Sandom, had instructed him on the trial not to deny his guilt. He hoped that this would operate to an apportionment of punishment not so heavy as those might be thought to deserve who had made no confession.

Mr. Gurney replied. He said that observations had been made on the mixed rank of the defendants. It was true that conspiracy, like "misery, acquaints a man with strange

strange bed-fellows." He was willing, however, to concede that the guilt of Holloway and Lyte was somewhat repaired by their contrition, though he could not say so of Sandom. De Berenger was a step higher in guilt; he was the hired and staid agent: he had also attempted to escape, whereby he would have screened himself and his companions. His learned friend (Mr. serjeant Best) had, in his address to the jury, eloquently insisted on the high character and services of lord Cochrane. They had indeed been most meritorious, but they had been highly rewarded: his rank in the navy had been advanced; he had been honoured with a great personal distinction from his sovereign, and he was elected member for the great city of Westminster; —a situation which, while it authorized his lordship to be attentive to the conduct of others, made it doubly important that he should be as vigilant as to his own. What return had he made for these honours? Fraud, backed by falsehood and moral perjury. His offence was not the ebullition of youthful passion; it did not spring from excessive generosity, or an over-ardent spirit. It was a cold calculating crime, mixed up with meditated meanness. The prosecutors in this arduous business had looked only for justice, and that they would find it at the hands of the court.

The court deliberated, and then ordered the defendants to be brought up to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, June 21.

The defendants being before the court, Mr. justice Le Blanc addressed them in a speech of great length, in which he commented on the charge, the evidence, and the defence made. Turning towards lord Cochrane, he observed that it was with pain he noticed among the defendants a person whose high rank, education, attainments, birth, and the honourable distinctions which had been bestowed upon him by his sovereign and by a grateful people, for honourable and heroic deeds performed, should be linked with a banditti of depredators of the worst and foulest kind. But inasmuch as he did possess those distinctions and this elevation in society, so much the more was he criminal in participating with those guilty offenders in a crime, which in its progress was denoted by every disgraceful act, and in its perpetration by every unseemly characteristic. It was tainted with meanness, mendacity, and avarice; and with three of the adventurers had not even the palliative of poverty as an apology for the sin. Respecting them, therefore, the court, in its equal distribution of justice, was bound to show them and the world, that as they sought to gratify their passion of avarice by conspiracy, and as conspiracy was held in the eye of the law of an infamous nature, so they must award such a punishment as would convey infamy with it. Some offenders (and it frequently happens) when brought up for judgement had the plea of sudden gust of passion to move them to the commission of crime; but here there was no such thing. A plot, long devised, much ramified, including many actors, put into effect with unusual cunning and artifice, marked from its commencement, through its progress, and to its completion, with systematic fraud, was the picture only which could be given of it. As a punishment, therefore, for a conspiracy so dangerous and so exten-

sive, he was directed to pronounce the following judgement:

"That you sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called lord Cochrane, and you Richard Gathorne Butt, do pay to the king a fine of 500*l.*—That you sir Thomas Cochrane, R. G. Butt, and John Peter Holloway, Ralph Sahdom, Hen. Lyte, and C. R. De Berenger, be severally imprisoned twelve calendar months in the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea; and that you sir T. Cochrane, R. G. Butt, and J. P. Holloway, be further imprisoned till your respective fines be paid.—And further, that during the period of imprisonment mentioned, that you sir Thomas Cochrane, you R. G. Butt, and you C. R. De Berenger, do stand one hour in and upon the pillory before the Royal Exchange."

The prisoners were immediately conveyed away (amid warm expressions of the public sympathy towards lord Cochrane) by a strong escort of officers to the King's Bench prison.

JULY.

ADMIRALTY SESSIONS.

1. An admiralty sessions was held on Friday, at the Old Bailey, when M. Neville Sinot, captain of a transport, was indicted for the wilful murder of Charles Freeman, a lad. It appeared by the testimony of three witnesses, that the vessel was blown out of Bermuda before she had got her stock of provisions, and the crew were on short allowance. A week after the vessel was at sea the deceased, who was an American, was accused by the captain of stealing provisions; and although he denied it, he was tied to the water-cask and flogged, receiving from three to five dozen lashes with nettles (ropes thicker than a cat-o'nine-tails) in the course of half an hour. At intervals the captain, who flogged, rubbed the sore part with vinegar and rum. The deceased was then sent aloft, and afterwards confined. The prisoner next gave the deceased a blow with a crow bar, and knocked him down. These cruelties were continued by again confining the deceased to a sort of gallows, when he struck him again with the crow bar. A dead-light was ordered to be brought, and the deceased asked of the crew if they did not think the prisoner would kill him.—The boy was next lashed down to some spars on the deck, for twelve hours, and after that put again into confinement in the forecastle, with his arms pinioned. On passing the Newfoundland bank the deceased was fastened in the rigging for several hours, from twelve at night; it was at this time cold and hazy weather. The boy was continually flogged, and on one occasion he complained of being chilly, and asked for cold water. The prisoner repeated his cruelties by striking the boy with a handspike, and subjecting him to every punishment until he died. There was no surgeon on board, nor did any one examine the body of the deceased.—The boatswain did not go so far, with respect to the cruelties of the prisoner; and under all the circumstances of cold and limited diet, there was no proof that the deceased had died by the cruelties inflicted upon him.—*Acquitted!*

FRANCE.

The Moniteur of the 13th ult. contained a long report upon the state of the kingdom, presented by order of the king to the chamber of deputies.

deputies. It was read by the abbé de Montesquiou, minister of the interior, occupies 11 columns of the Moniteur, and draws a deplorable picture of the state of France. The following is an abstract of it:

His majesty, on assuming the reins of government, was desirous to make known to his people the state in which he found France. The cause of the misfortunes which broke down our country has disappeared; but its effects remain; and for a long time further, under a government which will devote itself solely to reparation, France will suffer under the wounds inflicted by a government which gave itself up to the business of destruction. It is necessary, therefore, that the nation should be informed of the extent and the cause of its misfortunes, in order to be able to set a due value upon, and to second, the cares which are to sooth and retrieve them. Thus enlightened upon the extent and nature of the mischief, it will in future be required only to participate in the labours and exertions of the king, to re-establish what has been destroyed not by him, to heal wounds not inflicted by him, and to repair wrongs to which he is a stranger.—War, without doubt, has been the principal cause of the ills of France. History presented not any example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprises constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world has now seen, with astonishment mingled with terror, a civilized people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose for the wandering life of barbarous hordes; the ties of families have been broken; fathers have grown old far from their children; and children have been hurried off to die 400 leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation; habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal; and the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead!

It is impossible to estimate the horrible consumption of men by the late government; fatigue and sickness carried off as many as battle; the enterprises were so vast and so rapid, that every thing was sacrificed to the desire of ensuring success; there was no regularity in the service of the hospitals—none in providing subsistence on the marches; the brave soldiers whose valour constituted the glory of France, and who gave incessantly new proofs of their energy and patience, sustaining the national honour with so much brilliancy, saw themselves deserted amidst their sufferings, and abandoned, without resource, to calamities which they were unable to support.—The goodness of the French was insufficient to supply this cruel negligence; and levies of men, which, under other circumstances would have formed great armies, disappeared in this manner without taking part in any engagement. Hence arose the necessity of multiplying levies without number, to replace incessantly by new armies the almost total annihilation of the armies preceding. The amount of the calls ordered since the end of the Russian campaign is frightful—

11th January, 1813.	350,000
3d April—Guards of honour	10,000
1st battal. of national guards	80,000
Guards for the coasts .	90,000
24th August.—Army of Spain	30,000

9th

9th Oct.—Conscription of 1814, and preceding years	120,000
Conscription of 1815 . . .	160,000
15th Nov.—Recall of years 1811 to 1814 .	300,000
Jan. 1813—Officers of cavalry equipped . .	17,000
1814—Levies en masse organized	143,000
	1,300,000

Fortunately, these last levies could not be fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards. But this simple statement of the requisitions, enforced on the population during an interval of from 14 to 15 months, suffices to give an idea of what the losses of the nation must have been during the last 22 years. Many causes contributed, however, to repair these losses; the improvement of the condition of the country by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the progress of vaccination, were the most powerful. It was by means of the influence of these causes, and by exaggerating their success, that efforts were made to hide from the nation the extent of its sacrifices. The greater the number of men that were snatched away from France, the more studiously was it endeavoured to prove that she courted this frightful destruction. But, even if the accounts placed under view had been correct, the only result would have been, that the number of births should cause the number of deaths to be regarded with indifference! But another argument was, to point out in the conscription itself a source of increasing population——an impure source which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and imprudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate families, of ridiculous or indecent connexions; so that many men of the lower orders of the people, soon become weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, threw themselves once more in the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid, and offered themselves as substitutes, to escape misery which they had not foreseen, or to break ties so ill assorted.

How could they, besides, overlook the reflection, that although, by multiplying these deplorable marriages, the conscription should have increased the number of births, it took annually away from France a great number of those full-grown men, who constitute the real strength of a nation? The facts prove clearly the truth of so natural a consequence. The population under the age of 20 years fell off, but increased above that age. Thus, while the government attacked the sources of the national prosperity, it displayed incessantly in pompous array those remnants of resource that maintained a struggle against its wasteful measures; it studied to conceal the evil which it did; under the good, not of its production, which was yet undestroyed. Master of a country where long labours had amassed great treasures, where civilization had made the happiest progress, where industry and commerce had for the 60 previous years made a wonderful spring; it seized all the fruits of the industry of so many generations, and of the experience of so many ages, at one time to promote its lamentable designs, and at another to cover the sad waste of its influence. The simple account of the present state of

of the realm will immediately exhibit the inherent prosperity of the nation struggling against a destroying principle, incessantly attacked, often struck with terrible wounds, and perpetually drawing from itself resources always insufficient.

Under the head of agriculture the prospect is more flattering. The cultivation of land and the breeding of cattle have of late years been better understood. The proprietors of vineyards have suffered dreadfully, however, under the continental system. In the south, many vineyards have been rooted up. The attempts to breed Merinos have totally failed; and the breed of sheep has been deteriorated, by attempting to force the Merino cross into too hasty and unsuccessful use. The breed of horses, until the fatal years, 1812 and 1813, was also excellent, and afforded a numerous cavalry.—The loss in a few months, in these years, amounted to 230,000 horses, to be replaced at an expense of 105,200,000 francs. The stock was, of course, exhausted. Every horse cost the government at the rate of 400 to 460 francs—about 20*l.* sterling.

The mines in France have very sensibly increased. Our territory now presents 478 mines of every different kind now working, which employ 17,000 workmen, and produce to France a raw material to the value of 26,800,000 francs, and to the state a revenue of 251,000 francs. This revenue has been applied to the payment of the administration of the mines. But this particular fund, which on the 1st of Jan. last amounted to 700,000 francs, has been employed by the government in defraying the expenses of the war. Yet in the midst of these continual vexations, this changeable and tyrannical legislation, our fields have been cultivated, our mines worked, and our flocks even preserved and ameliorated. Certainly nothing more evidently proves the industry of our nation, and its happy disposition for the first of all the arts, than the progress of its agriculture under an oppressive government.

Our cotton manufactures are stated to employ 400,000 persons, and a capital of 100 millions.—Those of Rouen have already considerably revived. The linen manufactures of Laval and Bretagne suffered much by the war with Spain, where they found their principal market. Those of silk experienced the same fate. Their produce also passed through Spain to America and the colonies: but that channel was soon closed; Italy alone remained for them. But what may we not hope to gain by the renewal of our communications with all Europe?

In 1787 the manufactures at Lyons kept at work 15,000 looms; during the late war that number was reduced to 8000; but Lyons has already received considerable orders, and promises to regain its former prosperity. The manufactures of woollens, leather, &c. suffered in an equal degree from the fatal influence of the continental system, the absurdity of which they strikingly evinced.

Commerce, subject as it was to the caprices of government, and shackled in all its proceedings, suffered immense losses; and the system of licenses ruined and discouraged a great number of merchants, by raising hopes that were destroyed in a moment by the will which had fostered them. A long peace and stable and liberal laws can alone inspire mercantile men with sufficient

cient confidence to embark without apprehension in their useful pursuits.

The public exchequer suffered in an equal degree, and it was difficult to meet the expenditure in spite of the contributions. The budget of the minister of the interior for 1812 amounted to 150 millions, and in 1813 to 140 millions, of which the exchequer never contributed more than from 58 to 60 millions, the surplus being raised by special duties and imposts.

The public works have produced some movements of real utility; but most of them originated solely in vain ostentation. The roads were neglected, and the sums destined for their repair diverted to other purposes. The canals are in a better state, but the works far from finished. That of Burgundy, which has already cost 12 millions, will require five more; and that of the Ouraq, undertaken on too expensive a scale, will yet want at least 13 millions. The works for the embellishment of the capital, though of a less useful description, will not be abandoned; the total expense of them is estimated at 53,500,000 francs, and more than 24 millions have already been laid out on them. All these objects fall under the superintendance of the minister of the interior, the arrears of whose department are not yet ascertained, but are computed at from 40 to 50 millions.

As to the department of the minister at war, it exhibits, expecially for the last three campaigns, a real chaos. On the 1st of May last, the land forces of France amounted to 520,000 men, exclusively of 122,597 retired, or on half-pay, and 160,000 prisoners returning from foreign countries. The war of 1812 and 1813 destroyed, in artillery and ammunition, a capital of 250 millions; and the fortified places in the countries ceded by France had, since 1804, cost her 115 millions. The expenditure of this department would amount, according to the scale of last year, to 740 millions.

The navy has for 14 years been weakened by the very means which have been used to give it the appearance of strength. The government considered our seamen as merely recruits for the land forces —a system which has led to the annihilation of the population of our coasts, and the complete exhaustion of our arsenals. The remonstrances of the most enlightened men, and of the most experienced mariners, and the evidence of facts, were incapable of checking those foolish enterprises, those violent measures which belonged to a plan of domination oppressive in all its parts. Thus in 1804 the projected invasion of England was pompously announced. Ports which had never yet been entered except by fishing-boats and packets, were immediately converted into vast maritime arsenals; immense works were commenced on a beach which the winds and tides were incessantly covering with sand; forts, batteries, magazines, workshops, were erected; thousands of ships were built and bought up on all the coasts of the ocean, and in the interior of the rivers, without considering how they should go to the place of rendezvous; Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls; and the most valuable materials were employed in the construction of these vessels, which were not even fit for their destination.

And what now remains of all these armaments? The wrecks of some of the vessels, and accounts, which

which prove that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of 150 millions have been sacrificed since 1803. All our arsenals are completely dilapidated—the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. are squandered—and during the last 15 years France has lost, in ill-judged expeditions, 43 ships of the line, 82 frigates, 76 corvettes, and 62 transports and packets, which could not be replaced at an expense of 200 millions. As the arsenals were neglected, so the ships also were stripped of real seamen, whose places were supplied with conscripts, while they themselves received the organization of regiments of the line, and lost in camps their professional habits and attachments.

In respect to the finances, it results from the statement given in this speech, that the improvidence of the late ruler of France has produced, during the last 13 years, a deficit of 1,645,469,000 francs.

Public morals have been neglected; the best institutions have been corrupted; every bad passion has been stimulated; and there is a general selfishness and egotism.

Such is the dark and gloomy picture drawn by the minister of the interior.

The king has sent the project of a law to both chambers of parliament, for the purpose of regulating the freedom of the press.—The censorship is to be again established; and no work without a license from this tribunal can be published, unless it contains upwards of 30 sheets.

The maintenance of the legion of honour, repeatedly guarantied, has been adopted by the sovereign, in an ordonnance that appears in the Moniteur of the 20th inst. An attachment has been created in its favour, which the sovereign finding it difficult to eradicate seems determined to appropriate. This, at least, appears to us to be the motive for a high eulogy pronounced upon it in the preamble to the ordonnance.

The articles declare the reigning sovereign, chief and grand master of the order; preserve the prerogatives of its members, except the right of making part of the electoral colleges—regulate the decorations, which are to bear the head of Henry IV. with the motto "Honour and our country."—A second ordonnance permits the decorations of the order of re-union and that of the iron crown to be worn; but abolishes those of Westphalia and of Spain.

A grand funeral service has been performed at Paris, in commemoration of generals Pichegru, Moreau, Georges, and others, who lost their lives from attachment to the Bourbons during the usurpation of Bonaparte.

Louis XVIII. has issued a long ordonnance regulating the naval service, and limiting the officers to 10 vice-admirals, 20 rear-admirals, 100 capitaines de vaisseau, (40 of the first class and 60 of the second class) 100 capitaines de frégate, 400 lieutenants, and 500 ensigns. The annual pay of each rank is, vice-admiral, 12000 francs; rear-admiral, 8000; capitaine de vaisseau, 1st class, 4000; second class, 3600; capitaine de frégate, 2300; lieutenant, 1600; ensign, 1200.

Louis Bonaparte has published in the Gazette of Arau, a letter of the 18th ult. in which he formally renounces, for himself and his family, all right to the property assigned to him by the convention of last April at Fontainbleau; as well

as

as an estate given him in 1810 as an indemnity for the crown of Holland. The former is 200,000 francs a year (about 8000*l.* sterling).

The king of France has permitted the free exportation from his kingdom of gold and silver, coined and uncoined; subject merely to certain slight custom-house regulations. The preamble to the decree is worthy attention:—"We have ascertained," says his majesty, "that all the prohibitions of the exportation of gold and silver are of no avail in preventing it, and have no other effect than that of fettering commerce, and hindering the entrance or transit of the said articles; so that such prohibitions, far from increasing the quantity of gold and silver, tend, on the contrary, to make them disappear, and diminish their quantity," &c.

HOLLAND.

The prince sovereign of the United Netherlands issued a decree on the 16th ult. not only prohibiting all vessels of that country from trading to Africa for slaves; but forbidding the Dutch ports and factories on the African coast to give protection to any vessels engaged in that trade.

The emperor of Russia arrived at the Hague on the 2d inst.—In his progress thither, his majesty viewed the city and fortifications of Antwerp, the house at Sandam where his illustrious ancestor Peter the Great formerly dwelt, and the dock wherein he engaged himself as a shipwright. The emperor passed through Nimeguen on the 5th, on his road to Germany.

SWITZERLAND,

the country which has the greatest reason to be pleased with the late changes on the continent, is the most dissatisfied: the cradle of liberty, reduced to slavery under Bonaparte; its restoration to independence appears now to be only the signal for domestic dissentions. Argovia refuses to return to the dominion of Berne; and troops are already collected on the frontiers of that district, between which and the canton of Berne hostilities are apprehended.

SPAIN.

The accounts from Spain represent Ferdinand VII. as pursuing a narrow and illiberal system of policy. By a decree of the 17th June he had re-established the old law which required cadets in every branch of the military service to exhibit proofs of nobility. The army, which was exempted by the Cortes from this unequalled restriction, is not likely to receive his majesty's enlightened decree with much satisfaction. Much dissatisfaction being expressed at Cadiz at the revival of the inquisition, his majesty had ordered the governor, Villavicienza, to levy a contribution of three millions of dollars upon the inhabitants to pay the troops.

As the South American provinces advance in their rebellion, the king has sagaciously thought fit to re-establish the council of the Indies "in all its ancient functions." He has also restored the *holy* inquisition, and reinstated with honour the intemperate nuncio of the Pope. Meanwhile, the flame of disaffection which raged in Navarre has spread into the kingdom of Leon; and the fields of Salamanca, which witnessed the glorious defeat of the legions of tyranny, unwillingly behold the persecution of the patriots. Great numbers of the soldiers, and particularly of the Guerillas, have deserted; and the king has been forced

to

to revoke the military commissions which he had established for the trial of the deserters.

Ferdinand has also re-established the odious royal monopolies on tobacco, gunpowder, and playing-cards. The Cortes had abolished them, as equally injurious to the industry and the revenue of the country.

ITALY.

A considerable misunderstanding has broken out between the Pope and Murat. The commander of the troops belonging to the latter, occupying Ancona, having ordered certain persons to be tried before a special commission, for circulating seditious and malignant rumours, the Pope has protested against it; he declares the Marche of Ancona to belong to him; and that those who disturb these provinces by foreign armies, and commit ravages, or exercise an illegitimate authority therein, are real *seditious* and *malignant* persons.

Every ecclesiastic who favoured the atrocious usurpation of Bonaparte has been dismissed from his preferments by the Pope.

The Milan papers, under the head of Porto-Ferrajo, June 10, state, that Napoleon has taken possession of several inhabited isles, dependencies of Elba, and has concluded treaties of commerce with other isles in the neighbourhood, and with the Barbary powers. The new money put in circulation bears on one side the head of Bonaparte, and on the other the following inscription, which appears ridiculous:—*Napoleon I. Imperator atque Rex ubicunque felix. Insulæ & Elba*, 1814.

Count Stahremberg, governor of Florence, has stopped 100 chests filled with plate and other valuables, which were on the point of being carried away for madame Eliza Bacciochi (Bonaparte's sister), and which had been stripped partly from the state and partly from individuals.

GERMANY.

The Vienna Court Gazette has announced, that the congress at Vienna will not assemble till the 1st of October.

M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, is said to be appointed to attend the congress at Vienna on the part of his Christian majesty.

The emperor has named the prince regent of England commandant of a regiment of hussars, which will bear his name.

The prince of Schwartzenberg is appointed president of the Aulic council of war.

ASIA.

The Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, of the 18th December, has an official account of the military operations of a detachment of troops under lieut.-col. Adam, who had taken the field in the Rewah district, to chastise a wanton and unprovoked attack of Surnaid Sing, a partisan chief of the Rao rajah. The operation was successful. The ghurree of Entouree, a strong fortress in which the enemy had taken refuge, was taken by storm, the garrison put to the sword, and Surnaid Sing himself killed. Peace was in consequence restored. The troops were to return to Suthenee; and the Rao rajah, who was originally the aggressor, had made due concessions, and agreed to pay to the India company all the expenses of the armament.

THANKSGIVING AT ST. PAUL'S.

7. Thursday being the day appointed for returning thanks to the Almighty

Almighty for the restoration of the blessings of peace, it was observed in the manner usual on such occasions.—The two houses of parliament met early to attend the procession.—At an early hour, the troops appointed to preserve order in the avenues leading to the cathedral church of St. Paul proceeded from their respective parades, and took those stations which had been previously appointed by the adjutant-general; and soon after eight o'clock the streets leading from St. Paul's to Carlton-house, which had been covered with a thick coat of gravel, were lined with infantry, and paraded by detachments of volunteer cavalry and light horse.—A detachment of light dragoons were divided into patroles, and kept moving backwards and forwards, from one end of the line to the other, to preserve order, and assist the peace officers in the execution of their duty.—Lieutenant-general sir Charles Green commanded the troops on this memorable occasion.

So early as eight o'clock, lines of carriages proceeded along Pall-mall and the Strand, with peeresses and other ladies of rank, to St. Paul's.—The foreign ambassadors, in a train of about twenty carriages, at nine o'clock, proceeded by Charing-cross, the Strand, and Ludgate-hill, to the cathedral; they were in their state carriages, and in full court dresses. The members of the house of peers came next, and were followed by the lord chancellor in his state carriage. In the line of carriages forming this part of the procession was the gallant Blucher, who was loudly cheered.

Shortly before eleven, the discharge of 21 guns announced the departure of the prince regent from Carlton-house, from whence the procession advanced in the following order:—

Two horse guards.
The duke of Gloucester in his state carriage drawn by six horses.
A party of horse guards.
The duke of Cambridge in his state carriage and six horses.
A party of horse guards.
The duke of Sussex in his state carriage and six horses.
A party of horse guards.
The duke of Kent in his state carriage and six horses.
A party of horse guards.
Two of the Oxford blues.
The heralds in their official costume.
Three state carriages, drawn by six horses each, containing the household of his royal highness the prince regent.
A detachment of the blues.
Fourteen royal footmen in state liveries.
Twelve marshalmen.
A troop of the horse guards.
His royal highness the prince regent in his state carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses.
His royal highness was accompanied by two of his officers of state.
A troop of horse guards followed.

The dukes of York, Clarence, Sussex, and Gloucester, were in the procession. The silver trumpets sounded at intervals. After the royal carriages came two of the heralds, in costume, on horseback. In the carriage with the regent were the duke of Wellington and the duke of Montrose.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, and other city officers, fell into the procession at Temple-bar.

Great order was preserved in the streets. The windows and house-tops were crowded with spectators.

About twelve o'clock the procession reached St. Paul's gates. Most of the nobility, the great law officers, and the members of the house of commons, had taken their places when the prince regent arrived. His royal highness was preceded by his brothers, the dukes of Cambridge, Sussex, Kent, and York, according

to

to their respective seniority, and the duke of Gloucester, who was warmly greeted by the populace. Nothing could surpass the splendour of the prince regent's dress, equipage, and horses, and their trappings. The duke of Wellington walked on the right hand of his royal highness from the carriage to his seat in the church. Words can convey but a feeble idea of the richness of the view from the front of the cathedral down Ludgate-street, as the royal procession moved slowly up. Troops, in all the pride of military array, lining the streets; carriages of the richest workmanship, surmounted by brilliant ornaments; horses that pranced and champed the bit, as if elated by the honours and sprightliness of the scene which they partook; the façade of the houses almost alive from the myriad's outstretched neck and floating handkerchief; the glittering of swords, clashing of arms, sound of trumpets, pealing of bells—all conspired to fill up the two senses of sight and hearing to their utmost stretch of bearing.

On its arrival at the great western gates of the cathedral, the royal procession moved along the nave of the church, through the screen. Immediately on the right hand side of the chancel was the seat constructed for the prince regent and his party. It was covered with crimson cloth, the cushions of velvet and gold. The duke of Wellington was seated on the right of his royal highness, with the sword of state before him. Those who saw his grace when he was last in England perceived that six years of incessant labour and anxiety had produced some change in him.—Over the pew, if so it might be called, in which his royal highness was seated, was a lofty and magnificent canopy, with an elevated dome in the centre, the whole of crimson bordered with gold.—On the right of the regent were seated his royal brothers, and the duke of Gloucester, by themselves, in a pew covered with crimson. The ministers of state occupied the lower end of the chancel; the peers, foreign ministers, members of the house of commons, &c. &c. filled each side, on benches one above another, mounting almost to the tops of the arches.

The Litany was performed after the cathedral manner, *Te Deum*, &c. being chanted. Among the performers were Bartleman and other professional men. After a sermon by Dr. Law, bishop of Chester, the splendid cavalcade moved in an inverted order from the cathedral to Carlton-house.

9. This day was given, by the corporation of London, a magnificent banquet, in compliment to field-marshal the duke of Wellington. Prior to the dinner, at about five o'clock, his grace was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and with a splendid sword, pursuant to the following resolutions:—

"That the thanks of this court be given to lieut.-gen. lord viscount Wellington for the consummate ability, fortitude, and perseverance displayed by him in the command of the allied British and Portuguese forces, by which the kingdom of Portugal has been successfully defended, and the most signal and important services rendered to his king and country.—Resolved, That the freedom of this city, with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, be presented to lord viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense which this court entertains

tertains of his great public services." *May* 9, 1811.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to the most noble the marquis of Wellington, general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Spain and Portugal, for his magnanimous conduct so eminently displayed in the several victories obtained by the allied army over the French army, led on by the most able and distinguished marshals and commanders in the French service, and particularly in the brilliant and decisive victory near Salamanca, on the 22d day of July last." *Sept.* 23, 1812.

"Resolved, That the freedom of this city, voted by the court on the 9th day of May, 1811, to be presented to lord viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense they entertained of his great public services, be presented to the most noble the marquis of Wellington, on his return to this country, in a gold box of the value of two hundred guineas (together with the sword voted on the said 9th day of May), by a committee of this court, then to be appointed." *Oct.* 29, 1812.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, knight of the most noble order of the garter, for the wisdom and energy with which he has conducted the late operations of the allied armies in Spain; and particularly for the splendid and decisive victory obtained, upon the 21st day of June last, near Vittoria, when the French army was completely defeated, with the loss of all his artillery, stores, and baggage. This court, feeling its inability to bestow any additional testimony of regard adequate to the exalted sense it entertains of the merits of the marquis of Wellington, do unanimously resolve, that a bust of his lordship be placed in the common-council-room of this city, in order that the citizens of London, when assembled in common-council, may ever have recalled to their recollection the glorious deeds of the great military hero of their country, when at the same time they have in view the bust of the immortal Nelson."—*July* 12, 1813.

After administering the oath of a freeman to his grace, and stating the substance of the foregoing resolutions of the court for presenting the freedom of the city in a gold box, with a sword, and placing a bust of his grace in the common-council-room of this city; the chamberlain proceeded,

"Although the subjects of these resolutions are confined to the events which have recently taken place in Europe, the citizens of London can never forget the many signal victories obtained by your grace, in those regions which have been dignified by the triumphs of an Alexander, an Aurengzebe, and a Clive. By the exertions of your grace the British empire in India has been placed in a state of security which promises felicity to millions in that country, and an extension of commerce to Great Britain.—To enumerate the brilliant actions of your grace in Europe would require more time than the present occasion will permit, and would trespass too much upon your grace's delicacy: but it is a truth which I cannot refrain from declaring, that during the war in Spain and Portugal, which terminated in the complete emancipation of those kingdoms, a more illustrious instance is not recorded in history, of the caution of *Fabius*, most happily combined with the

the celerity of *Cæsar:* and when your grace had planted the British standard in the heart of the enemy's country, you gave a great example to the world of the practicability of that lesson which the great Roman poet taught his countrymen,

'Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.'

"I am conscious, my lord, how inadequately I express the sense of my fellow-citizens of your grace's merits —but they will recollect that where I have failed no one has succeeded—the most eloquent of the British senate, and the first authorities in the two houses of parliament, have confessed themselves unequal to the task. But ample justice will be done to your grace by the world at large, who will frequently and attentively peruse with admiration and delight those inimitable dispatches, which, like the commentaries of Cæsar, will hand down with honour the name of their illustrious author to the latest posterity.

"Your grace has been a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence during war. May you long enjoy in peace the love of your country and the admiration of mankind! and, in the discharge of that honourable office to which his royal highness the prince regent has recently appointed you, may you cement and perpetuate union and good-will between Great Britain and France, so essential to the peace and happiness of Europe!"

The noble duke expressed his high sense of the honour conferred upon him by the city; and attributed the success of all his enterprises to the ability with which he was supported by his brother officers, and to the valour and discipline of his majesty's forces and those of the allies. On receiving the sword, he with particular energy declared his readiness to employ it in the service of his sovereign and his country, should it unfortunately happen that the general wish of the nations of Europe for a permanent peace should be disappointed, and that he should be again called upon to assist in the public cause.

15. Mr. Sadler and his son this day ascended in a balloon from the court-yard of Burlington-house, at half past three in the afternoon. As the balloon proceeded, the travellers were distinctly observed, each waving a flag which he held in his hand. In about eight minutes it disappeared. Mr. Sadler has since published the following account of his voyage:

"After the balloon had cleared the east wing of Burlington-house, our ascent was slow, and only evidenced by the apparent receding of objects; for it was not we who seemed to rise, but every thing beneath us to retire. In a few minutes we were perpendicular with Leicester-square, and our prospect was at once grand and awful; the whole of London and its magnificent buildings lay below us, with its surrounding fields, canals, and parks; the beautiful serpentine form of the river, with its rich shipping, docks, and bridges. We enjoyed this scenery for about 15 minutes, and at a quarter before four o'clock entered a dense cloud, which completely shut us out from all sight of the earth: at this time we could sensibly perceive the balloon to be rising. When we had soared through this cloud, my son observed to me, that, from the variegated colours reflected and refracted from the multitudinous congregation of vapours around us, and the effulgence of different lights, he could scarcely see to any great distance, or make any distinct observations on the numberless forms

around us; although, from the shadow of the balloon on the more opaque clouds, I could easily discover that we had already altered our course towards the south-east. From the intense cold, and a most violent pain in my ears, which I never experienced before, our height could not be less, in my calculation, than five miles. The late right hon. Mr. Windham, about thirty years ago, indeed experienced a similar attack in his ears, though we had not then ascended above two miles and a half; but from my best observations, calculated upon former experience, we must have been about that height. My son soon after found the same effect, though in a much slighter degree.

"By the various currents of air, and the renewed motion of the machine, I judged we were approaching the sea; and requesting my son to open the valve, we perceived ourselves rapidly descending. The clouds were so near the earth, that, after lowering for the space of a quarter of an hour, though we distinctly heard the lowing of the cattle, we could not discover terra firma; but shortly after the clouds opened themselves beneath us, and displayed the variegated fields and the river Thames; and informed us that we had again altered our direction, and were returning from the south-east to the north-west; and, sailing over the Lower Hope and East Tilbury, we had a distinct view of the mouth of the river, Sheerness, Margate, Ramsgate, &c. with their coasts and shipping; but the clouds collecting and rolling over each other, again inclosed us in visible invisibility. After again descending below the clouds, we saw an inviting hay-field at a considerable distance; and opening the valve again, a sufficient quantity of gas escaped for us to reach the proposed spot; and, after throwing out the grappling-iron, which immediately took effect, we came to the ground without any unpleasant convulsion. We remained quietly in the car till all the gas had evaporated, by which time a number of spectators reached the place, but not before every thing had been properly secured. Our descent was at Great Warley Franks, near Ockenden, Essex, where we were hospitably entertained and accommodated by Mr. S. Frances, the occupier of the land. A chaise being prepared from Brentwood, on which the whole of the apparatus was placed, we returned to Burlington-house again about 11 o'clock."

16. This day a great concourse of people assembled in Covent Garden, to witness the election of a representative for Westminster in parliament, in the room of lord Cochrane expelled. Sir Francis Burdett concluded an animated speech by proposing the re-election of lord Cochrane, which was seconded by Mr. Sturch. Mr. Wishart and Mr. alderman Wood severally addressed the meeting; and the motion was carried unanimously. After the election the Westminster committee, accompanied by sir Francis and Mr. Jones Burdett, repaired to the king's bench prison, to congratulate lord Cochrane upon the result.

Committee-room, King-street, Covent-garden, July 16, 1814.

My lord,—I am directed by the committee of electors of Westminster, appointed at the general meeting held in New Palace-yard on Monday the 11th instant, to acquaint your lordship, that you were this morning nominated as a fit and proper person to fill the vacancy in the

the representation of the city of Westminster in parliament, occasioned by your lordship's expulsion; and that you were immediately re-elected, without opposition, and with the most lively expresions of universal approbation.—The committee further direct me to convey to your lordship their sincere congratulations on an event so happily demonstrative of the sense which your constituents entertain of the accusation which has been brought against you, and of the very extraordinary proceedings by which it has been followed up; and to assure your lordship, that it affords them the highest gratification to find that you are able to oppose, to the invenomed shafts of malice and party spirit, the impenetrable shield of conscious innocence.—They rejoice to see that the prejudices, occasioned by gross and shameless misrepresentation, are fast wearing away from the public mind; and they trust that the time is near when your lordship's character will appear as fair and unblemished in the view of every individual in the British empire, as it now does in the eyes of the electors of Westminster.

SAMUEL BROOKS, chairman.

To lord Cochrane.

King's Bench, July 8, 1814.

Sir,—Amongst all the occurrences of my life, I can call to my memory no one which has produced so great a degree of exultation in my breast as this, which, through a channel I so highly esteem, has been communicated to me, that, after all the machinations of corruption (bringing into play her choicest agents) have been able to effect against me, the citizens of Westminster have, with unanimous voice, pronounced me worthy of continuing to be one of their representatives in parliament. Merely to be a member of the house of commons (as now made up) is something too meagre to be a gratification to me. But when I reflect on that love of country, that devotion to freedom, that soundness of judgement, that unshaken adherence to truth and justice, which have invariably marked the proceedings of the citizens of Westminster; and when I further reflect, that it is of sir Francis Burdett whom they have now, for the third time, made me the colleague, how am I to express, on the one hand, my gratitude towards them, and, on the other, the contempt which I feel for all the distinctions of birth, and for all the wealth and all the decorations which ministers and kings have it, under the present system, in their power to bestow!—With regard to the case, the agitation of which has been the cause of this to me most gratifying result, I am in no apprehension as to the opinions and feelings of the world, and especially of the people of England; who, though they may be occasionally misled, are never deliberately cruel or unjust. Only let it be said of me—The Stock exchange have accused;—lord Ellenborough has charged for guilty;—the special jury have found that guilt;—the court have sentenced to the pillory;—the house of commons have expelled;—and the citizens of Westminster have re-elected. Only let this be the record placed against my name, and I shall be proud to stand in the calendar of criminals all the days of my life.—In requesting you, sir, to convey these my sentiments to my constituents at large, I cannot refrain from beg-

ging you and the other gentlemen of the committee to accept of my particular and unfeigned thanks.—

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant. COCHRANE.

To Samuel Brookes, esq.

CIVIL LIST.

The following accounts, printed by order of the house of commons, present a very heavy increase of expenditure in the present quarter:—An account of the charge incurred in the fourth class of his majesty's civil list, in the quarter ending 5th July, 1813; together with an estimate of the charge incurred in the same for the quarter ending the 5th July, 1814, so far as the same can be made up:—

	Quarter ended July 5, 1813. £	s.	d.	*Quarter ended July 5*, 1814. £	s.	d.
Department of the lord chamberlain	41,300	18	6¼	153,599	1	2
Lord steward	25,684	10	10	65,000	0	0
Master of the horse	11,219	14	6	36,000	0	0
Master of the robes	650	0	0	800	0	0
	78,855	3	10¼	255,399	1	2

Particulars of the "estimate of the expenses of the lord chamberlain's department, for the quarter ending July 5, 1814."

Lord chamberlain's office		£9,661 17 10
Wardrobe office		46,467 6 4
Jewel office		15,249 17 0
Office of works (exclusive of the preparations in the parks for fire-works, &c.)—viz.		
Salaries, allowances, and ordinary expenses	£8,900	
Works done at Carlton-house, under the direction of James Wyatt, Esq.	6,900	
Works done at Carlton-house, under the direction of J. Nash, esq. including preparations for the grand fête	49,100	
Works at St. James's palace	1,000	
Ditto at Hampton Court	200	
Ditto at Newmarket	400	
Ditto at Record office, Westminster	350	
Ditto at the Rolls	120	
Ditto at Brighton	2,960	
Ditto on the private roads	1,220	
Sundry works, in consequence of the general survey	11,070	
		82,220 0 0
		£153,599 1 2

THE GRAND JUBILEE—OFFICIAL PROGRAMME.

July 30.

These amusements will begin with the ascent of a magnificent balloon of sufficiently large dimensions to take up two persons in the car affixed to it. It will ascend about five o'clock. Later in the day a smaller balloon, of 20 feet in dia-

diameter, will also ascend, and a copious display of fire-works from it be exhibited in the higher regions of the air. It will then be made to descend, and, upon its second ascension, another display of brilliant fire-works will also take place at a great elevation from the ground. Still later in the evening, several other balloons, upon a smaller scale, will be dispatched towards the clouds, charged with various fire-works, which will be seen with effect at a lofty height; and after these are expended, the hydrogen contained in these balloons will be inflamed, and will produce a brilliant appearance, resembling in splendour the most striking meteoric phænomenon.—Over the canal has been thrown a beautiful Chinese bridge, upon the centre of which has been constructed an elegant and lofty pagoda consisting of seven pyramidal stories. The pagoda will be illuminated with the gas lights; and brilliant fire-works, both fixed and missile, will be displayed from every division of this lofty Chinese structure. Copious and splendid girandoles of rockets will also be occasionally displayed from the summit, and from other parts of this towering edifice, which will at times be so covered with jerbs, Roman candles, and pots de brin, as to become in appearance one column of brilliant fire. Various smaller temples and columns, constructed upon the bridge, will also be vividly illuminated; and fixed fire-works of different devices, on the balustrade of the bridge, will contribute to heighten the general effect.—The canal will also be well provided with handsomely-decorated boats, at the disposal of those who wish to add this amusement to the numerous pleasures.—The whole margin of the lawn will be surrounded with booths for refreshment, which will be illuminated in the evening, interspersed with open marquees provided with seats for the accommodation of the company.—The malls of the Park will be illuminated with Chinese lanerns, ornamented with picturesque and grotesque devices, and every tree will have variegated lights intermingled with its foliage. Bands of music will be stationed at various distances, and spaces will be provided on different parts of the lawn, for those who delight in the pleasures of the dance; the whole forming a Vauxhall on the most magnificent scale.—In addition to the foregoing list of amusements, the public will have a full view of the royal booth, and of the grand fire-works in the Green Park, which will be displayed from a fortress or castle, the ramparts of which are one hundred feet square, surmounted by a round tower in the centre about sixty feet in diameter, and rising to the height of above fifty feet above the ramparts. Four grand changes of fire-works will be exhibited from this stupendous castle, the whole elevation of which exceeds ninety feet.—To secure to every one a complete view of this edifice and its decorations, notwithstanding its great height and dimensions, it is so constructed as to revolve on its centre, so that each side will be successively presented to the assemblage of the company. The castle, thus exhibiting the appearance of a grand military fortification, is intended allegorically to represent war; and the discharges of artillery, small arms, muroons, &c. may be regarded as descriptive of the terrors of a siege. On a sudden this will cease—in the midst of volumes of flames, clouds of smoke, and the thunder of artillery, the lofty fortress, the emblem of de-

structive war, is transformed into a beautiful temple, the type of glorious peace. The lower and quadrangular compartment of the temple is embellished with Doric columns of porphyry; the circular edifice which surmounts it, is decorated with the lighter Ionic columns of Sienna marble. The whole will be brilliantly illuminated, and adorned with allegorical transparencies executed by the masterly pencils of artists of the first eminence.

AUGUST.

1. Never, perhaps, in the annals of this vast metropolis has the curiosity of hundreds of thousands of the public been more eagerly and anxiously excited than by the annunciation of the grand jubilee of this day. It is an indisputable fact, that so immense a number of the people at large were never brought together, in any previous instance, by any description of public rejoicings, on any of the great events which have so often gilded the pages of British story. After repeated delays, Monday, being the centenary of the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne, and the anniversary of the glorious victory of the Nile, was selected as the day for a jubilee in celebration of peace. It was announced that further postponement would be necessary in case of unfavourable weather. The morning came: the sky was darkened, the rain descended in torrents, and the expected pleasures of the day were given up for the moment as lost. Sunday had been fine. The eve of the festal day had in a manner commenced the entertainment, and thousands promenading the parks, had almost out-watched the moon. The apprehension of disappointment was, however, suddenly relieved; for between ten and eleven the sun re-appeared, beaming in all his glory, and shedding his brightest refulgence on the scene. The inhabitants of the metropolis, and the countless numbers who had come to it from "all the country round," had nothing now to interfere with their hopes, or to prevent them from getting ready as soon as they pleased, and throwing themselves into the vortex of festivity and rejoicing.

Hyde-park, without the advantages of pagoda or fortress, was not without its share of attraction: its extent of view, the openness of the scene, and consonant coolness of the air, would of themselves have made it a refuge from the deep and close sultriness of the other parks. But if it had neither tower nor temple, it had booths and shows in profusion, and the wide and peopled magnificence of the Serpentine.

The naval engagement on the Serpentine commenced about six by a cannonading between the foremost vessels, some of which hoisted the American, and others the English colours. Both shores were lined with people anxious to witness this mimic fight; and in the public eagerness many were forced into the water. The Americans were of course compelled to strike their colours. An interval of near an hour and a half followed without further movement. At dark, however, the English fleet formed, and came down with a fair wind to attack that of the Americans lying at anchor. A tremendous cannonade followed, when the American fleet were driven on shore, and the English ships were towed back to their original moorings.—About ten o'clock the spectators were suddenly surprised by the instantaneous burst on their sight of a ship on fire. This was at first beheld as a calamity;

mity; but in a few minutes it was universally perceived that she was bearing down on the American fleet previously driven on shore. The awful grandeur, and the still increasing splendour of the scene, drew forth bursts of acclamations from both the shores of the Serpentine; and in a few minutes the first ship of the American fleet which lay in her line, and with which she came in contact, was set on fire, and added to the magnificence of a scene which, in its real occurrence, has been universally allowed to exceed all others in terrific pomp, viz. that of a ship of war on fire at sea. This frigate was followed by a second, and by the two the whole American fleet were set on fire and demolished.—Soon after this the fireworks began; and Hyde Park presented a phænomenon nowhere else to be seen, namely the water-rockets. They commence with a report, which draws the attention of the spectators to them; they are then seen whirling about with great rapidity on the surface of the water, imitating the rotatory motion of a mill-wheel. In a few seconds there is an addition of a very beautiful fountain, which, after displaying its elegant spoutings for some time, bursts forth with a loud report into what are called water-snakes. These, after flying into the air, descend again into the water, into which they immerge for a minute or two, and then rise at the distance of a few feet, and keep thus continually bounding in all directions, and after various immersions, till at last they expire in a loud explosion. With these the exhibition in Hyde Park terminated.

The Green Park, at an early hour, began to display its attractions. Besides the balloon, it was here that the castle-temple was to be seen: here the royal booth displayed its crimson tapestry and its illuminated front; and here the splendid bridge over Constitution Hill presented the names of the chief naval heroes of the war.—The attractions in this quarter were increased by the presence at Buckingham-house of the princesses and queen, who had invited the regent and 250 of the nobility and gentry to dinner, and to view the different exhibitions. The royal family paraded the lawn for a short time. The duke of Cambridge and the princess Sophia of Gloucester were particularly anxious to see and understand the process of filling the balloon. It was ready to ascend about six o'clock; but its flight was delayed a few minutes, that her majesty and the princesses might witness the ascent. At twenty minutes past six, when the ends which held the balloon were ready to be cut, it was found that the fastening which secures the network to the valve at the top of the balloon had by some means been disengaged, and was held only by a slight twine. Under these circumstances, the new aspirant to celestial excursions, Mrs. Henry Johnston, was informed that she could not possibly accompany Mr. Sadler on his voyage without imminent danger to both. The duke of Wellington, who conversed with Mrs. Johnston, having ascertained the danger, recommended both to decline the voyage. This enterprising young aëronaut, who is only 17 years of age, feeling for the disappointment of the public, and for his own honour, was determined to go up; and he ascended about 24 minutes past six. When above the London Docks, the balloon appeared for a short time nearly stationary, and it was not until a quan-

tity

tity of ballast was thrown out that a quicker motion could be given to it. On passing over Deptford, at a considerable height, Mr. Sadler went through a cloud, which left behind it on the railing of the car, and on various parts of the balloon, a thick moisture, which soon became frozen; and Mr. Sadler, for a short time, felt the cold as intense as in winter. Immediately over Woolwich the string which fastened the net, as was apprehended, suddenly broke, and the main body of the balloon was forced quickly through the aperture nearly 18 feet. Mr. Sadler, to prevent the danger which threatened him, caught the pipe at the bottom of the balloon, and by hanging on it and the valve line, he prevented the ballast from further escaping. The valve, which had for some time resisted every attempt to open it, in consequence of being frozen, at this time gave way, and suffered the gas to escape. A sudden shift of wind, while the balloon was apparently falling into the middle of the Thames at Sea Reach, carried it about 100 yards over the marshes on the Essex side, when the aëronaut seized the opportunity of making a gash in the balloon with his knife, which the wind considerably widened, and occasioned the escape of the gas in great quantities. Mr. Sadler's descent on this account was rather more precipitate and violent than he could have wished. He landed however in Mucking Marshes, 16 miles below Gravesend, on the Essex coast, without sustaining any other injury than a slight sprain, in about forty minutes after his departure from the Park. A fisherman, of the name of Mansbridge, fearing that the balloon might fall into the Thames, followed its course as nearly as he could with his boat, to afford any assistance in his power. Mr. S., with his balloon, was conveyed by him to Gravesend, from whence he took a post-chaise and four to town, and arrived at Buckingham-house at half past three on Tuesday morning.

Scarcely had the moon risen in unclouded majesty—

"Unveil'd her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle thrown,"

than the bridge and the royal booth were illuminated, and the Chinese lanterns here and there showed their fantastic transparencies: they were however too few in number, and not sufficiently lighted to produce much effect, and were only pretty when viewed in detail. The illuminations did not pretend to any extraordinary magnificence; they merely exhibited, amidst a profuse blaze of lamps, the names of all the illustrious companions of Wellington in the peninsular war, and of the principal naval heroes, dead and living, who during the last 20 years have upheld and increased the maritime glory of their country. At ten o'clock a loud and long continued discharge of artillery announced the commencement of the fire-works, which were certainly, if not the most tasteful, yet on the grandest and most extensive scale that we have ever witnessed. From the battlements of the castle, at one moment, ascended the most brilliant rockets: presently the walls disclosed all the rarest and most complicated ornaments of which the art is susceptible. The senses were next astonished and enchanted with a pacific exhibition of those tremendous instruments of destruction invented by colonel Congreve. Some notion even of their terrible power might be formed from the display of the night, and their exceeding

ceeding beauty could be contemplated, divested of its usual awful associations. Each rocket contains in itself a world of smaller rockets: as soon as it is discharged from the gun it bursts, and flings aloft in the air innumerable parcels of flame, brilliant as the brightest stars: the whole atmosphere was illuminated by a delicate blue light, which threw an air of inchantment over the trees and lawns, and made even the motley groups of universal London become interesting as an assembly in romance. These several smaller rockets then burst again, and a shower of fiery light descended to the earth, and extended over many yards. Such was one of the beautiful fireworks which, during the space of two hours, amused and astonished the people. The public were now becoming weary, when the grand metamorphosis took place of the fortress into the Temple of Concord, by the removal of the fortifications, displaying the temple moving upon an axis, ornamented with allegorical paintings. The upper and lower pictures on each side are connected in subject, those beneath being sequels to the above: they are illustrative of the origin and effects of War—the deliverance of Europe from Tyranny—the restoration of the Bourbons by the aid of the allies—the return of Peace, and its happy consequences—and the triumph of Britain under the government of the prince regent. On the first side Strife, as described by the ancient poets, is represented expelled from heaven, and sent to excite dissentions among men. Jupiter is seen (accompanied by other divinities) dismissing her from above, and the inhabitants of the earth are flying, terrified at her approach.—The lower picture represents the effect of her descent. On one side the Cyclopes are forging implements of war. Mars in his car, driven by Bellona, and hurried on by the Furies, is overturning all before him. In the back ground are seen towns on fire, and a desolated plain. In front are Charity flying in dismay—Truth and Justice quitting the earth—and Hope lingering behind. The second side represents Europe struggling with Tyranny. He is tearing off her diadem, and trampling on her balance. At his feet, among emblems of Religion, Justice, &c. Liberty lies prostrate. Wisdom, brandishing the fulmen, is descending to the rescue of Europe. In the picture beneath, the genius of France is restoring the sceptre to the dynasty of the Bourbons, personified by a female seated on a throne, in a regal mantle ornamented with fleurs-de-lis; and on the other, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, are witnessing the event with delight: a group of subjects behind are expressing their joy and homage; and genii are descending with emblems of Peace, Plenty, Justice, Honour, Liberty, Religion, &c. At one end of the composition, Strength is driving out Anarchy, Fraud, and Rebellion: at the other end Victory is inscribing on a shield the names of the great commanders of the allied powers, and Fame is sounding her trumpet. On the third side, Peace is seen in the clouds with her olive branch: Time looks at her with transport, and the Earth hails her return. Beneath is represented her reign, or the renewal of the golden age. She is surrounded by Plenty, the rural deities, Agriculture, Commerce, the Arts, Minerva, and the Muses. The fourth side displays a colossal statue of the prince regent, crowned by Victory. Discord

cord is chained by force to the pedestal; Truth and Justice are returning to earth, and Britannia is looking up to Heaven with gratitude for the blessings of his government. Below is the triumph of Britain. Britannia is in a car of state, accompanied by Neptune with his trident, and Mars displaying the British standard. Fame and Victory attend upon her. She is preceded by Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude, and followed by the Arts, Commerce, Industry, and the domestic Virtues.—Undoubtedly no display of artificial and ornamental light was ever condensed in a smaller compass, and heightened into more magnificent effect. Some disappointment was felt that no person of political or military importance was in the royal booth.

The fireworks and the temple together certainly gave in the general gaze a very brilliant gratification in the Green Park. But St. James's Park was the chief place of attraction for all those who feared to encounter the trouble of mixing in the crowd, and who could afford to pay half a guinea in the expectation of personal security and comfort.

Notwithstanding the immense crowds in the streets, which we have before noticed, the access to this park was very easy at several gates. Between two and three o'clock some thousands entered, and their numbers gradually increased till dusk, when they augmented very considerably, and the place had all the appearance of Vauxhall on a full night. Besides the Bird-cage walk, the Parade, and the front of Buckingham-house, outside of the semicircular railing, were appropriated to that part of the public who paid for admission. Over the canal was erected a bridge of timber, elegantly ornamented with temples and pillars, surmounted by a lofty pagoda. Tents were pitched in rows along the sides of the canal; and at regular intervals national flags were hoisted. A number of Thames watermen had permission to ply on the canal; and many worthy citizens and their families enjoyed an aquatic diversion for the first and perhaps the last time on this regal stream. Several boat-races took place before dusk; but the boats were just as they are seen on the river, not painted, decorated, and ensigned, as was expected. Of the booths erected for the accommodation of the company, many were untenanted: those, however, which were occupied, had a pretty good share of business. The time till dark was chiefly employed by the company in walking backwards and forwards, or getting their dinner. The only public amusement consisted in the ascent of the balloon from the front of the queen's house, which was preceded by the flight of one or two of a small and insignificant size. From six to nine, people beguiled their tedious hours with eating and drinking, or observing the progress of the illumination of the Chinese bridge, or the somewhat distant noise of the firing on the Serpentine River. About nine the bridge and the pagoda were nearly, though they were not all night completely, illuminated according to the design, either through the wind, or some other accidental circumstance. The lawn was lighted up by two rows, on each side of the canal, of stars and crescents placed alternately. The Mall, Birdcage walk, &c. were illuminated by circles of lamps embracing the trunks of most of the trees. The Chinese lanterns, which promised something fantastically

fascinating,

fascinating, by no means answered expectation; not from any inherent fault in them, but from the poverty of the lights placed within them, which were not sufficient to show off the whimsical and pretty devices painted on them. If they formed a correct idea of Chinese illumination, it must be *sombre* indeed. About ten the bridge, with its temples and pillars, and its towering superstructure, became an object of singular beauty and magnificence. Whether such a character of design had or had not any thing to do with the matters of celebration, it unquestionably combined the elegant and the picturesque in the highest degree. It appeared a blazing edifice of golden fire. Every part of it was covered with lamps, the glass reflectors, in proper places, relieving the dazzling splendour with their silver lustre; the canopies of the temple throwing up their bright wheels and stars, the pillars enriched with radiance, every rising tower of the pagoda pouring forth its fiery showers, and rockets springing from its lofty top in majestic flights, almost presuming to outrival the ancient inhabitants of the firmament. The effect of its vivid lights on the calm water which flowed beneath, the verdant foliage of the surrounding trees, the scattered tents, and the assemblage of spectators on the lawn, might without much of hyperbole be called magical and enchanting.

Alas! too soon we shall be obobliged to speak of its departed glories! too soon to tell the fate of this superb creation of a splendid fancy! At ten, discharges of artillery hurried all spectators to the western end of the Park, as they announced the commencement of the superior fireworks in the Green Park. Benches innumerable were brought by soldiers to enable the fair portion of the assemblage to obtain a view of the castle, of which after all the upper part only could be seen distinctly; that edifice being placed in a low situation, instead of being raised on a mound so as to render it conspicuous. Then the grand display of pyrotechnics took place, in number we readily believe never exceeded. Rockets in profusion led the way, and were continued at every interval from both parks. Jerbs, maroons, Roman-candles, catherine-wheels, serpents, stars, flower-pots, and girandoles, succeeded each other, and were discharged with excellent skill and effect. That sort of firework called the girandole was very frequently displayed, in different colours, and was decidedly the most beautiful of the whole. Nothing of the kind could be imagined finer. But the repetition of these things, with occasional pauses, for more than two hours, became excessively tedious to all. It told no intelligible tale, though the public had been informed that the affairs of the castle were to give something like a representation of a battle and a siege. Instead of sending up the fireworks one or two at a time, if they had been thrown up more in masses, relieved by candles and rockets, and continued in larger masses, gradually, they would have reached the climax of magnificence in this kind of exhibition, and would have produced a most striking effect in less than half the time employed in frittering away all the advantages of this splendid art.

But we have now a melancholy story to tell. About twelve o'clock, and near the expiration of the fireworks, the pagoda, which was covered with lamps, and at intervals showed

showed a calm mass of uniform light, exhibited an appearance that excited much doubt. Its upper towers seemed enveloped in flame, and it was soon learned that it had actually caught fire. The flames spread rapidly. Several engines were procured and played upon it; but it continued burning till in a short time the five upper towers were destroyed, or fell over the eastern side of the bridge: the lower ones were in a state little better, and some part of the substructure was much deteriorated. The fate of this erection was much regretted, as it was deservedly a favourite; and still more for the following calamity by which it was attended.

A coroner's inquest was held on Thursday, on the bodies of M. Foulkes and J. Taylor, who met their death on Monday night, from the unfortunate destruction of the pagoda in St. James's Park by fire. Foulkes, who had precipitated himself from the building, fractured his skull, and Taylor was dreadfully burnt. John Murphy of Parliament-street deposed, that he was upon the lawn in St. James's Park at the time the fire burst from every part of the pagoda, above the second or third circle. At first it was thought by some that it was intended to burn the pagoda; but the shouts of the workmen soon proved the contrary, and the engines began to play upon the building, which was enveloped in flames. Witness then discovered two men at the top of the building, apparently in great distress. One of them (Foulkes) ascended to the summit, while the other appeared to make his way towards the botom. At that moment a great noise was heard, and soon afterwards it was understood that the man who had been seen to ascend had jumped off, and had fallen on a floating stage, which had been placed close to the arch to facilitate the lighting of the lamps.—Mr. J. Watson, house surgeon of the Westminster infirmary, deposed that Foulkes was brought there in a state of insensibility, with his skull fractured, and died in two hours.—With respect to the death of Taylor, Alex. Watson, a carpenter, of Woolwich, deposed, that at the time the fire burst forth he was on the third story. The fireworks being refitted on the second story from the top, the sparks from them dropped on those which were on the stairs beneath, and which were to have been filled on the third story, and set them on fire, and these set fire to the pagoda. He ran down immediately, and on reaching the green he saw John Taylor, who was also a carpenter, running down the steps of the bridge all on fire. Taylor, he believed, had been on the attic story, and on reaching the bottom some of his comrades extinguished the flames which were around him. Some oil was poured over him, and he appeared to be in great agony. He was then laid upon his back on a board, and conveyed to the hospital. He was quite sensible, and desired the witness to let his wife know of the accident The witness knew nothing of Foulkes, nor did he see him in the pagoda. The gas had not been turned on at the time of the accident. The deceased had a wife and four children resident at Woolwich.—Verdict in both cases, *Accidental death.* The jury expressed a hope, that the family of Taylor would be provided for by government; which has since been generously done.—Foulkes, it appears, had been a wholesale hosier in Wood-street, but a bankrupt. He had distinguished himself at the Custom-

Custom-house fire. He was no way employed about the pagoda, but it is supposed ran up the building in the hope of rendering some assistance. In addition to the above W. Wood, J. Scott, J. Day, J. Taylor, and two other fire-workers, were much hurt. The accident is said to have been occasioned by the hurry of discharging some of the fireworks; room was not left for a rocket-wheel to play; and the flame bursting constantly on one spot, ignited the timber, and thus produced the calamity. The gas-lights, which were just ready to be used, were intended for the illumination of the pagoda.—After the cessation of the fireworks in Hyde Park, several accidents occurred: the limb of a tree broke down, by which a young woman who was standing under had her thigh broken, and two young men their arms. A rocket took off the calf of a gentleman's leg.

The three parks remained much in the same state as on the day of jubilee for some days after. In Hyde Park the booths, shows, gaming-tables, printing and copper plate presses, &c. amounted to 400: every day added to their number and attractions. The booth-keepers were thrice ordered away on Saturday the 6th; but they drew up a petition to remain till the 12th. They however received an order to quit at night, which they set at defiance. On Sunday the fair, with the exception of the shows, was continued. On Monday, the order from the secretary of state was renewed; and on Tuesday the magistrates, with the police officers, compelled obedience.

At the 71st annual conference of the Methodists lately assembled at Bristol (Dr. Adam Clarke president) nearly 300 ministers were present. The increase, during the last year, amounts to 15,000!—12,484 of whom have been added in Britain, and the remainder in the West Indies and Nova Scotia.

5. This morning, between twelve and one o'clock, the inhabitants of Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, were alarmed by the report of two pistols, proceeding from the house of miss Macey, milliner, situated over against the watch-house. On entering the first floor, they discovered the body of miss Mary Ann Welchman, extended, bloody, and senseless, with a wound on each temple, where balls had penetrated of a size to admit the tip of a finger. The pistols with which the deed had been committed lay on a table; but the assassin, whose name is James Mitchell, a rejected admirer of the young lady, had been seen to escape out of the window by aid of the lamp-iron and the door, leaving his hat behind. Miss Welchman died within an hour. She was daughter of a respectable farmer of Street, near Glastonbury; and about four years ago was an assistant at miss Cole's, milliner, Bath, and much esteemed for her good conduct and manners. [The assassin was not apprehended till the 10th, at Salisbury, and has since been brought up to town, and fully committed for trial: tried, convicted, and hanged.]

Windsor Castle, Aug. 6.

His majesty's bodily health has been uninterrupted, and his mind uniformly tranquil through the last month; but his majesty's disorder continues without any sensible alteration.

11. In consequence of a meeting of the members of the order of the Bath,

Bath, at which a warrant was agreed upon, authorising Francis Townsend, esq. king at arms of the order, to remove the banner of sir Thomas Cochrane from being a member of the order: Mr. Townsend attended with a warrant, signed by viscount Sidmouth as secretary of state for the home department, a few minutes before eight o'clock, in king Henry VII's chapel, Westminster-abbey, and proceeded to remove the banner of lord Cochrane from its situation. His lordship's arms were afterwards unscrewed from his stall, and the helmet, crest, mantling, and sword, with all his lordship's insignia of the order, were taken down from the top of the stall.—The most degrading part of the ceremony then took place. His lordship's banner was kicked out of the chapel, and down the steps leading to it. Nothing of the kind, as to the removal of a knight from the order of the Bath, has taken place since its establishment in 1725.

LORD COCHRANE.

12. Lord Cocrane has addressed a long letter to the electors of Westminster, on the subject of the late fraud on the Stock exchange. It chiefly relates to the conduct of his lordship's solicitors, Farrer and Co. —in respect to the brief prepared by them, and to the attacks made upon his lordship by the attorney-and solicitor-general in the house of commons.—His lordship allows that he gave general instructions for his brief, but again repeats that he did not read it previously to the trial; he freely accepts the daring of the attorney-general, and releases his solicitors and counsel from every obligation of secrecy. This he says, he would have done sooner, but he had been waiting for an answer to certain questions put to his solicitors, which, after a fortnight's delay, they declined answering.—These questions are given.

But the most important parts of the publication are the affidavits accompanying it, of which the following is the substance:—James Miller, butcher, at the Marsh-gate, swears that he saw the supposed messenger from France, on the morning of Feb. 21, "dressed in green, with a gray great coat, get out of the said chaise into a hackney coach; and deponent positively swears that he saw no red upon any part of his dress." Joseph Rayment, fishmonger, of the Westminster-bridge-road, swears that he saw the same person get into a hackney-coach; and his great coat being partly open, it enabled him "to see the coat underneath, and it appeared to him to be dark-green. Deponent fancied him to be a foreign officer, as the dress was like that of the sharpshooters."—Charles King, stable-keeper, of the Westminster-bridge-road, swears, that before the trial he saw Crane, (the hackney-coachman who swore that De Berenger was dressed in red,) who told the deponent that De Berenger was dressed just like a gentleman who was then passing, that is, in a gray great coat, and that he did not see his under dress, as his coat was closely buttoned up. The deponent also talked with Crane after the trial, and accused him of having gone too far in his evidence; when Crane broke out in an exclamation too beastly to repeat, and said, "that he would swear black was white, or any thing else, if he was paid for it." The deponent also says, that since the trial, Crane has purchased a coach and horses of the best description, though previously they were most miserable ones;

ones; and that Crane's general character is most infamous.—Richard Baldwin, servant to Mr Kier, of Bridge-street, swears that he heard Crane acknowledge that he would swear black was white, or any thing else, if he was paid for it.—Thomas Critchfield, coachmaker, Westminster-bridge-road, deposes to the general infamous character of Crane. James Yeowell, ticket-porter, of Silver-street, swears that Crane told him that, in his evidence (Crane's) before the Stock-exchange committee, he told the committee that the person he took from the post-chaise and four, at the Marsh-gate, was no other than lord Cochrane himself. He also told the deponent that he knew his lordship well, as he had driven him twenty times from places of amusement, and described his lordship as a tall man with a long face and red whiskers. On a subsequent occasion, having charged Crane with perjury, he refused to converse with deponent; but again meeting him on the same day, Crane admitted that he had got part of the reward from the Stock-exchange, and said he expected more.—James Lovemore, Clement's-lane, deposes to the same effect:—and Thomas Shilling, who drove De Berenger from Dartford to the Marsh-gate, says that he is ready to make oath that De Berenger might have changed his dress in the chaise without being observed; that when he got out of the chaise he had a parcel of some kind large enough for the purpose, and that he always thought that De Berenger had two coats. Being asked whether he could swear that De Berenger had a red coat on when he got out of the chaise? he says he could not.

Lord Cochrane's publication concludes with the two following passages:—

"Crane himself deposed, that De Berenger had with him a portmanteau "big enough to wrap a coat up in." (Vide Trial, p. 123.) This circumstance was partly overlooked by lord Ellenborough, who, while he admitted the portmanteau, acquainted the jury that it did not appear that De Berenger had any means of changing his dress! (Trial, pp. 477, 484.)

"It can further be proved that De Berenger himself, notwithstanding his virulent and self-confuting attack on lord Cochrane, has admitted, since his confinement, that the coat in which he went to lord Cochrane's on the 21st of February was dark green."

HOLLAND.

The sovereign of Holland has provisionally assumed the government of Belgium; which country there is little doubt will be finally annexed to Holland. The boundaries at present extend only to the Roer; but it is expected the congress at Vienna will extend them to the Rhine.

The duke of Wellington, accompanied by the hereditary prince of Orange, is carefully inspecting the Flemish fortresses. At Namur he was received with the most marked enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who took the horses from the carriage, and drew it into the place. Namur is to be converted into a place of arms of the first rank; and the other fortresses along the French frontier are to receive a great addition to their present works. The stay of the duke in that country is attributed to political as well as military causes. The army is very numerous, consisting of 30 Hanoverian battalions, besides British, Dutch, and Belgic troops. Another Belgic corps, equal in strength to that already raised, is

to be immediately organised; and our troops, according to some accounts, are to be reinforced to 55,000 men. We understand the whole force is to be carried to 80,000 men—the number stipulated in the convention concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. This imposing armament will add a preponderating weight to the measures resolved upon for the union of Brabant and Holland; and the liberal proceedings of the prince sovereign will conquer any repugnance, if it exist, on the part of the Flemings. What a ground for proud and interesting reflections does this subject present to the English observer!

The commissioners at Antwerp have divided the fleet at that port, according to the stipulations of the treary of peace; seven ships of the line were given up, as their share, to the Dutch.

SPAIN.

Peace between France and Spain was signed on the 16th inst. at Paris, on the same basis as that which existed between the two countries before the French revolution. A treaty of amity between Great Britain and Spain was also signed on the 15th ult. at Madrid.

We have at length seen the terms of the decree issued by Ferdinand VII. for the re-establishment of the inquisition. Perhaps in no age or time is there a more pregnant sample of devoted bigotry to be found. Among other superstitious reasons for adopting so tyrannical a course, he mentions the late residence of foreign troops (British) of different sects, who were infected with sentiments of hatred against the catholic religion—than which a more illiberal or unjustifiable insinuation has never been uttered. Such is the grateful return made by the Spanish monarch to that British army which preserved the existence of Spain as an independent country!—We understand that our ambassador to the court of Madrid has remonstrated against the preamble to the decree for restoring the inquisition, in which such a reflection is cast upon the troops which secured the independence of Spain.

The circulation of English newspapers has been prohibited throughout Spain, on pain of ten years' imprisonment to those who shall violate the law!

ITALY.

We understand that his holiness the pope has demanded the restoration of the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and the re-establishment of the patriarchate of Venice; proposals which have been but little relished by the Austrian court. The pontiff has also desired the evacuation by the king of Naples (Murat) of the marquisate of Ancona and duchy of Urbino. His holiness appears firmly determined to assert what he considers to be his rights; but it will, of course, depend upon the congress of Vienna, as to how much is to be granted to him.

The pope has created Lucien Bonaparte a Roman prince and duke of Musignano, and granted to him the privilege of bearing the arms of the holy see on all his palaces, as a mark of respect for his firmness in refusing the degraded crown offered him by his brother Napoleon.

The king of Sicily opened the parliament at Palermo on the 18th ult. in a speech from the throne; in which his majesty declared his determination to support the constitution as formed on the model of that

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of England. No allusion was made to Naples.

GERMANY.

The emperor of Austria was received with much loyalty and affection by his subjects, on his return to his own dominions. Unbounded demonstrations of popular joy took place on his entering Vienna, and all the doors of the palace were thrown open to the people by the emperor's desire. The next day, to gratify the public, his imperial majesty made a grand entry into that capital, in a procession composed of the military, the ministers of state, and the imperial family. Service at the cathedral was performed by the archbishop, who is 80 years of age, and was formerly his majesty's preceptor. The venerable prelate, in approaching his majesty, fell and wounded his head; but, recovering, expressed himself happy that he should be the last subject who should lose blood in his majesty's cause. A grand gala followed on the subsequent day.

21. A fire broke out, about one o'clock in the morning, in the back room of the first floor in the house of Mr. Watson, a haberdasher, in King-street, Seven Dials. The fire was not discovered until it had communicated to the front part of the house, when the watchman endeavoured to rouse the inmates. Mr. and Mrs. Watson, who slept in the front room of the first floor, escaped nearly naked; but Benjamin Stephenson, a tailor, aged 45, and Mary his wife, who occupied the second floor, and Mary Anne Catherine, 15 years of age, servant to Mr. Watson, and who slept in the garret, perished in the flames.

28. This evening the inhabitants of the metropolis and many miles in its vicinity were alarmed by a fire at the mustard and oil-mills of Messrs. Wardle and Jones (late Lingard) on Bankside. It is supposed to have kindled from the iron-work of the machinery being overheated by friction, and communicating to the adjoining woodwork, which suddenly caught fire, and burst forth with an irresistible force and rapidity. It was nearly low water, and one of the floating engines, which was moored below London-bridge, could not be worked up against the tide until near nine o'clock. Before that period five wharfs fronting the Thames formed one tremendous conflagration. The extensive premises of Wardle and Jones were the first which were demolished. The fire in a few minutes after it got to a considerable height in these warehouses, was seen to extend its approach both ways, and continued to spread each way with equal fury till it reached the flour-warehouses of Messrs. Thell and Steele, which being a new and very substantial building, with a very thick party-wall, prevented the flames from extending themselves further eastward, and saved not only those warehouses, which were full of flour belonging to that company, but a great many others between them and London-bridge, which, had they caught fire, must have inevitably shared the same fate. Mr. Hammock's corn-warehouses, in which were immense quantities of various kinds of grain, and a large portion of fine old beans, and those of Mr. Resden, which adjoined them, were all burnt to the ground. Messrs. Clarke and Myers's hop-warehouses and those of Mr. Evans (in the same line) followed next. Messrs. Ball and Jones's iron-foundry, Mr. Ayres's corn-warehouses, part of the premises belonging to an eminent dyer, and a great deal of

stabling belonging to Thell and Steele, were totally consumed. The oil in the mustard manufactory blazed with great fury, and vast quantities ran into the river, spreading upon the top to a considerable distance. Four barges, which were moored off Hill's coal-wharf, containing 60 chaldrons of coals, and which could not be removed on account of the ebb-tide, were consumed. The flames extended backwards to Clink-lane, in the neighbourhood of which seven or eight houses built of wood, and inhabited by poor families, were destroyed. Fortunately no lives were lost; but many persons were so much hurt as to be sent to the hospital. One horse in a private stable was burnt. The fire was not got under till near 11 o'clock. It being Sunday night, when most people are at leisure, the conflagration was viewed by near 100,000 spectators; the two bridges, the wharfs, quays, banks of the Thames, and the craft on the river, being crowded. At one time Barclay and Perkins's brew-house in Maid-lane, the Borough-market, and the adjoining church, were considered in danger. The property destroyed is valued at 160,000*l.*; but the insurance does not exceed 60,000*l.*

30. Most of our readers must have seen or heard of the ingenious machinery at Battersea for sawing veneers with circular saws from 10 to 18 feet diameter, the invention, and in part the property, of Mr. Brunel, to whom the country is indebted for the block machinery in Portsmouth dock-yard, and other valuable works. Owing to a quantity of veneers being on the mill-floor, which was the only part that could not be conveniently made fire-proof, it is probable that some of the saw-dust, by being overheated, may have smothered, and the fire thus generated have extended to the floor. At half-past ten o'clock this night the fire was discovered by a person on the Chelsea side, who immediately directed the watchman to give the alarm at Mr. Brunel's. He being at Chatham on public duty, a servant was sent over to Battersea; but before assistance could be obtained, the fire had made such progress as to threaten entire destruction. Two fire engines from Mr. Noble's, and one from Chelsea, were all that came; all others being detained at the fire at Bankside; but for want of water, the tide being quite low, the right wing of the building, with the steam-engine, were all that was saved. To preserve the saws and the middle of the building was a vain attempt. The greatest exertions were made to preserve the stock of wood and veneers, the greater part of which were saved, at the risk of the lives of those who strenuously exerted themselves upon the occasion. Thus in two hours these most valuable machines, which in point of execution and perfection exceeded every thing we know, and which had been visited by some of the most illustrious characters in Europe, presented the awful sight of a heap of fragments; and the fruits of six years of exertion and ingenuity, attended with an expense of above 20,000*l.*, were destroyed.

WINCHESTER ASSIZES.

W. H. Souper was charged with the wilful murder of adjutant Duterich in a duel which was fought near Lymington on the 13th of April.—The evidence was gone through; from which it appeared, that after the adjutant had fired the prisoner also fired, and his shot took effect, passing through the hip into the spine of the back,—of which wound

wound he died.—Several gentlemen of respectability gave the prisoner an excellent character for mildness of temper and peaceable disposition.—The learned judge, sir H. Dampier, in addressing the jury, lamented in strong terms, that the recent cases of a similar kind had not deterred gentlemen of the army from the odious practice of duelling; and explained that all persons concerned in a duel, either as principals or seconds, must in case of the death of either of the parties be guilty of wilful murder, both by the laws of God and man, inasmuch as it was not the rash act of a passionate moment, but generally done deliberately in cold blood.—The jury found the prisoner Guilty, and his lordship proceeded to pass on him the awful sentence of death; when the prisoner fell backwards in a fit, overpowered by his feelings, and some little time elapsed before he could be recovered; after which he addressed the judge in a very pathetic manner, stating, that it was not from the fear of death that he was so overpowered, but at the reflection of being stigmatized as a felon and murderer; and that his family of six children could now only behold him with abhorrence; that he had spent a long time in the service of his country, with honour and credit; that he had intended his sons for the same profession; but now his hopes were blasted, his life insupportable, and his future destiny become altogether a matter of indifference to him.—The awful sentence of death was then passed upon him, and he was taken from the bar. [He was afterwards pardoned.]

The trial which excited most interest was that of William Bradley, a rear-admiral on the retired list, for forgery. There were five counts against him for forgery, and one for a fraud. The count upon which he was tried stated, that by the forgery of the instrument laid in the indictment he had defrauded his majesty's postmaster at Gosport of the sum of 3*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*—Jacob Legge, postmaster of Gosport, deposed, that on the 10th of May last the prisoner produced at his house a paper partel, saying it contained "ship-letters, which he brought from the ship Mary and Jane, lying at Cowes, but he did not belong to the ship." The parcel contained about 111 letters, for which witness paid him 3*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* being twopence for each letter, and took his receipt, prisoner signing Wm. Johnstone. Witness had seen the prisoner at his office several times before; he brought ship-letters to be forwarded to London by post.—William Barber deposed, that he went to Southwick and inquired of the prisoner if he was admiral Bradley? He said Yes. Witness inquired if he had taken letters to the Gosport post-office, and signed a receipt in the name of Johnstone? He said, No, but he had a friend at Lisbon of that name. Witness then took him into custody. On the 15th of May witness went to Cowes to inquire if the ship Mary and Jane was there, and found that she was not, nor had been. Prisoner had been in his custody since the 16th of May, and from his general demeanour he thought his conduct rather strange, and at times he appeared heavy and dull.—Lieut. Pritchard deposed, that in 1809 he sailed with him in the Plantagenet, and that the command of the ship was obliged to be given up to the first lieutenant, in consequence of the unsettled state of Mr. Bradley's mind; and that soon after he was superseded. He received an excellent character from several officers of the navy, and also

from other persons unconnected with the navy.—The jury returned a verdict of Guilty—Death.—[Admiral Bradley has been pardoned.]

IRELAND.

A school of physic has been established in Dublin. It comprises six professors, viz. for anatomy, chemistry, and botany, in the foundation of Trinity College, called University professors; and for the theory and practice of medicine and the materia medica, called king's professors, each of whom acts in succession, for six months, as chemical lecturer and physician. Sir Patrick Dun has endowed a chemical hospital and a medical library. Students matriculated at Trinity college, and certified by the six professors, obtain in three years a diploma, on a footing with those granted at Edinburgh and Glasgow; and another class, after longer terms and other grades, obtain diplomas corresponding with those of Oxford and Cambridge.

The board of Trinity college, Dublin, have received from parliament a loan of 20,000*l.* for the purpose of completing the north square, commonly called Botany Bay. This sum is to be repaid by instalments of 1200*l.* per annum. One double and single building are now roofing in, which will complete the east side; the northern side is to consist of four double and two single buildings, with a grand front of cut stone, nearly corresponding in style of architecture with the superb front in College-green, and with a similar railing. This side will form a beautiful termination to D'Olier-street. They are already laying the foundation, and expect in two years to have it ready for the reception of students. This highly necessary addition will accommodate 120 students and two fellows. The entire college will then contain but 320 students. The present buildings can accommodate not more than 200; which is far short of one-third of the entire number on the books.

SEPTEMBER.

FRANCE.

The duke of Wellington had his first public audience of the French king on the 24th ult. as ambassador extraordinary from this country. His grace was received with great state and ceremony on the occasion: he afterwards paid a visit to Monsieur, who addressed the duke as follows:—"The king and all the royal family see, with the greatest pleasure, the choice which the prince regent has made of a hero so worthy to represent him. Our desire and our hope is to see a durable peace established between two nations more formed to esteem than to combat each other."

A magnificent fête was given to the king on the 29th ult. by the city of Paris, at the Hotel de Ville, which was continued with unexampled profusion and admirable order till the next morning.

An immense number of people assembled early on the quays and the Champs Elysées to see the procession of the court to the Hotel de Ville, and to witness the distribution of bread and wine to the populace. The procession was splendid; above thirty of the king's coaches (the greater part drawn by eight horses, and the remainder by six) conveyed his majesty, the royal family, the ministers of state, and the great officers of the household. The duke of Wellington went in state. The cries of "Vive le roi!" were enthusiastic,

siastic. When the king reached the Hotel de Ville, he was received by the principal magistrates of the city, and he entered the hall preceded by them, and accompanied by the prince of Benevento, the band playing "God save the king!" which has now become a French national tune. Almost all the English of distinction in Paris were at this fête. In the evening the city was illuminated. At ten o'clock some very splendid fire-works were exhibited from Pont Louis Quinze; then a balloon ascended, from which some brilliant fire-works exploded after it had ascended a few hundred feet; and the words "Louis le Désiré" surrounded by stars, &c. were visible to all Paris. The wine was made to play from about twenty fountains in the Champs Elysées; and though there were thousands anxious to obtain a portion of it, yet there was no riot. Nothing occurred to damp the general gaiety; the day and the night were peculiarly fine, and every one appeared to be delighted. The illuminations were splendid and general.

The royal family entered the Hotel de Ville by a triumphal arch prepared in the Rue de Martroi. At the dinner, his majesty occupied one end of the royal table, where covers were laid for fifty persons. In the evening there was a concert and a ball. At one o'clock in the morning the whole company sat down to an elegant supper. Five hundred covers were laid in the hall where the royal family dined. The ladies were seated first, and the gentlemen stood while they partook of the repast. It was broad day-light before the company parted.

SPAIN.

Sir H. Wellesley, our ambassador in Spain, has concluded a general treaty of alliance with the Spanish government, which engages not to renew the family compact with France. There is, however, no stipulation for the abolition of the slave trade.

The conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain has been made public at Madrid: it was signed on the 20th July. The property of Spaniards in France, or Frenchmen in Spain, is to be respectively restored.

Ferdinand the VIIth has evinced his enmity to the liberty of the press, and to the diffusion of knowledge among his subjects, by the suppression of not fewer than fourteen journals. Some of these had acquired reputation, during the regency, by their political strictures and the liberality of their opinions. In this number may be enumerated the Conciso, the Tribune, the Redacteur of Cadiz, and the Friend of the Laws.

The terrors of the Spanish government assume a most ridiculous shape. Dreading, as it seems, lest those Spaniards who have been made prisoners of war should bring back with them the contagion of enlightened sentiments, it has been ordered that they shall undergo a purification, and shall not be employed again (although taken in the act of fighting for their country), until they have given proofs of their good conduct and pure principles.

The public finances are in a most wretched state, and the revenues of individuals not much better: there is very little money in circulation: the armaments at Cadiz for the reduction of the colonies are countermanded, and the trade left at the mercy of the Barbary corsairs.

Ferdinand has issued a decree, by which all Frenchmen are prohibited from entering Arragon and Catalo-

nia; all those at present established there are ordered to remove, under pain of being arrested and imprisoned. Popular commotions have taken place in these provinces, and assassinations beem committed upon Frenchmen and their partisans.

ITALY.

Italy, which though favcured by nature, and justly proud of her soil, her productions, and her numerous ports, mourned for so many years the despotic regulations of the deposed tyrant, has begun, under the auspices of more benevolent sovereigns, to cherish the dawn of happier days. The ports of Leghorn, Naples, &c. presented last month a most animated sight. They were crowded with shipping, and merchant-vessels succeeded each other without interval, bringing cargoes of colonial goods, the deprivation of which had been for a long time felt by its luxurious population.

The official gazette of Palermo states that the king of Sicily still maintains in full force all his claims to the kingdom of Naples.

The pope, determined to return to all the usages of darker ages, has issued a decree prohibiting secret assemblies, particularly those of freemasons, under severe and degrading penalties, attended with the confiscation of property: informers are to be rewarded, considered honourable, and friends to church and state.

Among other superstitions revived at Rome, is that of lighting up the shrines of saints by gifts of individuals, and with the old representations.

The pope has issued a bull, by which the order of Jesuits is formally re-established. The order was abolished by pope Ganganelli, as inconsistent with the liberties and improved civilization of Europe.

Pope Pius on the 7th ult. celebrated high mass at the altar of St. Ignatius in the church of Jesus at Rome; and afterwards, ascending a throne, ordered a bull to be read, re-establishing the order of Jesuits. The motives which his holiness assigns for this act are as singular as the act itself is important.—He had been called upon some thirteen years ago by the emperor Paul of Russia and king Ferdinand of Naples (the first professing the Greek faith, and unquestionably out of his mind; the latter acknowledged to be of imbecile understanding) to allow the establishment of the Jesuits in their dominions; and having kindly condescended to grant their request, he now diffuses that which their enlightened minds esteemed so great a blessing, over the rest of Europe. The bull says, "the catholic world demands with unanimous voice the re-establishment of the company of Jesus, and we daily receive pressing petitions from the archbishops and bishops to that effect." The bull re-establishes the order of Jesuits by name in the empire of Russia, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Ecclesiastical States, and all other States; constitutes Taddeo Barzozowski *ad interim* general of the company of Jesus; lawfully delegates to him and the other members of the company all suitable and necessary powers, to receive and distribute those who may wish to enter the order, among the different colleges, where they shall conform their mode of life to the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola. It also declares, that they "may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth in the principles of the catholic

lic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries—likewise hear confessions, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in the places of their residence." The most offensive passage is in the conclusion; it presents a clear view of the pope's pretensions:—"We ordain, that the present letters be inviolably observed, according to their form and tenor, in all time coming; that they enjoy their full and entire effect; that they shall never be submitted to the judgement or revision of any judge, with whatever power he may be clothed:" again, "should any one attempt to infringe, or by an audacious temerity oppose any part of this ordinance, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul."

It is but justice to mention, as some set-off to these bigoted proceedings, that his holiness has, by two other decrees, prohibited the wearing of arms, to prevent assassinations; and also abolished all the sanctuaries to which criminals usually fled for protection, when in danger of being punished for their crimes.

GERMANY.

The princess of Wales, it is ascertained, has met a most cordial and flattering reception in her native country. Her royal highness arrived at Brunswick on the night of the 19th ult. She was received at Wolfenbuttel by the city guard, and at the palace by the public authorities; and in the evening there was a general illumination.

Liege has been evacuated by the Prussians, and taken possession of by the troops of the sovereign of the Netherlands.

The emperor of Austria has adopted Bonaparte's order of the iron crown, as one of the standing orders of his house, and announced that he will himself be the grand master. This step is perhaps intended to conciliate the people of Lombardy, among whom much discontent prevails in consequence of the disappointment they feel in not becoming an independent state. Many officers of the Italian army have refused to transfer their services to Austria.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

We have at length to announce the termination of the war in Norway by the submission of prince Christian. The Swedish bulletin announcing this event is dated Aug. 10, and states that the Swedes had been successful in several affairs, and the crown prince had made dispositions for surrounding the army of prince Christian in his position near the town of Moss; when the latter made proposals to relinquish the contest, which were accepted, and the union of Norway to Sweden may therefore be considered as finally decided.

A treaty of peace has been concluded in London between Denmark and Spain.

RUSSIA.

Accounts from St. Petersburg of the 18th ult. notice the appointment of count Nesselrode to the office of minister for foreign affairs, in the place of count Romanzoff, who had been permitted to resign on account of ill health.

The emperor Alexander, in a ukase addressed to the holy synod and council of state, has declined the appellation they had bestowed on him of "Blessed."—"My whole efforts (he observes) are directed to the imploring of the blessing of God upon

upon me and my faithful people, and in order to be blessed by my beloved subjects, and generally by all the nations of the earth. This is my warmest wish and my highest happiness. But after all my efforts to attain that object, I cannot, as a man, allow myself the boldness to accept of that appellation, or presume that I have already attained that felicity. I deem it so much the less compatible with my principles, inasmuch as I have at all times, and on every occasion, exhorted my faithful subjects to moderation and humility of spirit; and I will not now set an example which would contradict those sentiments."

TURKEY.

The Sublime Porte having by recent treaties guarantied all vessels under the Austrian flag from being attacked by the Barbary corsairs, the grand seignior found it necessary to issue on the 26th of June three firmans, addressed respectively to the dey of Algiers, and the beys of Tunis and Tripoli, enjoining them and their subjects not only to abstain from attacking, searching, or impeding Austrian vessels at sea; but to give them such protection and assistance in their commercial enterprises, as is usually granted by the Porte to the subjects of the most favoured nations. The necessity for maintaining the present harmony existing between the two courts, is dwelt upon by the grand seignior in this firman to his piratical vassals, with an earnestness which sufficiently manifests his uneasiness at the renovated power of Austria; and his apprehension that, at no distant period, some pretext for a rupture would be sought by his powerful neighbour.

CHESTER ASSIZES.

4. The criminal business concluded on the first instant. Sir W. Garrow, in passing the awful sentence of the law on Sarah Rockley, Phœbe Price, J. Pollitt, J. Smith, G. Gerrard, J. Lowe, P. Frank, (a black,) and G. Post, the two former for shoplifting, the others for cutting and maiming a horse, for house-breaking, for burglary, for felony in a dwelling-house, for highway robbery, gave hopes of royal clemency to all except G. Post, whom he impressively addressed to the following effect:—

"To you, George Post, I feel it indispensably necessary, in passing upon you the judgement of the law, to caution you against cherishing the slightest hope that your sentence will be remitted. Your guilt is of a magnitude, next to murder, precluding even the shadow of mercy; and the evidence on which you were convicted such as to leave not a shadow of doubt of the fact. Waylaying an innocent, artless, unsuspecting young female returning to her employment after a sabbath day's visit to her aged grandmother; robbing her of her bundle, which contained the little property which she had acquired; brutally assaulting her person, and indecently exposing that person for a considerable time; you wind up the horrible catalogue of your turpitude, by throwing your innocent victim into the canal; and when with tears and cries she prays you to rescue her from the impending danger, with brutal ferocity you exclaimed, 'Drown then and be d—d.' This case, with all its shocking circumstances, was proved against you by evidence which admitted

admitted not of a doubt. Employ, I conjure you, the residue of your time seriously and piously. Attend to the religious directions of those who will visit you in your confinement, and soothe you with holy consolation. Invoke, with sincerity, the assistance of that God, who, while he is all powerful, is all merciful; and prepare to present yourself before that heavenly tribunal, at which in a short time you will have to appear."

FRANCE.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

On the 8th Sept. the prince of Benevento presented the budget to the chamber, and made a variety of remarks on the French finances. The object of the budget was to fix and to provide for the current expenses, and to assign the payment of arrears. The king's intention was to establish a proper balance between receipts and expenditure, and thus to create a new system, adopted with the most perfect sincerity, and with a determination to adhere to what had been promised. Public credit was an arm of great strength, which it was necessary should be found in France as in other countries. Those miserable conceptions, those disastrous operations, known within the last century, were all solemnly abjured and proscribed for ever. France aspired to new celebrity; candour and justice must be established in every department; and means found to pay all demands upon the state, thus proving both her will and her ability. The whole debt of France now amounted to 759,000,000 francs. The revenue of 1814 is estimated at 540,000,000, and that of 1815 at 618,000,000. This revenue is entirely furnished by taxes, with the exception of 10 or 12 millions produced by the forest domains. For 1814 there will be a deficit of 307,400,000 francs. This makes part of the above debt. The expenses of 1815, fixed at 547,700,000 francs, leave an excess for that year of 70,300,000 francs.—This estimate may not be perfect; but the house may be satisfied that it has before it the maximum of debt and the minimum of receipts, so that no danger can be apprehended. France possesses yet 1,400,000 hectares of forest land, and the sale of 300,000 is proposed, to effect the payment of the arrears without increasing the national burthens. The produce of the sale of the property of the corporations, and other means, if necessary, will also be applicable to this end. "The situation of France, after so many storms, is still promising. According to the last census, the population was 28 millions. Dividing equally among all the annual amount of the taxes, which we take at 600 millions, the quota paid by each is little under 22 francs. In England the produce of the taxes, not including those of Ireland, has risen of late years to at least 60 millions sterling, which, divided among 12 millions of inhabitants, give five pounds sterling, or 120 francs, as the contribution for each individual:—that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France.—In the United States of America, the receipts of the customs, which previous to the two last years of war formed almost the only revenue, produced annually 16 millions of dollars. This sum divided among seven millions of inhabitants gives about 12 francs for each individual; to which must be added the

the local taxes peculiar to each state, amounting to about 11 francs more, making 23 francs for each individual. Whence it follows in all respects, whether in population, extent of territory or taxable property, that the advantages of France over these nations are great. These relative approximations are sufficient to show us the grounds of confidence which remain for us, and those which should encourage an active and industrious nation like our own to undertake with ardour all enterprises useful to agriculture, industry, and commerce. Thus is the question respecting our power to discharge our burthens and to deliver ourselves from debts answered."—The prince of Benevento then remarked on the necessity of national credit, which can only exist under a representative and constituent government. The want of this, though France possessed the happiest climate and soil, and a numerous and active population, kept her below her proper level. But the exactness with which the new government will fulfill all its engagements will give to France a new power. —The prince then alluded to the systems of England and America, to show the necessity and utility of inviolable fidelity in national engagements—spoke of the propriety of establishing a sinking fund next year, and then concluded thus:— "This is a new æra, in which the justice and moderation of the prince, whose presence amongst us has restored peace to the world, will make us, daily, more sensible to the reciprocal advantages of virtues which may be so easily established in France, under the powerful sanction of honour. And may we hope that the influence which the manners of our nation have so long exercised over other people, will render general throughout Europe this moderation, which has become more necessary than ever to the happiness of subjects, and the glory of sovereigns!" This speech was ordered to be printed.

AMERICA.

The British government, it is asserted, in the projet delivered to the American commissioners, required that the latter should cede as a new boundary to the British settlements a margin of thirty miles on the southern side of lakes Ontario and Erie. Such an amputation of territory would alienate a part of the state of New York bordering on both lakes, a part of Pennsylvania extending to lake Erie, and a portion of the western country which has been incorporated with the United States from the confines of Pennsylvania to the fort of Miami, at the extremity of lake Erie. The length of ground thus required is upwards of 500 miles, and thus more than 15,000 square miles must have been surrendered by the republican agents on their compliance with the terms demanded. We are told, contrary to what has been stated, that Mr. Gallatin and his friends felt no difficulty in this situation of things, and that instead of referring the matter, as has been alleged, to their government at Washington, they took upon themselves of their own authority to declare that to such conditions neither the honour or interest of America could accede, and that if Great Britain persisted in this pretension the object was fatal, and the war must inevitably continue.

SPAIN.

The king of Spain has instituted a new

a new order, called The order of fidelity of Valancy, as a recompense to those who accompanied him from Bayonne when he was conveyed into France.

RUSSIA.

According to an official enumeration, the births in the Russian empire (of the Greek church) amounted in 1812 to 1,264,391, and the deaths to 971,358; consequently the births exceeded the deaths by 293,033. Among the deaths the oldest person in the eparchy of Pensasch was 165—three were 135—one 130—fifteen 125—33 from 115 to 120—53 from 110 to 115—127 from 105 to 110—527 from 100 to 105—1473 from 95 to 100—2849 from 90 to 95—and 4437 from 85 to 90.

NEW ORDER.

13. This night's Gazette announces, that in consideration of the distinguished services of the troops engaged in the battles of the Pyrenees, from the 28th July to the 2d of August 1813; of the Nivelle, on the 10th Nov. 1813; and at the siege and capture of St. Sebastian, in August and September 1813; —the officers present on those memorable occasions shall enjoy the privilege of bearing badges of distinction, in conformity to regulations published on the 7th Oct. last; also, that the officers who were present in the former battles and sieges in the peninsula shall receive appropriate badges, in commemoration of their services upon those occasions; and, finally, that those badges which would have been conferred upon such of the above officers who fell in, or have died since, the said battles and sieges, shall, as a token of respect for their memories, be transmitted to their respective families.—Lists of the officers, amounting to several hundreds, follow the respective annunciations, which are made by the commander-in-chief in pursuance of the orders of the prince regent.

PRISONS.

On Monday the deputation from the court of aldermen, consisting of sir John Perring, aldermen Birch, Wood, and Goodbehere, attended by George Dance, esq. architect, left town, on the important object of visiting Gloucester and other gaols, to ascertain their improved state, for the purpose of forming regulations for the new debtors' prison now erecting, and whether any and what alterations should be adopted in the government of Newgate and other places of confinement, within the jurisdiction of the city; for which purpose they have been furnished with an official order from the secretary of state.

OLD BAILEY.

16. No less than five persons were on Friday tried here for the dreadful crime of murder! They were James Mitchell, William Hollings, Jean de Silva, William Medgett, and Jane Collins, who all pleaded Not guilty.—Mitchell was the first tried, charged with the murder of Mary Ann Welchman. The prisoner's visit to miss W. in Mount-street, on the evening of Aug. 4th, his refusing to leave her when desired, his being left alone with her in the room, the report of two pistols being heard shortly after, and the scream of miss W., her dead body found lying partly within and partly without the door of the room, with two recently discharged pistols and a man's hat, the window of the room open, though before shut—all these things

things were clearly shown; and it was likewise proved that, just at the time the murder was committed, a man without a hat was seen on the pavement directly under the room window, who got up and ran away. Mr. Chapman, the hatter, in Bond-street, believed the hat produced was the one he sold to the prisoner; and a soldier in the guards stated that the prisoner had borrowed a hat of him the day after the murder, saying that he had lost his in a hobble. It was also proved, that cases which suited the pistols were found in the prisoner's lodgings, as well as a mould for bullets and a key, all suiting the pistols. The prisoner was apprehended by a farmer near Salisbury. In his defence the prisoner said, he never had any intention in his life to murder miss Welchman; the pistols were not his, and he went down stairs with his hat. Mr. justice Heath, in addressing the jury, said that such crimes as the present were not committed in the presence of witnesses. Those who committed such offences did so in secret, trusting that they might escape detection. It was from circumstances, therefore, that juries must judge in such cases. He then recapitulated the circumstances of the case, and left it to the jury to say if they could entertain any doubt of the prisoner's being the murderer. The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner Guilty. —The recorder thereupon, immediately after proclamation, passed upon him the awful sentence of the law, ordering him for execution on Monday, and his body to be delivered to the surgeons to be dissected and anatomized. The prisoner was perfectly callous throughout; and, when sentence was pronounced, bowed to the court, still preserving the most marked indifference.

William Henry Hollings was indicted for the wilful murder of Elizabeth Pilcher on the 4th of July last, in Lower Grosvenor-street, where she lived servant to Mr. Cartwright. William Martin, also servant to Mr. Cartwright, proved that about a quarter before ten o'clock the prisoner called at Mr. Cartwright's house, and inquired for the deceased. The witness called her down to him, and she went with him to the outside of the door; they seemed to be talking together, and the witness went into the parlour; in a few minutes he heard the report of a pistol, followed by a female scream; the witness immediately upon this went to the door and supported the deceased, who had not then fallen, in his arms; the witness observed a black mark, as of gunpowder, under her arm. She said something, but the witness could not understand her. The witness led her up the passage; the prisoner followed and wished to kiss her, but was not permitted. The deceased was carried into the parlour and placed in a chair; some person then tore her clothes down, and the witness saw a wound, but not much blood. The deceased died on the Sunday following, the pistol having been fired on the Monday. The prisoner made no resistance. There was glass broken, lying at the door, and something spilt, like arsenic and water. Samuel Lobb, watchman, heard the report of a pistol. He saw a man standing in the passage of Mr. Cartwright's house, and secured him, he having a pistol in his right hand. The prisoner is the man. The witness laid hold of the prisoner, when he said—"Don't be afraid, I sha'n't run away."

away." The prisoner asked if she was dead; and said, "Let me kiss her cold lips." William Dean, constable, remembered the prisoner being brought to the watch-house. He got a great deal of water; he vomited a good deal immediately on his drinking the water. Their attention was not called to the circumstance of the prisoner's having taken poison, till the next morning. The pistol which was fired had burst. It was loaded with powder and shot. Mr. Heaviside said the wound in the side was the cause of her death. She languished till Sunday morning following, and then died. He opened the body, and found nearly 200 small shot in her liver, and nearly 200 more in her bowels. In his defence, the prisoner said he loved the unfortunate girl, and would have done for her as for his own child. He never had any intention to injure, far less to murder her; and knew or recollected no more of that unfortunate job, in firing the pistol, than his lordship did. Richard Stone, of Swan-place, Kent-road, proved that the prisoner had lodged with him for the nine months preceding the day specified in the indictment, during the greater part of which time he seemed to be out of his mind, particularly for the last six weeks preceding the 4th of July; he used to fall out of bed in the night-time, and to be constantly singing and humming songs during the night, acting throughout in an incoherent manner. Emma Mason, daughter to a publican with whom the prisoner used to breakfast, said, the prisoner seemed to her to be out of his mind. James Cowan knew the prisoner three years ago, and then he thought him out of his mind. Robert Cooper had known the prisoner seven years; the general opinion of the neighbourhood was, that the prisoner was insane. The prisoner was formerly clerk in the office of the collectors of excise, but from which situation he had been suspended for the last three months. Mrs. Bennet, who lived near the prisoner, thought him a very insane man indeed. He had made love to her, though she was the mother of six children and a married woman. Mr. baron Graham particularly desired the jury to consider whether the taking of the poison was not the necessary concomitant of the desperate resolution the prisoner had taken to deprive the young woman of her life, it being to be remarked that he afterwards took the most effectual means to get quit of it. The feelings of irritation which seized upon the minds of some persons when their passions were disappointed, were very different indeed from that total incapacity of judging between right and wrong, which could alone operate as an excuse for the commission of offences of this kind. From considering the whole of the evidence produced on the part of the prisoner, he could by no means think that it went to make out a decided madness, which, on the contrary, the fact of his having been continued till within these three months in an office where the greatest accuracy was required, went far to negative. If the jury should think this act the effect of confirmed disease and disorder of mind, they would acquit the prisoner. If, on the other hand, they thought that he had suffered his disappointment so to operate upon his mind as to work him up to the commission of the desperate act, they would find him Guilty. If sudden irritation arising from disappointed

appointed hopes or desires were to be esteemed a sufficient justification of acts of this kind, we might expect such atrocities perpetrated in consequence of every untoward occurrence in common life. The jury, after a few minutes consideration, found the prisoner Guilty.—On being asked what he had to say why the court should not pass sentence upon him to die, the prisoner acknowledged the enormity of his crime, and the justice of the punishment to which he was to be sentenced, hoping that his example would operate as a warning to others. He trusted, as to himself, that he had made his peace with, and he felt confident that his soul would be saved by, a merciful God, through the incercession of our Redeemer.—The awful sentence of the law was then passed upon him, which he heard with the utmost composure and resignation, and, bowing to the court, was led out of the dock.

Jean de Sylva was indicted, in one count, for the wilful murder of John Davis, so long ago as the month of December 1810. In another count, Davis was charged to have been murdered by one Antonio Cardoza, and the prisoner to have been present, aiding and assisting Cardoza. The deceased and a brother of his had, on the day specified in the indictment, been walking together in Nightingale-lane, they being watermen, when they fell in with some women of the town. Not being very cordial with these ladies, one of them ran into a public-house in the neighbourhood, and called out for Cardoza. Cardoza, the prisoner, and several others came out in consequence of this call, and an immediate attack was made by the party from the house upon the two brothers on the outside. The prisoner at first attacked the brother of the deceased, whom he wounded with a knife; he was quickly, however, called off to the assistance of Cardoza, who had in the mean time wounded the deceased, and of which wound he died. Cardoza alone being secured, was afterwards tried, found guilty, and suffered for this murder. The brother of the deceased, having been principally instrumental in the conviction of Cardoza, being afraid of the vengeance of Cardoza's countrymen, resolved to quit his peaceful occupation of a waterman; he accordingly went on board of an Indiaman. As fate would have it, he at China went on board the ship called the Sir Charles Grant, where he met with the prisoner, whom he instantly recognised as one of his brother's murderers: the prisoner seemed also to recognise Davis, and covered his face. A few days afterwards the brother of the deceased again saw the prisoner in one of the ports of the ship, asked if his name was not De Sylva, and, on being answered in the affirmative, said, "You are the man who killed my brother;" to which the prisoner answered, "I wish I had killed you also." The brother of the deceased, however, had the prisoner taken into custody, and brought home for trial. Mr. justice Dampier doubted, if any part of the evidence brought home to the prisoner the offence, either of murder or of participation in murder, as he could not be supposed to be cognizant of Cardoza's intention to commit murder. The jury declared themselves perfectly satisfied that it did not, and found the prisoner—Not guilty.

Edward Medgett was then indicted for the wilful muder of Margaret,

garet, his wife, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, on the 8th of June last. It appeared that the deceased having been out with a party, returned home in a state of intoxication; she wished to return to the party, which her husband opposed, and on her persisting in her intention, unadvisedly gave her a kick or two on a particular part of her body, where there had previously been, though unknown to him, an enlargement of a prominent vein. The kicks thus given, in the opinion of medical men, produced a hæmorrhage, which occasioned the death of the woman, but which would not have followed had it not been from the otherwise diseased state of the parts. In these circumstances, the jury, by the recommendation of the learned judge, found the prisoner Guilty of manslaughter.

GREAT STORM.

24. This evening a storm of thunder, accompanied by very vivid lightning, passed over Gloucester; and the tempest was felt in its extreme rage at no very remote distance. Between Northleach and Burford, the mail-coach thence to London was literally enveloped in flame. The coachman lost all command of the horses, the leaders were twice on the very brink of the stone quarries by the side of the road; and the coach was only prevented from upsetting by the extraordinary attention and exertions of the guard, who led the horses several miles to keep them in the track. The awful flashes of lightning affected the passengers, driver, and guard, as well as the horses, almost to blindness; and it was a considerable time before they recovered the perfect use of vision. On reaching Burford, the inhabitants implored them to stop till the violence of the tempest should subside; but not having to change horses there, the coachman sacrificed safety to duty, and went on. After ascending the hill beyond that town, they were alarmed by the cries of a number of persons in distress; and on approaching nearer, found the Gloucester heavy coach upset, with eighteen passengers, men, women, and children, imploring help in the most piteous terms. A man was in consequence sent back on horseback to Burford for assistance; and chaises came from thence very soon, with a surgeon and other persons, who rendered every aid in their power; but happily no material personal injury had been sustained by any of these distressed people, who were quickly enabled to pursue their journey. After the mail again proceeded, a ball of fire fell in the road, within a few yards of the coach, but providentially without occasioning any damage. It was half-past twelve before they reached Oxford, at which time the tempest had abated; and they finally got to London three hours after their usual period. The same storm seems to have taken a very extensive range. The leaders of one of the Exeter coaches were struck down by the lightning between Bridport and Blandford, when the coachman, leaping from the box to endeavour to prevent ill consequences, broke his leg. And a fire-ball fell upon a barley-mow at Compton, near Sherborne, which it destroyed. The lightning also set fire to a barn, at Hellingsley, Sussex, containing three loads of wheat and 50 quarters of oats, the whole of which, together with two lodges and a stable, were consumed.

CAPTAIN BARCLAY.

A court martial was lately held at Portsmouth, on board the Gladiator, for the trial of captain R. H. Barclay, his remaining officers and men, for the loss of the squadron of British gun-boats on lake Erie. It appeared from the evidence that captain Barclay joined his command with a lieutenant, a surgeon, and nineteen rejected seamen of the lake Ontario squadron; that he dispatched to sir James Yeo an account of the deplorable state of the vessels; and that they were then all blockaded in Amherstburg, where general Proctor's army was stationed, by the American flotilla. He subsequently received reinforcements which increased his force to 150 British seamen, the remainder being Canadians and soldiers. The enemy's force doubled his. Being compelled to sail from Amherstburg to endeavour to open a communication with Long Point, an engagement took place, the result of which is well known, the whole squadron having been taken. Sir James Yeo, in his letter to admiral Warren, states that, in his opinion, captain Barclay was wrong to sail from Amherstburg; in consequence of which this court martial took place. The court pronounced the following sentence: "That the capture of his majesty's late squadron was caused by the very defective means captain Barclay possessed to equip them on lake Erie; the want of a sufficient number of able seamen, whom he had repeatedly and earnestly requested of sir James Yeo to be sent to him; the very great superiority of force of the enemy to the British squadron; and the unfortunate early fall of the superior officers in the action." The court, after great praise of the skill and gallantry displayed by captain Barclay, his officers and men, adjudged them to be honourably acquitted. Captain Barclay appeared with one arm amputated; the other so dangerously wounded as to be suspended in bandages; part of his thigh cut away by a cannon-shot; and five other wounds.

FRANCE.

Paris, Sept. 18.

By an ordinance of the king it is decreed, that all criminals under the age of twenty shall be taken from the various prisons in Paris and the neighbouring departments, and be collected into one prison, over which a director-general shall be appointed. — The celebrated duke de la Rochefoucault has been appointed to this office.—The idea of separating sexes and ages in prisons, and of proportioning the rigour of detention and the severity of treatment to the nature of offences, is undoubtedly most happy, and humanity cannot fail to applaud it; but the project of reforming criminals, of correcting their evil thoughts, of mending their vicious habits, and of impressing them with the desire of a better morality and conduct; this project, we say, is infinitely better: it can only arise in a very experienced mind, and a generous and tender heart; and those who have studied the first experiments, who have followed the details, and who have conceived the possibility and the design of repeating them, and of naturalising them in other climates, assuredly possess the same qualities, and are entitled to the same praises. The English, and particularly the Americans, have made in this respect attempts worthy of admiration, and which are one of the happiest effects of the perfection

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tion of the social art. The work of M. the duke de Liancourt (now duke de la Rochefoucault) describes the methods which have been employed in the United States to restore to morality the hardened offenders who generally occupy prisons, and to introduce insensibly into their souls the seeds of honesty and virtue. That generous patriot, who devoted himself in his travels to the study of wise institutions and useful practices, with a view to enrich his country with them, after having communicated to France the experiments and proceedings of Jenner in vaccination, after having contributed to excite an enthusiasm for this discovery, which he has more than any other person contributed to spread, has also had the idea of trying in France the power of habit and regulation over the passions of men, and of discovering to what extent treatments wisely combined can soften the most refractory and violent dispositions. He was well assured of being seconded in such an undertaking by the wise and benevolent minister, who combines in his great department the establishments both of charity and of prisons, and was equally sure of seeing a project so useful to mankind sanctioned and protected by a wise and humane monarch, who condescends to regard even the lowest classes, and to whom nothing that affects humanity is a stranger.

HATTON GARDEN.

25. On Monday, James George Semple Lisle, better known by the name of major Semple, was brought up, charged with defrauding Henry Grammar, who keeps a cheesemonger's shop in Devonshire-street, Queen-square, of two pieces of bacon and a lump of butter.

Henry Grammar, a boy, was in his father's shop when the prisoner came in; he was positive that the prisoner at the bar was the man; after the prisoner bought the butter and bacon, he left the shop, and witness's mother tied it up and sent him with it. As witness was carrying the parcel home, he met the prisoner waiting for him in Cross-street; the prisoner walked before witness to No. 42, and when he came to the door he pulled the first-floor bell, and gave a double knock at the door, which was opened by the lady of the house. The prisoner walked in, and taking the parcel out of witness's hand, who was standing outside, he bid him go home and bring six-penny worth of eggs, and on his return he should be paid for all, and immediately the door was shut.—Witness went home, and returned again with the eggs; he knocked at the door, which was opened by the lady of the house; he inquired for the gentleman, to whom he delivered the bacon and butter, and she informed him that he did not live there, neither did she know him; that after he came in he inquired for a gentleman, saying Is not this King-street? She informed him it was not; on which the prisoner begged pardon, saying he had made a mistake, and immediately went off. The prisoner regretted that the lady of the house was not present, and also that he was unfortunate in being taken for some other person who bore a strong resemblance to him in every respect; for the truth of which he appealed to one of the officers, Read senior, saying that he was sworn to by several respectable persons at the public office in Bow-street, to have committed an offence, when at the same time he lay in an hospital on the Upper Rhine.—

Other charges have since been brought against the major, which have not yet been determined.

OCTOBER.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

The loss sustained at Washington turns out, upon investigation, to be much greater than was at first imagined. It is ascertained, that immediately prior to the unexpected arrival of our troops, the navy-yard was in the most complete order, and filled with all kinds of naval stores; the store-houses were well built, and intended to have been fire-proof. Their erection, with that of the yard, had cost the American government not less than one million sterling. There were immense quantities of all sorts of timber, oak plank, masts, &c. &c. Of live oak and cedar, there was sufficient to build six sail of men of war; and in one single warehouse sheet copper of different thicknesses, which was rolled in England, and had been purchased by the American government, previous to the present war, for full 300,000*l*. Of canvass there was a stock sufficient to supply at least a seven-years' war: hemp and cordage were also in great abundance, as were pitch, tar, oils, paints, and all other requisites for finishing ships. Close at hand was the only cannon foundery in the United States, with great numbers of cannon, anchors, &c. ready made. The general from whose inspection and report these particulars were minutely ascertained, is a professional judge of the value of this arsenal and its contents, the loss of which to the American government he estimates at three millions sterling.

MURDER.

4. On Tuesday afternoon, a most atrocious murder was committed on Elizabeth Dobbins, a poor washerwoman, residing at Millfield Farm, Millfield-lane, Kentish-town. About three o'clock, James Dobbins, the husband of the deceased, and a turncock of St. Pancras, returned home from his work. On entering a room on the ground floor, he discovered his wife lying on the floor; at a short distance from her he perceived a kitchen poker, which was considerably bent, and covered with blood, having evidently been the instrument with which the wound on his wife had been inflicted. The wretched man immediately lifted up his wife, and placed her on a chair. On examining her head, he found it laid open from her right eye to the back; the skull fractured dreadfully. Life was still remaining, but little hopes of recovery could be entertained. He went out to procure assistance, and found a man in the custody of James Seel, from whom he learnt they had taken him in a field near the spot, belonging to Mr. Thomas Greenwood, on suspicion of having stolen two bundles which he had in his possession. Dobbins communicated the horrible scene he had discovered in his own house, and it was concluded that the prisoner was the murderer. They conveyed him before Mr. Ivers, magistrate in Kentish-town, who investigated the circumstances.—James Seel deposed, that as he was at work at a new well, sinking in Millfield-lane, he saw the prisoner pass him with a bundle under his arm, with which he crossed the foot of Highgate-hill into Mr. Greenwood's field. Suspecting from the cautious mode of his proceeding, that he had not obtained the property honestly, he followed him; and on coming up to him, he found him examining the

the bundle, which appeared to contain wearing apparel. He asked him how he had come by them, and he said he had bought them of a gipsy for 9s. Not satisfied with this account, he took him into custody, and was conducting him towards the road, when Dobbins met them, and informed the witness of the murder of his wife. Dobbins then examined the bundle, and perceived that it contained clothes which his wife had received to wash.—Elizabeth Jones deposed, that she had washed for the deceased part of the clothes contained in the bundle found on the prisoner.—Thomas Oliver, of the Bull and Last public-house, deposed, that two shirts, which were found in the bundle, were his, and had been sent to the deceased by him for the purpose of being washed. In the bundle was also found a bill of clothes washed, which was in the hand-writing of the deceased.—George Hemming, an assistant to Mr. Sandys, surgeon, in Kentish-town, deposed, that having heard of the catastrophe, he went to the premises of the deceased, and examined the wound. She was quite dead, and he had no doubt her death was occasioned by a blow from the poker found by her husband on the floor, or some such weapon.—Mr. M. Vizier, who had also examined the deceased, corroborated this testimony, and produced three pieces of the skull, and also the poker, which was bent and bloody. The prisoner having been previously searched, the contents of his pockets were produced; they consisted of a tobacco-box, and a discharge from his majesty's ship the Gladiator of Portsmouth, of a man named Thomas Sharp, describing him as 5 feet 2 inches and a half high, of a light complexion, and with a mole upon his right cheek. The prisoner, on hearing this part of the charge read, said his name was Thomas Sharp, and pointed out the mole: he neither denied nor affirmed his guilt. Mr. Ivers, under all the circumstances, considering there was little doubt of the prisoner's guilt, committed him to Coldbath-fields prison. The prisoner was dressed in a fustian jacket; he was bound with ropes, and guarded by the constables and the person by whom he was apprehended to the place of his confinement.—The offender is said to be a native of Layton in Essex. He has been long known to the police officers as a notorious character, and was only last session discharged from the New Prison, Clerkenwell, where he had been confined twelve months for a riot. When his time had expired, and he had obtained his discharge, he observed to the turnkey, that when he did any thing again, he would do it capitally. Reid senior, of Hatton-garden, immediately recognised him; when he confessed to him, that after he had committed the murder he was going on his journey to London; but seeing him, he crossed the fields, where he was taken by Seel, the bricklayer. He gave up the jacket he had on when he committed the murder to Reid; it is sprinkled over with the blood of the deceased. [He was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed. When sentence was passed upon him, he replied to the judge, that he hoped the curse of God would fall upon him, and upon his posterity for ever.]

FASHIONABLE SMUGGLERS.

8. The following circumstance took place on Saturday week:—"On the arrival of the Dover mail-

coach at Rochester, on its way to town, the guard was unexpectedly and peremptorily called upon by Sharp, the custom-house officer, to deliver up an official parcel in his care, addressed to the right honourable lord Castlereagh, purporting to be from his grace the duke of Wellington. This the guard, with much fear and reluctance, complied with: it was instantly opened, and found, instead of important dispatches, to contain many small valuable packages of contraband articles, addressed to distinguished persons in this country. Sharp's seizure of course was made, but he allowed the mail to continue its journey."—The ladies of many of our "distinguished persons" are said to have of late cultivated a peculiar taste for these prohibited articles. There has been for some time a story abroad, of the seizure, on the coast, of a carriage and horses belonging to the lady of a high legal character, upon some charge of this description.

FULMINATING BALLS.

14. On Monday, C. Pianca, of Exeter 'Change, was summoned on an information laid against him, for selling to Lavender the officer six fire balls, called "fulminating peas," which being thrown on the ground with force, or pressed by the foot, explode with a great noise. The information was under the act of William, which makes it *5l.* penalty "to sell, or expose to sale, serpents, rockets, or other fireworks."

Mr. Fielding premised, that the act was to prevent the mischief which resulted from fireworks, the preamble stating, that people had lost their lives by "serpents, rockets, and other fireworks." As far as the mischievous quality went, these fulminating peas came within the meaning of the act; but it was a question deserving consideration, whether these balls could be called "fireworks."

Mr. Bankes, optician, Strand, stated, that although unacquainted with Mr. Pianca, he felt interested for an ingenious foreigner, who was at present abroad. He would undertake to prove that these balls or peas could not be called fireworks; and to demonstrate this, the opinions of three counsel had been taken, who stated that the articles did not come within the meaning of the act of William. There was nothing like fire in them, for their explosion would not ignite gunpowder. He would prove this by an experiment. [Here one of the peas was thrown with violence on the ground, which exploded with a flash.]

The magistrate interrupted the experiments, observing, that the flame which they had seen must sufficiently have satisfied their minds. They required no terrible experiments.

Mr. Bankes said that there were various sorts of fire or flame, galvanic, electric, &c.; and according to the present doctrine, the sun itself, which looked like flame and imparted heat, was not fire.

Mr. Fielding observed, that the act did not restrict itself to articles made of gunpowder, for it never mentioned gunpowder—it spoke of "fire-works." It contemplated the *genus generalissimum* of fire—every species of fire that the chemist's power could produce. If these peas produced fire, they came within the act. But how was fire defined? Johnson called it "the igneous element;" and in the present instance the igneous element had

had been elicited—there had been produced an ignited spark. The proof of that fact was enough.

Mr. Colquhoun asked to what use these balls could be turned?

Mr. Bankes replied, that they could be of no use. But to demonstrate the fact that they did not produce an ignited spark, as the magistrates imagined, he wished to try the experiment which he was before going to make, namely, to explode one of the balls surrounded with gunpowder, which explosion would not ignite. The experiment had been successfully tried over and over again, at the Royal Institution, in the presence of sir H. Davy. [Mr. B. then pulled out of his pocket a canister of gunpowder, for the purpose of exploding a ball in the centre of it, to show that its explosion would not ignite powder! but the magistrates would not allow the experiment. Mr. B. however tried it on a smaller scale, by folding about half an ounce of powder in a paper, inclosing at the same time a pea, and then pressed the paper with the foot, when the ball exploded, at the same time igniting the gunpowder, and burning the paper!!]—Mr. Bankes, after having thus refuted himself, stated, that he must give up the defence of the balls; but assured the magistrates, that he felt so convinced of the truth of what he had asserted, that he would willingly have exploded one of the balls in the centre of a barrel of gunpowder!

The magistrates thinking further proof could not be desired, pronounced the party convicted—Penalty *5l.*

POST-OFFICE.

13. Information has for some time been received that it was in contemplation of a gang of thieves to rob the general post-office, and carry off the contents of the iron chest in the receiver-general's office, which frequently contained notes to the amount of from twelve to eighteen thousand pounds. Lavender and Vickery discovered the plan: but the officers of the post-office treated it as impracticable, and even chimerical, every door, place, and lock, being deemed so thoroughly secure, the locks being the best that can be made. There appears to be no doubt, however, that the post-office has been entered, several locks, and even that of the iron chest, opened, the contents examined, but nothing taken out, the booty not being deemed sufficiently large to take away, and that this was all done without the least suspicion or discovery by the officers of the post-office.—Friday was the day appointed to convince Mr. Freeling, Mr. Parkin, and other gentlemen belonging to the post-office, of the possibility as well as the practicability of passing all the locks, including the iron chest, without using any violence. Lavender and Vickery attended at the office for that purpose; and having discovered the gang of thieves who were to have effected the robbery in a quiet manner, they produced the implements that were to have effected the purpose, which they had procured after great exertion and perseverance. The doors being all locked in the most secure manner possible, by and in the presence of the principal officers belonging to the post-office, Lavender and Vickery produced a master key, which passed all the locks leading to the place where the iron chest is deposited in the receiver-general's office, with the greatest possible ease, and they produced another

key, which opened the iron chest without any noise or difficulty. This was thought the most extraordinary, as the key of the chest is never out of the possession of the person who has the care of it, and who is accountable for its contents.

FIRE-ARMS.

21. Last week, as Dr. Saunders, in company with his wife's brother, sir Charles Flint and Mr. Fowler, jun. were on a shooting excursion, near Blundestone, Suffolk, the former carrying a double-barrel gun, had discharged one of them and shot his bird. Being much pleased with the conduct of a favourite dog, he placed his gun upon the ground, resting it against his left arm, in order to caress him; when, dreadful to relate, the dog fondly jumping to receive his attention, touched the trigger, when the whole of the remaining charge entered his arm about two inches below the head of the humerus; and from the resistance of the bone and socket, the expansive force of the shot lacerated all the neighbouring parts, particularly the axillary artery, so as not to be effectually secured: the effusion of blood which followed the accident was immense, and precluded every prospect of saving his life. Sir Charles's servant was the only person near him; he ran immediately to his assistance, when he exclaimed, "Ferrol, I am a dead man; send for Mr. Borrett, of Yarmouth, immediately; tell sir Charles to accept a poor remembrance of me—that dog," (pointing to the dog, who played so principal a part in the tragedy,) "and let me be buried in a decent way at Blundestone." Shortly after he fainted from loss of blood, and was conveyed to his residence a mile distant. When Mr. Borrett arrived, he said to him, "You can be of no use to me." Dr. Girdlestone, Mr. B. and five other professional gentlemen, advised the amputation of the arm at the socket joint, to which Dr. S. submitted. He died in the evening.

DREADFUL ACCIDENT.

28. The neighbourhood of St. Giles's was thrown into the utmost consternation on Monday night, by one of the most melancholy accidents. About six o'clock, one of the vats in the premises of Messrs. Henry Meux and Co., in Banbury-street, St. Giles's, burst, and in a moment New-street, George-street, and several others in the vicinity, were deluged with the contents, amounting to 3,500 barrels of strong beer. The fluid in its course swept every thing before it. Two houses in New-street, adjoining the brewhouse, were totally demolished. The inhabitants, who were of the poorer class, were all at home. In the first floor of one of them, a mother and daughter were at tea; the mother was killed on the spot: the daughter was swept away by the current through a partition, and dashed to pieces. The back parts of the houses of Mr. Goodwin, of Mr. Hawse, and Nos. 24 and 25, in Great Russell-street, were nearly destroyed. The female servant of the Tavistock Arms was suffocated. Three of Mr. Meux's men employed in the brewery were rescued with great difficulty by the people collected to afford relief, who had to wade up to their middle through the beer.—The site of the place is low and flat; and there being no declivity to carry off the fluid in its fall, it spread and sunk into the neighbouring cellars, all of which were inhabited. The bursting of the brew-house walls, and the fall of

of heavy timber, materially contributed to aggravate the mischief, by forcing the roofs and walls of the adjoining houses. The crowd collected was immense. It presented many distressing scenes of children and others inquiring for and lamenting their parents, relatives, and friends. A great number of workmen were employed in clearing away the rubbish, and eight dead bodies were found. One person was dug out alive. Two brothers, of the name of Crick, store-house clerks, in attempting to save some of the property, were severely hurt. Many of the cellars on the south side of Russel-street were completely inundated with beer; and in some houses the inhabitants had to save themselves from drowning by mounting their highest pieces of furniture.—One of the interesting circumstances attending the melancholy event was observable in the anxiety expressed by several gentlemen who were drawn to the spot, to prevent any noise among the crowd, that the persons who were employed in clearing away the rubbish might, in pursuing their work, direct their ears to the ground, in order to discover whether any of their victims were calling for assistance. The caution and humanity with which the labourers proceeded in their distressing task excited a strong interest, and deserve warm approbation.—On Wednesday afternoon, an inquest was held in St. Giles's workhouse, on view of the bodies of the following unfortunate persons:—

1. Eleanor Cooper, 14 years of age, servant to Mr. Richard Hawse, the Tavistock Arms, Great Russell-street.

2. Mary Mulvey, a married woman, aged 30 years.

3. Thomas Murry, aged 3 years, son to Mary Mulvey, by a former husband.

4. Hannah Banfield, aged 4 years and 4 months.

5. Sarah Bates, 3 years and 5 months.

6. Ann Saville, aged 60 years.

7. Elizabeth Smith, a married woman, aged 27.

8. Catherine Butler, a widow, aged 65 years.

George Crick deposed, that he was store-house clerk to Messrs. Henry Meux and Co. Monday afternoon one of the large iron hoops of the vat, which burst, fell off. Witness was not alarmed on that account, as he had frequently seen such accidents occur without being attended by any serious consequence. About half past five in the evening, which was about an hour after the hoop fell off, witness was standing on the platform within three yards of the vat, when, without the smallest previous notice, it burst. He heard the crash; he ran to the store-house where the vat was: he was above his knees in beer; he was shocked at the sight that presented itself; one side of the house, upwards of 25 feet in height, with a considerable part of the roof, lay in ruins. The first object that took his attention was his own brother, who is superintendant under him; he saw one of the men pulling him from under one of the butts that lay on one side; he and one of the labourers were now in the Middlesex hospital in a dangerous way. The height of the vat was 22 feet; it was filled within four inches of the top, and then contained 3555 barrels of entire, being beer that was 10 months brewed; the hoop which burst was about seven hundred weight, which

was

was the least weight of any of 22 hoops on the vat, and seven large hoops, each of which weighed near a ton. When the vat burst the force and pressure was so great that it stove several hogsheads of porter, and also knocked the cock out of nearly as large a vat that was in the cellar or regions below. This vat contained 2400 barrels, all of which but about 800 barrels also ran about. They lost in all between 8 and 9000 barrels. The vat from whence the cock was knocked out ran about a barrel a minute. The vat that burst had been built between eight and nine years, and was kept always nearly full. The vat had an opening on the top about a yard square; it was about eight inches from the wall. Witness supposes it was the rivets of the hoops that slipped, none of the hoops being broke, and the foundation where the vat stood not giving way. The wall which fell was in height about 25 feet, and two bricks and a half thick. The cellar and two deep wells which were in it were full of beer, and all were employed to save what beer they could.

Richard Hawse deposed, that he lived at 22, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, the Tavistock Arms public-house. About half past five o'clock, on Monday evening, witness was in his tap-room, when he heard the crash; the back part of his house was beaten in, and every thing in his cellar destroyed, the cellar and tap-room filled with beer, so that it was pouring across the street into the areas on the opposite side. The deceased, Eleanor Cooper, his servant, was in the yard washing pots at the time the accident happened; she was buried under the ruins, from whence she was dug out about twenty minutes past eight o'clock; she was found standing by the water butt.

The evidence of several other persons being gone through, the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of Died by casualty, accidental, and by misfortune.

The only surviving sufferer by the late dreadful catastrophe at the brewhouse was a girl about seven years of age, who has lost by this accident her grandmother, named Butler, and her mother and brother, named Murray. Having asked her mother to let her go into the street to play, she had that moment left the kitchen of the house in New-street, adjoining the brewhouse, when the vat burst by which her relations were suffocated and immersed in the ruins. [Notwithstanding what passed at the inquest, it is certain the cause of this melancholy accident is unexplained: those who are acquainted with the principles of hydrostatics are fully aware that such devastation could not have been occasioned by the lateral pressure of the fluid.]

NOVEMBER.

TRIAL OF COLONEL QUINTIN.

4. The trial of this officer closed on Tuesday last. There were four charges agains thim:—1. For neglecting and abandoning his duty as commanding officer, and leaving some of the divisions without support, while foraging in the valley of Macoy. 2. For not making such effectual attempts at the battle of Orthes as he ought to have done, by his presence and personal exertions, to co-operate with and support the divisions of his regiment, the 10th hussars. 3. For similar misconduct after the battle of Thoulouse.—4. For general neglect, and allowing

allowing a relaxed state of discipline in his regiment.

In support of these charges much evidence was adduced; but as it was of a description from which we imagine none but military men, and those too on the spot, or possessing the best information, could arrive at a just conclusion, we forbear to detail it. Lieut. Henry Fitzclarence, capt. Howard, capt. Stewart, capt. Fitzclarence, capt. Harding, major Jones, colonel Palmer, (the prosecutor,) colonel Elley, lieut. Eversfield, lord Combermere, lord E. Somerset, and others, gave evidence in support of the charges; a part of which went to show that col. Quintin not only held back his men in action, but also retired himself into the rear; and the rest went to prove that he suffered the men to commit various excesses with impunity.

In his defence, colonel Quintin urged, that he had joined his regiment though in a state of ill-health; that he had received the thanks of the commander of the cavalry for his conduct on the very day to which the 2d charge referred; that it was not his duty to engage with the skirmishers, or to charge with the first file; that there was much youthful eagerness for command in some of the officers; and that he was desirous of diminishing the frequency of corporal punishment in the regiment, as well in furtherance of his own ideas, as in compliance with the desire of the illustrious personage who commanded the regiment, who had ordered that a rigid attention on the part of the officers should be tried as a substitute for corporal punishment.

Several officers gave their opinion in favour of colonel Quintin's general conduct; among them were general Gartwright, general Grant, and the earl of Uxbridge. The latter said, that he considered his behaviour equally exemplary in the presence of the enemy and in the general conduct of his regiment; and mentioned two instances in which colonel Quintin had charged and defeated the enemy with very inferior numbers.

Colonel Palmer replied to colonel Quintin's defence, that such was his manifest want of energy, that lord Combermere had observed that he was unfit to command such a regiment, and attributed it to the colonel's ill-health; that his former good conduct could not establish his character for ever; that though he did not charge colonel Quintin with misbehaviour in the presence of the enemy, yet in effect his conduct was much the same, for it was of little consequence whether it originated in want of courage or want of officer-like feeling; that when the French were advancing upon them, they were left by colonel Quintin without orders or support; that he quitted the front the moment the firing began, and did not afterwards return; that the discipline of the regiment was notoriously relaxed; and that without corporal punishment when in the field, an army would be utterly ruined.

As soon as colonel Palmer had concluded, the court was cleared.

BOW-STREET.—AFRICAN SOCIETY.

5. Mr. Harrison, the secretary, and one of the directors of the African Institution, stated that he had received information that a black boy was confined in chains and otherwise ill treated, and solicited assistance from the office; which was readily granted. Limberick was sent to the house in Long-Acre, where he was informed that the boy

was

was an apprentice to Mr. Denham. Mr. Denham told Limberick that he would shortly bring the boy to the office,—which he did,—and there stated that the boy was his apprentice, that he had brought him from the West Indies, and that he had detected him in several pilfering acts, and he suspected him to have stolen three bottles of wine; and instead of punishing him with charging him with the felony, he had determined on sending him back to the West Indies; but to prevent him from running away he had chained him to a table.—The magistrate told him, a charge against a boy of robbing him would come with a very ill grace, as he had taken the punishment of him into his own hands, and especially the mode of punishment he had adopted of putting the boy in chains; and he must know that as soon as the boy landed in this country he had no power over him as a slave; which Mr. Denham acknowledged.—Mr. Harrison then, as Mr. Denham had stated the boy to be his apprentice, called upon him to produce the indentures, which Mr. Denham did not do.—Mr. Harrison then said, he should take him into the institution; and gave Mr. Denham his card, saying the boy should always be forthcoming to answer any charge whenever he chose to call upon him. Mr. Denham declared he should prosecute him for robbing him, and Mr. Harrison took the boy away with him.

MAIL COACHES.

Saturday week, a coroner's inquest was held before G. Hodgson, esq. at Hammersmith-road, on the body of John Southcombe, of Brattenfleming, Devonshire. The deceased was travelling in a chaise cart, accompanied by his brother, towards London. They were met by three mail coaches, and notwithstanding the hollaing of the deceased, he was run foul of, the shafts broken, and he thrown into the road, and killed by one of the mails passing over his body. The accident happened on the 22d ult. but the inquest was deferred in order to procure witnesses from Bath, &c.—There was a wound on the right side of his forehead, about an inch in length, quite to the bone, but there was no fracture; the right collar bone was broken, as were the three first ribs.—The evidence being gone through, Mr. Hodgson then summed up for the jury. The evidence was of the most conflicting character; but unless they would believe the guard and coachman, and chose to disbelieve all the mass of unquestionable evidence that had been adduced on the other side, there could not be any doubt. One party must have been guilty of the grossest perjury; but he thought it was beyond dispute that the mail coaches were on the wrong side of the road—that they had disdained to attend to any caution, and that they had further violated the law by driving at an unmerciful rate, regardless of the lives and comforts of every body on the road. But such conduct in the drivers of the mail coaches, on that road in particular, had become a crying evil, and was the general complaint of every traveller on the road. He had occasion to go that road very often, and he never met these mails but he was filled with terror.—They totally neglected to observe the side established by law, and scorned to listen to cautions; indeed, because they were employed by government, and were occupied by government business, they acted as

as if they deemed themselves licensed to do what they pleased. The abuse, and a great one it was, would not be corrected till the public took up the business; and he was sure the jury would do their duty. There were three courses for them to pursue: if they disbelieved the guard and coachman, to make a deodand of the horses, &c. the property of Messrs. Waterhouse and co.; to return a verdict of Murder; or of Manslaughter. The widow would have her action against the proprietors. He would not allow the Bath mail coachman, Joseph Akerman, to be examined, because, as he might be affected by the verdict, he ought not to be called on to criminate himself.—The jury almost immediately returned a verdict of Manslaughter against Joseph Akerman, driver of the Bath mail. The deceased, a most respectable farmer, has left a wife, six children, and an infirm mother, to mourn his loss.

[The coachman was indicted for manslaughter, and acquitted.]

POLICE.—HATTON GARDEN.

14. Monday, a genteel-looking man, of the name of John Barnes, was brought up on the following charge:—Joseph Daniel, a baker, of Marchmont-street, Brunswick-square, deposed, that on Sunday, about one o'clock, the prisoner came to his shop, and under pretence of having a dish at the oven, obtained one containing a shoulder of mutton and potatoes; but witness, having some suspicion that it did not belong to him, followed and took him into custody. The prisoner lived at No. 22, in Pindar-street, Lucas-street, New Road. Several gentlemen came forward and gave the prisoner the best of characters, saying that he was of a most respectable family, and that they knew him in his own house when he was in very opulent circumstances—that he had an amiable wife, and a family of six or seven children.—The prisoner acknowledged that he was guilty; but said that he was compelled to commit the crime through the greatest distress, having a sick wife and six helpless children, himself reduced to the lowest distress, being broken down in the world, out of employment, and in a bad state of health; that he had not a bed to lie on, but himself and family were obliged to stretch on the boards, covered with an old torn blanket, nor had he even a stove in the room; that neither he nor his family had broken their fasts since the Thursday before, and this act was his only resource to keep them from starving. The worthy magistrate felt for him, but was obliged to commit him for another examination.

A subscription was made for Barnes, and a considerable sum collected.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Libel upon Jesus Christ.—The king v. Geo. Houston.

14. The attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court upon this defendant, who had suffered it to pass against him by default, on a criminal information, which charged him to be the composer, writer, printer, and publisher of a blasphemous and profane libel on our Saviour and the christian religion, and then set out several long passages from the several parts of a pamphlet called "*Ecce Homo.*" These extracts consisted of arguments against and ridicule of the established religion.

An affidavit by the defendant, who described himself "of Belle-

vue-

vue-place, Kingsland, gentleman," was then put into the hands of Mr. Dealtry, the proper officer.

Lord Ellenborough.—Before whom is the affidavit sworn?

Mr. Dealtry.—Before Mr. justice Bailey.

Ld. Ellenborough.—Upon what was the defendant sworn? How could it be upon the New Testament?

Mr. Brougham, for the defendant, said, that if a person professed any other religion than the Christian, he might still be sworn according to the forms of that religion. If the oath had been informal, he requested time to amend it.

Lord Ellenborough.—It is not informal, sir; it is bad in substance. I remember the case of a woman who said all religions were alike to her; and lord Mansfield repelled her from taking an oath. Are you prepared to suggest, sir, what belief the defendant has, by which he may be sworn?

Mr. Brougham.—My lord, I have no knowledge whatever of the defendant's principles, but what I collect from my brief; and I desire that your lordship will not mix me up with those whose causes it is my duty as an advocate to plead; since whatever the court may say in the spirit of that insinuation I will always repel. I repeat, that I know nothing of the defendant's faith, or want of faith; but, if his affidavit can be amended, I ask of the court delay till it can be so amended.

Lord Ellenborough.—There was no insinuation. Your request imports, that at a future time he may be able legally to take an oath: the court wishes to know how.

Mr. Brougham.—I stated what was required by a regard for my character on a very delicate matter, and only what was due to it after the remark that had been made.—I repeat in the face of this court, that as often as I hear such insinuations, I shall use the first moment and the strongest expressions, distinctly and peremptorily, to repel them. I am here as the retained advocate of the defendant.

Lord Ellenborough said the learned counsel was perfectly correct; he only meant to allude to him as the advocate, and it was quite proper and his duty to obtain delay in order to confer with his client on the matter.

Mr. Brougham.—I shall confer in open court with the defendant. He has heard what has passed; and if he is prepared to state how he can remedy the defect in the swearing, now is the time.

The defendant was proceeding to entreat a day for this purpose; and lord Ellenborough had asked him to point out any mode by which he might be sworn, when Mr. Brougham said he should be able to save the court some trouble, by stating, that the defendant denied being the author of this libel, of which he had confessed judgment as the publisher only.

His affidavit was then read.—He also put in another affidavit, stating that the pamphlet had been very little circulated, and that its arguments were not new, but might be bought in every bookseller's shop, in the works of Voltaire and others, for 13*s.* which was the price of *Ecce Homo.*

The defendant also put in the affidavit of Mr. Joseph Webb, which stated that the pamphlet was printed here in 1797, &c.

The attorney-general.—As long as the judges were sworn to execute their office upon that gospel which the

the defendant had libelled, as long as our legal and other proceedings required the sanction of an oath, as long as the Christian religion was that on the belief of which we built all our consolations here and our hopes hereafter, it would be unnecessary to urge the justice of the present prosecution. The question for the court was, What is the character and quality of the defendant's offence? And if the attorney-general were disposed to present it in the most unfavourable light, he should make use of the defendant's own affidavits. It appeared by the affidavit on the part of the prosecution, that the defendant was in possession of the only copy of this pamphlet, and was applied to by Eaton to furnish him with the instrument of mischief, and to prepare it for the press, by making it as little objectionable as possible, without altering its character, and to incorporate with it new materials furnished by himself; and for the loan of Eaton's name as publisher, the defendant and the printer were to give him 60*l.* per cent. and afterwards divide the profits between them; and that the defendant had acknowledged himself to the printer as the author of the work, had sent in an introduction to it in his own hand-writing, had paid the printer money for executing his task, and had said that he had before published the work in Scotland. It also appeared, that for the loan of Eaton's name the defendant had agreed to give 60*l.* per cent. As to the statement which the defendant had made, that the work had been but little advertised, there was a very good reason for that, for the proprietors of newspapers had had notice, that if they published advertisements of such publication they would be liable to prosecution. But part after part of the work was in fact advertised, although the proprietors of newspapers knew that Eaton was in prison; and the attorney general warned all those who might be in possession of copies of this work now, that if they disposed of them, he should file as many informations as there might be such depositions made.

Mr. Brougham.—"After the passages of the book in question have been read, the criminality of which is admitted by suffering judgment to pass by default, and after the general feeling which has accompanied that perusal, it may appear raher adventurous to attempt to say any thing even in mitigation of the defendant's punishment.—Nevertheless, upon the circumstances of the present case, and referring to what passed before the court when Mr. Eaton was brought up for punishment for publishing the present libel, I do feel confident that the case of this defendant is entitled to your lordship's favourable consideration. The late Mr. Eaton appeared as a misguided enthusiast, who had then been guilty of no positive act of dishonesty, and he came before the court in a state which rendered his surviving for the next three months extremely problematical. He was then actuated by fear, and said he was made the tool of the present defendant, who was the real author of the publication. To call this a dishonest act is to give it a slight name; and although he admitted he was guilty of being concerned in the publication, yet upon this statement the compassion of the court was moved, and he was allowed to depart free. Now all I ask for this defendant is, that your lordship's will view his case with the same eyes with

with which you saw Eaton's, when, labouring under the misinformation you received from him, you allowed him to go free. What are the facts of the present case? Is the defendant the instrument of Eaton?—is he the main plotter, who made Eaton the tool? This is the first question for your lordships to consider; and then how far you will view this man as you viewed Eaton. It appears from the affidavits, that Eaton took in the defendant more than the defendant deceived Eaton. As to the affidavit of Mincham, the printer, he is not a disinterested witness,—a man who by his own confession is equally culpable with Eaton, namely, as an accessary, but who is not brought up here for judgement to-day, he having made his peace, by what means I shall not inquire; he is not here in his own person—he is spared, but by affidavit, in which he seeks to screen himself by throwing the guilt upon another. Have your lordships no evidence but what is liable to suspicion? There is the affidavit of Mr. Webb, in distinct contradiction to the statement of Mincham and Eaton, in two material points,—firstly, to the attorney-general's assumption, that but for the defendant, Eaton would have had no copy of the pamphlet; for it states that Mr. Webb himself had a copy. Then, as to which was the tool of the other. Eaton told the defendant that he was resolved at all hazards to publish the work, and only wanted somebody to revise it. By his own admission, Eaton, (a fanatical infidel, if you please,) an enthusiast, if you will, against religion, resolved, if there was a type to be found in England, (to use his own expression,) to print this work, and in this frame of mind he applied to the defendant. It further appears (for it is not contradicted by Mincham's affidavit) that the work was originally written in French many years ago. But Mincham stated (as far as I could collect from hearing his affidavit read, for I had not the benefit of a previous perusal of it,) that the defendant had represented himself as the author of it. I will not say he has falsely stated this, (although he comes before the court in a suspicious situation,) but he may have been mistaken; and the improbability of the defendant's having so represented himself appears from the pamphlet itself, which, upon its face, professes to be a translation. It is in fact a compilation from the French infidel writers; and Mincham, possibly an illiterate man, and unaccustomed to the distinction between an author and a translator, may have mistaken the defendant's representation of the character which he bore as to the work."

The attorney-general interrupted to say, that it did not appear by the title-page of the part before him that the work was a translation; but the officer of the court was understood to say, that it did so appear by that in his possession.

Mr. Brougham.—"I cannot speak from my own knowledge. Though I have seen, I have never read a single paragraph of the work, except the passages on the record; and am one of the many, many thousands, who would never have seen even these passages, if it had not been for this information. I have now stated the circumstances upon which (by analogy to the case of Eaton) I said I was bold enough to expect the defendant would be visited with slight punishment. It is unnecessary to go into other matters. It has been stated, that the original author or translator in

1799 has been many years dead; and that all these facts were distinctly mentioned to the attorney-general before Eaton's death, when, if untrue, they might have been contradicted by that person. The defendant, after he was aware of the tendency of the publication, used all means to suppress it, and refused large sums for copies of it: he did not advertise it; offered to give up the remaining copies, and to enter into a security that he had kept back none. It was therefore unnecessary in the attorney-general to hold out the threat he made use of; he knows that months ago he received an offer that every copy should be given up. In an additional affidavit, the defendant has suggested the delicate situation in which a publisher stands; and the claims which that gives him to indulgence, should he overstep the observed bounds of legal publication, are manifest. He daily sees, in every bookseller's shop, lying for sale, yet safe and unmolested, works of the most eminent authors, containing the very sentiments and almost in the words of this book. He finds those writings in every library, public and private, throughout the country; in the hands, on the tables, of persons the highest in rank, of the most unimpeached principles, of the most unquestioned and unquestionable respectability. Those distinguished personages he daily sees buying, showing, reading, lending, the books, both in a foreign language and in our own, from which the present is a literal transcript. All this passes without the least notice taken, or risk incurred; and the defendant, in his trade of a publisher or bookseller (I know not which he exercises), is required nicely to balance the scale of danger and safety, cunningly to trace the line which separates what may from what may not lawfully be circulated; and with so many examples before his eyes, of the greatest booksellers and worthiest citizens concurring in the traffic of every species of infidel composition, beyond all risk of legal vengeance, he is called upon to refuse acting in the line of his business, or expose himself to the vengeance of a law whose course he can hardly follow. This is a large book, consisting, as the attorney-general says he has read it, of three hundred and fifty pages. If I were acquainted with it, I might be able to point out in the course of it passages of less ribaldry, and more unexceptionable, than those which have been read, by way of countervailing the libel: but I have already said that my knowledge of it is derived entirely from the record; and that but for this prosecution (I lament to add) I as well as thousands and thousands who must now see it, would never have known of its existence. In concluding, I may be permitted to say one word respecting myself, from the delicacy of my present situation, and after what fell from the court at an early period of the day. Of the book itself, or the principles of the defendant, I know nothing; it is needless to add, that I am merely his retained advocate: but this I will say from my own observation of these canting times, that there are many better christians, as there are truer men, than those who go bawling out their faith in the high places; that we may be sincere, though quiet—devout, though charitable—nay, that a man may look forward to benefit by his piety in the way of reversion, though he may not possess the talent of turning it to present account.

account by making godliness a great gain!

Mr. justice Le Blanc said, that it was not correct to suppose that the defendant's punishment would be apportioned with any reference to the offence of the person alluded to; for, when he was brought up, the attorney-general did not pray judgement against him; and unless the prosecutor did this, the court could not pronounce judgement. That offender was no more, and the court would in charity suppose that, before he died, he saw and repented of his errors. The defendant sinned with his eyes open, against his better conviction, and, for the sake of gain, yielded to lend his efforts to aid the purposes of a man as bad as (or worse than) himself. It was not material whether the defendant was the original inventor, or the translator, or the selector, or had nothing to do with the authorship of the libel; he had read it, and lent his aid to the diffusion of it. What if it had been published many years ago? The poison had subsided, and but for him and his associates might never have been spread again. The defendant furnished the paper for the work; and the court could not be parties to any stipulation to deliver up the remaining copies of it: they were not now destroyed or delivered up: if they had been, it might be taken into the court's consideration in mitigation. As it was, it was the imperious duty of every possessor of a copy to destroy it; and it was not the less his interest so to do; for if after this any copy should be disposed of with or without profit, such act would render the disposer liable to a criminal information.—The sentence of the court was, that the defendant should pay to the king a fine of 200*l.* and be imprisoned in Newgate two years.

17. Two officers of the excise, Haynes and Racey, were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for seven years, for having taken larger sums of money from several victuallers than they had a right to by the law.

Alexander M'Rae, well known for the share he had in De Berenger's Stock exchange fraud, was brought up, and sentenced to be imprisoned one year in the King's Bench.

Early on Thursday morning, the hon. miss Broderick's house was entered by thieves, by means of a lamplighter's ladder, at the window of the first floor; but their movements in the house having awakened the butler, who slept in his pantry, he got up, having partly dressed himself, loaded a pistol with shot, and proceeded very resolutely up the kitchen stairs. On opening the door leading into the hall he saw a tall man coming out of the front dining-room, with a wax candle lighted in his hand; he observed him examining the clock-case in the hall, and while in the act of stooping the butler discharged the pistol at him. There is no doubt that he shot him on the right side of the face, as he saw the robber instantly put his hand to that part. He escaped with all possible speed by the street-door, which he must have previously unfastened. On examining the premises, a quantity of blood was discovered in different parts, particularly near the door. The butler pursued him for some distance, calling for assistance, but received none; it was then about five o'clock. The butler had a full view of the robber, and supposed him

him to be about five feet ten inches high, thinly made, near thirty years of age. He wore a short dark coat or jacket, and had the appearance of a lamplighter. The ladder by which the robber got in was left in front of the house. Information was sent to Bow-street, and Adkins the officer went and examined the premises; he found a hat and shoe, which had been left in the house by the robber in making his escape.

[The man was taken in the hospital at Birmingham, brought to London, and capitally convicted.]

HACKNEY COACHES.—CIRCULAR.

Hackney-coach-office, Nov. 18, 1814.

Sir,—I am directed by the commissioners of hackney-coaches to inform you, that in consequence of the numerous complaints which have been made to them by their inspectors, and also by communications from other quarters, of the very dirty, ruinous, and disgraceful state of many of the hackney-coaches now in use in this metropolis, they have been under the necessity of coming to the following resolutions, viz.:—That, in future, if any complaint shall be made and proved against an owner for suffering his coach to appear in the streets in the condition above described, after the expiration of one month from the date of this letter, he will either have his license revoked, or be deprived of it till he shall have procured a coach fit, in every respect, for the accommodation of the public. This resolution will apply not only to the internal but also to the external state and appearance of your coach. With respect to the horses, no excuse can hereafter be admitted, should they be found not to be of a proper size and strength to perform their work. So many complaints have been made to the commissioners, of cruelty having been exercised towards these animals, and of their miserable and half-starved appearance, which so frequently excite the pity and indignation of the public, that any owner against whom a complaint of this kind shall be made and proved will be considered an unfit person to have a license, and will be deprived of it accordingly:—and if any owner shall employ a person to drive his coach after he has been convicted of wanton cruelty to his horses, he will be considered as countenancing such cruelty, and will have his license taken from him.—I have further to add, that these measures, relating to the bad state of your coach and horses, would have been adopted before, had not the commissioners been aware, that some degree of indulgence was necessary to enable the owners to work their coaches during the late extreme pressure of the times, in consequence of the high price of horse provender; but as this reason does not at present exist, I am directed to acquaint you that the resolutions above mentioned will be strictly enforced.

By order of the commissioners,
M. Gent, Registrar.

SENTENCE ON COLONEL QUENTIN.

19. On Thursday the 10th regiment of hussars was paraded at Rumford, when the sentence of the court-martial, as approved by the prince regent, was read.

It states in substance that the court has found part of the first charge proved; in which it is said, that on the 10th of January, when the regiment was foraging, the colonel did not make proper and timely arrangements to secure the success of the regiment, but neglected and abandoned his duty as

commanding officer, leaving some of the divisions without support or orders when attacked by the enemy.—They honourably acquit him of the second and third charges.—They find the fact stated in the fourth, of a relaxed discipline existing in the regiment when engaged on foreign service, proved; but in consideration of the letter of the duke of Wellington conveying a censure on him for the same, and also in finding from the evidence that there was a want of co-operation on the part of the officers in maintaining the discipline of the corps, the court-martial do not think it necessary to reprimand the colonel on this part of the charges; but they think it their duty to reprimand him on the part of the first charge, which they find to be proved.

The pleasure of the prince regent was then pronounced, which will be seen at length in the following official communication:—

"I am to acquaint you, that his royal highness the prince regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the court.

"His royal highness has further been pleased to consider, that, when the officers of a corps prefer accusations affecting the honour and professional character of their commander, nothing but the most conclusive proof of their charges before a court-martial can justify a proceeding which must otherwise be so pregnant with mischief to the discipline of the army; and that a regard due to the subordination of the service must ever attach a severe responsibility to subordinate officers who become the accusers of their superior. His royal highness, therefore, could not but regret that the officers of the 10th hussars should have been so unmindful of what they owe to the first principles of their profession, as to assume an opinion of their commander's personal conduct, which neither their general experience of the service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts (as appears from their own evidence), could sanction or justify,—and which opinion would appear, from the proceedings, to have been utterly void of foundation, in every instance of implied attack or insinuation upon that officer's courage and conduct before the enemy, as conveyed by the tenour of the second and third charges.

"In allusion to the letter signed by the chief part of the officers, and in which the present proceedings originated, the prince regent has specially observed that, exclusive of the doubt which may be entertained of their capability to form a judgement so much beyond the scope of their experience in the service, it was worthy of remark, that some who have affixed their names to that paper had never been with the regiment during the period in question, and others had never joined any military body beyond the depôt of their corps; and it might thus be deduced, that although the officers have manifested, according to the appropriate remark of the court-martial, a want of co-operation in support of their commander's authority, yet those who have assumed a personal observance of col. Quentin's conduct, and those who, though absent, appear to have acted under a mischievous influence, by joining in an opinion to his prejudice, have all co-operated in a compact against their commanding officer, fraught with evils of the most injurious tendency to the

the discipline of the service: nor did it escape the notice of his royal highness, that this accusation has not been the momentary offspring of irritated feelings, but the deliberate issue of a long and extraordinary delay, for which no sufficient reasons, or explanation, have been assigned.

"In this view of the case (which is not palliated by the very slight censure passed on colonel Quentin upon the 1st charge) his royal highness has considered that a mark of his displeasure towards those officers is essential to the vital interests of the army; and that the nature of the combination against colonel Quentin would call for the removal from the service of those who have joined in it: but as his royal highness would willingly be guided by a lenient disposition towards a corps of officers who have hitherto merited his approbation, and would willingly believe that inadvertency in some, and inexperience in others, had left them unaware of the mischievous tendency of their conduct upon this occasion, his royal highness is averse to adopt such severe measures as the custom of the service in support of its discipline usually sanctions, upon the failure of charges against a commanding officer. Still it is essential that conduct so injurious in its nature should be held forth to the army as a warning in support of subordination; and his royal highness has therefore commanded, that the officers who signed the letter of the 9th of August shall no longer act together as a corps, but that they shall be distributed by exchange throughout the different regiments of cavalry in the service, where it is trusted that they will learn and confine themselves to their subordinate duties, until their services and experience shall sanction their being paced in ranks and situations where they may be allowed to judge of the general and higher duties of the profession.

"The prince regent has been further pleased to observe, that though colonel Palmer did not sign the letter of the 9th of August, he is, nevertheless, by his declared sentiments on the prosecution, and his general concurrence in the opinion of the officers, to be considered in the same light as if he had put his name to that paper, and his royal highness has therefore commanded that he shall also be removed to another corps.—I am, &c.

(Signed) "FREDERICK, commander in chief,

"To the adjutant-general, &c."

DECEMBER.

PRINTING.

1. "Our journal of this day (says The Times of Tuesday), presents to the public the practical result of the greatest improvement connected with printing, since the discovery of the art itself. The reader of this paragraph now holds in his hand one of the many thousand impressions of The Times newspaper which were taken off last night by a mechanical apparatus. A system of machinery almost organic has been devised and arranged, which, while it relieves the human frame of its most laborious efforts in printing, far exceeds all human powers in rapidity and dispatch. That the magnitude of the invention may be justly appretiated by its effects, we shall inform the public, that after the letters are placed by the compositors, and inclosed in what is called the Form, little more remains for man to do,

than to attend upon and watch this unconscious agent in its operations. The machine is then merely supplied with paper: itself places the form, inks it, adjusts the paper to the form newly inked, stamps the sheet, and gives it forth to the hands of the attendant, at the same time withdrawing the form for a fresh coat of ink, which itself again distributes, to meet the ensuing sheet now advancing for impression; and the whole of these complicated acts is performed with such a velocity and simultaneousness of movement, that no less than 1100 sheets are impressed in one hour."

The Times further states that this machine has been invented by a German, whose name is Koenig, and has been constructed under the direction of his friend and countryman Bauer. A succeeding number of the same journal contains the following account of the above machine, by the inventor.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Dec. 8. 1814.

I have been called upon by my friends to give some account of the origin and progress of the invention which has been made use of during the last week for printing The Times and Evening Mail newspapers. I should not have presumed to relate the details of an enterprise which has in it nothing so extraordinary as to excite public attention, and which would scarcely have been noticed had it not been connected with the art of printing; but a confused statement having appeared in several newspapers, and insinuations thrown out that the Editor of The Times had not bestowed the merit of the invention on the rightful owner, it will not perhaps be thought assuming to publish the following facts:—

The first idea relating to this invention occurred to me eleven years ago, and the first experiments were made soon after in Saxony. My original plan was confined to an improved press, in which the operation of laying the ink on the types was to be performed by an apparatus connected with the motion of the coffin, in such a manner that one hand could be saved. As nothing could be gained in expedition by this plan, the idea soon suggested itself to move this press by machinery, or to reduce the several operations to one rotatory motion, to which any first mover might be applied. Its execution was not quite completed when I found myself under the necessity of seeking assistance for the further prosecution of it.

There is on the continent no sort of encouragement for an enterprise of this description. The system of patents, as it exists in England, being either unknown or not adopted in the continental states, there is no inducement for individual enterprise; and projectors are commonly obliged to offer their discoveries to some government, and to solicit encouragement. I need hardly add, that scarcely ever is an invention brought to maturity under such circumstances. The well-known fact, that almost every invention seeks, as it were, refuge in England, and is there brought to perfection, where the government does not afford any other protection to inventors than what is derived from the wisdom of the laws, seems to indicate that the continent has yet to learn from her the best manner of encouraging the mechanical arts. I had my full share in the ordinary disappointments of continental projectors; and after having lost in Germany and Rus-

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sia upwards of two years in fruitless applications, I arrived about eight years ago in England, where I was introduced to and soon joined by Mr. Thomas Bensley, a printer so well known to the literary world that the mention of his name is sufficient.

In this country of spirited enterprise and speculation, it is difficult to have a plan entirely new. Soon after my arrival, I learnt that many attempts of a similar description had been made before mine, and that they had all failed. Patents had been taken, and thousands of pounds sunk, without obtaining the desired result. I and Mr. Bensley, however, were not discouraged by the failure of our predecessors; the execution of the plan was begun; and, as the experiments became very expensive, two other gentlemen, Mr. George Woodfall and Mr. Richard Taylor, eminent printers in London, joined us.

After many obstructions and delays, the first printing machine was completed exactly upon the plan which I have described in the specification of my first patent, which is dated March 29, 1810. It was set to work in April, 1811. The sheet (H) of The New Annual Register for 1810, "Principal Occurrences," 3000 copies, was printed with it, and is, I have no doubt, the first part of a book ever printed with a machine.

The actual use of it, however, soon suggested new ideas, and led to the rendering it less complicated and more powerful. Impressions produced by means of cylinders, which had likewise been already attempted by others without the desired effect, were again tried by me upon a new plan, namely, to place the sheet round the cylinder, thereby making it, as it were, part of its periphery. After some promising experiments, the plan for a new machine on this principle was made, and a manufactory established for the purpose. Since this time I have had the benefit of my friend Mr. Bauer's assistance, who, by the judgement and precision with which he executed my plans, has greatly contributed to their success. The new machine was completed in December, 1812, after great difficulties attending the cylindrical impression. Sheets G and X of Clarkson's Life of Penn, vol. 1. are the first printed with an entirely cylindrical press. The papers of the Protestant Union were also printed with it in February and March, 1813. Sheet M of Aiton's Hortus Kewensis, vol. 5. will show the progress of improvement in the use of this machine. All together there are about 160,000 sheets now in the hands of the public, printed with this machine, which, with the aid of two hands, takes off 800 in the hour. It is accurately described in the specifications of my two patents, dated October 30, 1812, and July 23, 1813.

The machines now printing The Times and Mail are upon the same principle as that just mentioned: but they have been contrived for the particular purpose of a newspaper of extensive circulation, where expedition is the great object.

The public are undoubtedly aware, that never, perhaps, was a new invention put to so severe a trial as the present one, by being used on its first public introduction for the printing of newspapers; and will, I trust, be indulgent with respect to many defects in the performance, none of them being inherent in the principle of the machine; and we hope that in less than two months the whole will be

corrected by greater adroitness in the management of it, so far at least as the hurry of newspaper printing will at all admit.

It will appear, from the foregoing narrative, that it was incorrectly stated in several newspapers, that I had sold my interest to two other foreigners; my partners in this enterprise being at present two Englishmen, Mr. Bensley and Mr. Taylor; and it is gratifying to my feelings to avail myself of this opportunity to thank those gentlemen publicly for the confidence which they have reposed in me, for the aid of their practical skill, and for the persevering support which they have afforded me in long and very expensive experiments, thus risking their fortunes in the prosecution of my invention.

The first introduction of the invention was considered by some as a difficult and even hazardous step. The proprietor of The Times having made that his task, the public are aware that it is in good hands.

Fr. Koenig.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

DYOTT, ESQ. v. DUNNE.

5. This was an action for criminal conversation, to which there was no defence. The plaintiff is a major-general, stationed at Lichfield; and the defendant was once an attorney, but since set up as a surgeon at Bath, where he visited the plaintiff's wife professionally. She is a woman of family, and has three children by the plaintiff, with whom it was proved she had always lived very happily till her meeting with the defendant at Bath. She has a settlement of more than 800*l.* per annum, and 10,000*l.* at her own disposal; and the defendant, being a man of broken fortune, ran away with her; he had been in the habit of riding out with her in her carriage, and in this manner they left Bath together, and came up to London, where the defendant was soon arrested for debt, and is now in prison, the plaintiff's wife being proved to have lived with him ever since in adultery, and to have been let out of the prison by the turnkey at eight o'clock this morning.

The jury, being charged by lord Ellenborough as to the indefensible nature of this case, and the magnitude of the plaintiff's loss, found their verdict for him, Damages, 5,000*l.*

COURT OF CHANCERY.

8. On Wednesday Mr. Shadwell moved, on the petition of the nearest friend of miss Ann Wade, heiress and a ward of chancery, 17 years of age, but possessed of an income of 3,000*l.* a year in her own right, for process of contempt against Charles H. Baseley, son of the rev. Mr. Baseley, and his associates, for breach of an order and injunction issued heretofore to restrain the said C. H. Baseley from prosecuting his illicit courtship with the ward. There were previous and private proceedings before the chancellor, to prevent such unlawful intended union, when the case was discovered approximating to matrimony, and the order prohibited further intercourse, either in person or by letter; but the lover had conveyed a letter through the maid servant to the lady, and had offered a bribe of one thousand pounds to a Bow-street officer for his assistance in gaining possession of her in violation of the order of court. The letter was produced and read; but an obstacle occurred to the motion, on want of proof of

of the hand-writing, which induced the chancellor to direct inquiry to be made for the late school-fellows of Mr. B. to prove the hand-writing, or among tradesmen supplying him with articles of necessaries, from whom the required evidence could easily be found; and the motion was suspended for a few days for that purpose. His lordship regretted this defect, and added that he should show many their error respecting the extent of jurisdiction of this court in such cases, since he felt inclined, on the verification of the charges, to hand over the same as sufficient for a criminal prosecution for conspiracy to the attorney-general; the consequence of a conviction on which would subject the principal and accomplices to punishment more afflicting to the feelings of many persons than imprisonment or transportation, and ordered diligence to be used in proving the hand-writing, and the motion to be brought on as quickly as possible.

SHERIFF'S COURT.

Proceedings before jury on writ of inquiry into damages.

THE EARL OF ROSBERRY v. SIR HENRY MILDMAY, BART.

The earl of Roseberry having brought an action against sir Henry Mildmay, for criminal conversation with his wife, in which he laid the damages at 30,000*l.* judgement had been allowed to go by default, whereupon the writ of inquiry into the damages sustained by the plaintiff, in consequence of which they were now assembled, had been issued.

The attorney-general opened the case with great ability, and proved his case by witnesses; after which Mr. Brougham said, though he stood there outwardly as the advocate for the defendant, he begged they would dismiss from their minds any suspicion that he was about to offer a captious or a cavilling defence. No such thing: such an intention was the furthest from his purpose. He had the happiness, if at that moment he might call it a happiness, to be acquainted not with one only of the three noble houses whose character and feelings and interests were mingled in the present cause, but with all; he might boast the honour of a close intimacy with all of them, and he was proud to acknowledge the profound esteem he felt for all: indeed he now found himself in the distracting predicament, that he knew not for which of them his esteem and his attachment were the greatest. In consequence of that situation, however, in which he stood, and of those feelings which such a situation might naturally be expected to create, he was the more anxious to render what little aid he could give to the gentlemen of the jury, in enabling them to deliver a verdict which might assuage as far as any verdict could assuage, the affliction and sorrow which had been produced by the melancholy transaction then before them. But if they guided themselves by all that had fallen from his learned friend, if they simply trusted to his inflamed and exaggerated statements, heightened by all those powers of eloquence which he so well knew how to employ, they would not satisfy the justice of the case, they would not render that service to all the branches of the three noble houses which was sought for, nor would they render that service to the noble client of his learned friend, which he knew he was alone desirous to obtain. Sir H. Mild-

H. Mildmay entered so completely into the feelings of the noble plaintiff, that he desired they would give him no ambiguous compensation. While, however, they dealt out to the plaintiff those just but moderate damages which the nature of the case required, they were to guard against such heavy and excessive ones, as would carry misery and ruin into one branch of that great house, which would cut off its capital member, and drive him into hopeless exile from his country during the rest of his life. That was a proportion of punishment which he was sure the case itself did not demand, which no one could wish, and which he firmly believed not even the noble plaintiff himself desired. With regard to that noble plaintiff, his instructions bound up his hands, and he was forbidden to utter a word, to breathe a single syllable which might be construed into the slightest allusion to the conduct of lord Roseberry. An advocate knew no feelings but those of his client, and therefore he was silent. Overcharged comments weakened more than they benefited a cause, though nothing was more common than for an advocate to fall into the error of pourtraying a present case, merely because it was a present one, as the most atrocious, the most dreadful, the most horrible, the most abominable, that had ever before been known. Such indiscriminate appeals were most injurious, not only to the general but even to the individual interests of justice; and in the present case the exaggeration was most obvious. They had frequently heard, and those walls had frequently witnessed, cases of atrocity to which the present bore no resemblance. They had seen instances where an individual had devoted his whole life to the undoing of some unwary female, incapable at the same time of love, incapable of any passion but lust, gazing with libidinous eyes round the ornaments of society, and, satiated with indulgence, stinging into activity appetites dull from torpor; real spoilers of female innocence, who added to the zest of guilt the savage delight of triumphing with unmanly exultation over their victims. The records of that court testified to another case, of a man who, for a wager, undertook to accomplish the ruin of a matron; he succeeded, and met the punishment he deserved. Thank God, such cases were indeed rare; but others were not, where the husband was related to the seducer by ties of blood, where the seducer himself was a married man, and thus guilty of a double adultery. Here there was no plighted faith, no blood-relationship, no attempt to palm upon the husband a spurious bastard issue. He begged he might not be misunderstood. He did not mean to deny, because there were none of those aggravations, that therefore there was no guilt; he did not mean to deny that a crime was committed; the record proved the contrary; and if it did not, he should be ashamed if he attempted to delude their common sense by arguing that no criminality existed. But he would say, that when his learned friend extended to the offence of the defendant that extremity of censure which he had applied, and called for that severity of punishment, he performed the very worst service he could to the general cause of justice and morality. He appealed to the jury, whether the attorney-general could have depicted the defendant's conduct in more vivid

vid colours, whether he could have called down ampler damages, if he (sir H. Mildmay) had stood before them a hoary-headed adulterer, practising upon the senses of his victim, allied to the husband by ties of blood, himself a married man, seeking to impose upon the injured party a spurious progeny, and not making the deluded woman even his mistress, but only the minister of his own unnatural and impotent lust. Was that, however, the case of the defendant? Was it not, on the contrary, the very reverse, and without one lineament of resemblance?—He wished, however, that the jury would consider what damages such a case, if it came before them, would deserve, and, deducting the difference from the damages now asked, assign it as an adequate compensation for the one then before them. They had heard the connection which subsisted between the parties: it was one, not of blood, but merely of marriage. The attorney-general, however, characterized the crime of the defendant by the epithet of "multiplied incest," because sir Henry Mildmay had been married to a sister of lady Roseberry, while another sister was married to a brother of the defendant. How his learned friend, with his accustomed accuracy, came to make such an assertion, he knew not, but it did so happen there was no multiplied incest at all. Had sir Henry Mildmay married one sister, and his brother another, and the defendant had seduced the wife of his brother, then indeed there would have been some room for such a phrase. But as to the question of incest itself, his learned friend could not but know, that if a man married his wife's sister after the death of his wife, no incest was committed. Men's feelings were not so repugnant to that species of relationship as to justify his learned friend's expressions, whatever technical and precise distinctions prevailed in the law with respect to it, by which marriages so contracted became null and void, if challenged. The very connexion, however, that subsisted between the defendant and lady Roseberry, became the snare into which they both unhappily fell. When he lost his wife, an amiable and lovely woman, he sought consolation in the company of her sister, who bore a strong resemblance to his departed lady; and it was not very unnatural, though much to be lamented, that love should have arisen out of such a case. It happened that lady Roseberry loved her sister as ardently as her husband had done, and to console him for his loss became a melancholy satisfaction to her. Thus those two young persons, in the height of blood, had by degrees their feelings so excited, their fancies so exalted, that their judgement was laid asleep, and they knew not the awful precipice upon which they stood. He had a right to say their judgement was lulled asleep, for it was even so with lord Roseberry himself, who was free from that greatest of all deluders, self-delusion, and confided in that relationship which had betrayed the defendant, and the unhappy lady, his partner in the offence. They awoke at last from their trance; and if he were permitted, he could produce numberless letters and numerous witnesses, which would prove the agony, the sorrow, the wretchedness which the conviction of their transgression had excited in their minds. He should be asked, perhaps, why, when they discovered their error, they

they did not at once come to the resolution of abandoning it. But that very remedy pre-supposed the offence. Happy had it been for them if any strong necessity, any over-ruling power, had stepped in to check their mad, their infatuated career. He knew but one person in the world who could effectually have done so: but his hands were tied up, and he could not tell the jury who that person was, because he was enjoined not to breathe even a whisper which might affect the conduct of the plaintiff. He could not tell them what effects might have followed from that interposition, if it had been exerted in 1813; what beneficial result might have ensued, if, instead of a conditional veto, a positive prohibition of intercourse between the defendant and lady Roseberry had been pronounced. He deplored, without blaming, that such was not done; he was sorry that some such precautionary measures as were so wisely resorted to between the Tuesday and the Saturday had not been earlier employed; and they would have ensured success. He should not detain them, however, any longer; but only entreat them once more, as men of plain and ordinary understandings, not to separate without looking at the case calmly, dispassionately, and impartially.—They would then be prepared to give such damages as would amply vindicate the character of lord Roseberry, and that was all they had to consider, as men were in the habit of saying, or pretending to say, that in such cases it was not pecuniary damages they required, it was not their wife's dishonour which they wished to coin into money, but their own honour, which they sought to justify.

Mr. Birchall, the under sheriff, then proceeded to sum up the charge to the jury, which he did very summarily; when the court was cleared of strangers, and the jury, after deliberating for nearly two hours, delivered a verdict, through their foreman, sir Nathaniel Conant, for the plaintiff—Damages, 15,000*l.*

ADMIRALTY SESSIONS.

Tuesday morning, at 11 o'clock, the admiralty sessions commenced at Justice Hall, Old Bailey, before sir Wm. Scott, justice Bailey, and baron Graham, for trial of offences committed on the high seas; when Wm. Donevan, otherwise Wm. Hamilton, a natural-born subject of this kingdom, was arraigned at the bar, charged with having deserted from his majesty's ship Proserpine, on board of which he was a seaman, and being afterwards, on the capture of the said frigate by a French frigate, discovered to be in the service of the enemy. It appeared, that on the Proserpine being carried into the harbour of Toulon, Donevan wearing a French dress, accompanied by some Frenchmen, came on board the Proserpine, and wished to entice several of the witnesses to enter into the service of the enemy. Donevan's defence was, that he was forced into the service: and the learned judge, after having summed up the whole of the evidence, left the prisoner's case to the jury, who returned their verdict, that Donevan was guilty —Death.

Cueden, Ponjang, Moodie, and Sooloo, received sentence of death, for the wilful murder of Antonio de Casta, on board the Governor Raffels East Indiaman, on the high seas, within, &c.—[They were executed on the following Thursday.]

PRO-

PROPERTY TAX.

ST. IVES, HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

20. On Thursday last this town was thrown into a very serious ferment, by the commissioners of the property tax (yielding to the suggestion of the inspector) notifying a considerable intended advance in the usual assessment on property. When it became generally known for what purpose this meeting of the commissioners was held at the Crown inn, more than three hundred persons assembled, who, rushing themselves into the commissioners' room, seized the inspector, and forced him out through the glass window into the yard, by which he was considerably cut and bruised. The tumult increased so much without side, that the officer only effected his escape from this popular resentment by privately passing through several neighbouring houses. The people then proceeded to the inspector's house, the windows of which they instantly destroyed. The commissioners, we understand, at length appeased their fury, by a declaration that no rise of the tax should take place for the present.

QUEEN-SQUARE SWINDLERS.

23. Thomas Nott, alias John Smith, alias William Cotteril, was further examined on Tuesday, on the charges of swindling and robbery preferred against him, on which occasion an office full of new complainants appeared, and many new charges were made. A turner from the Borough said that while the prisoner was living in the Kent-road, carrying on the trade of dentist, this person also observing that he had understood Nott to have been originally a barber, he had received an order to send in sundry goods, with the bill, as they would be paid for immediately. A boy carried the articles, from whom Nott contrived to get them, on pretence of seeing whether they were right, and he then said that the master must call for the money. He called in vain, never being able to see Nott; and soon afterwards the prisoner left that residence without paying any one. He also traced Nott to Lock's-fields, Walworth, where the business of dentist was changed for that of fortune-telling! The master-magician, however, soon took another flight, and, as usual, assumed another calling; for when he next met the prisoner he was discovered living at the City-road terrace, where he was charged with stealing sheets, having, as was customary with him, three or four women about the house to contribute to his domestic comforts. The prisoner said that he had just triumphed over many difficulties, and that he was now going on most prosperously. He was carrying on business in the city as a money agent, &c. and had an office in the Bury-chambers, St. Mary Axe. He then handed a large card, which contained his address and profession on one side, and on the other, a long notification to the public, nobility, gentry, &c. wanting either to borrow or lend money. Amongst other choice morsels it is said that Mr. Nott, who had been long engaged in such transactions, had established an unquestionable reputation, so that he could now command money to any amount, and had no connection whatever with any other person, especially any of the vile gangs of common advertising money-lenders who were about the town preying upon the public, by defrauding the honest and unwary tradesman

tradesman who might be in temporary distress. He would undertake to raise money to any amount, at the moderate rate of five per cent. but he observed the utmost secrecy, and required its observance; and the climax was completed by the following conclusion:—"No person, whose views are not strictly honourable, need think of applying to Mr. Nott!" The defrauded turner expressed himself delighted with Mr. Nott's prosperity, as he would be good enough to pay his little bill, as well as all those small accounts which he had forgotten to pay on precipitately leaving Harpur-street, Kent-road, and thereby refute the rude slanders of the neighbourhood. But he laughed at the idea of paying. Mr. Nott had turned land-surveyor, in Park-lane, after which the turner lost him till his apprehension.—Mr. Hoffman, of the Strand, stationer, received an order from the prisoner a few months ago, (he then having a counting-house at No. 19, Rolls buildings, Chancery-lane, and calling himself a land-surveyor,) for books, stationery, &c. Mr. H. sent the goods to the amount of 8*l.* but not liking the prisoner's high talk, he desired the boy not to leave the articles without the money. Nott, however, wheedled the boy out of the goods, since which Mr. H. could never get a farthing.—A letter was received from a lady by the magistrate, stating that the real name of the prisoner who had been examined under that of Thomas Nott was William Cotteril; that he had a mother and sister in Cumberland-row, New-road; and that previously to turning swindler, which he had now been for a long time, he pursued a very humble calling (hair-dresser, it was said,) to which he had been originally bred. She declined mentioning her name, being convinced that the consequence would be the robbery of her house within a week by some of the gang.

Mr. Colquhoun was astonished at the unparalleled depravity, effrontery, and impudence of the prisoner, who even now evinced not the least feeling when he was trembling on the very edge of the gallows. His scheme of depredation and fraud appeared to have been at work in almost every parish in and about London, and no artifice was thought too low—no trick or mask too degrading—to realize its object. The prompt manner in which gentlemen and tradesmen had come forward to develop the infamous character of the prisoner, when they had no hope of recovering any thing, did them infinite credit.—Committed for further examination on Monday next.

ROBBER SHOT.

The shop of Mr. Arlett, the poulterer, of Great Mary-le-bone-street, having been repeatedly robbed, he had lately taken to sleep in a parlour adjoining his shop, to protect his property. On Friday morning, between three and four o'clock, Mr. Arlett was awakened by a noise, which induced him to get up, and which he found proceeded from the shop. On examination, he saw that the glass over the shutters had been forced open, and a man then in the act of taking turkeys out of the window. Mr. Arlett, being armed with a loaded pistol, presented it at the robber, discharged it, and seeing him suddenly disappear from the window, had no doubt but that he had shot him. The report of the pistol alarmed the neighbourhood. A coachman going home near

near the spot at the time, saw two men running away. The watchmen in the neighbourhood pursued them; and there is no doubt but that the fellow who was taking the turkeys had an accomplice, who was leading him after he was wounded, and on being pursued closely ran off, and succeeded in making his escape, leaving his companion to his fate, whom the watchmen came up with, and finding him very much wounded in his head, face, &c. conveyed him to the Middlesex hospital, where his wounds were dressed, but he was not considered out of danger. [He afterwards died of his wounds.]

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 14, 1813, to December 14, 1814.

Christened	Males 10313, Females 9857	In all, 20,170	Buried	Males 10287, Females 9496	In all, 19,783

Increased in Burials 2461.

Died under 2 years	5845	20 and 30 -	1268	60 and 70 -	1747	100 - 1	108 - 1
Between 2 and 5	2038	30 and 40 -	1678	70 and 80 -	1343	101 - 1	111 - 1
5 and 10	770	40 and 50 -	1950	80 and 90 -	592	102 - 1	
10 and 20	649	50 and 60 -	1810	90 and 100 -	88		

DISEASES.					
Abortive, Still born	685	Fevers of all kinds	909	Pleurisy	19
Abscess	71	Fistula	5	Quinsy	6
Aged	1774	Flux	10	Rash	1
Ague	2	French Pox	12	Rheumatism	11
Apoplexy and sud denly	335	Gout	53	Scurvy	8
Asthma	952	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	12	Shingles	1
Bedridden	1	Grief	1	Small Pox	638
Bile	9	Head-ache	2	Sore Throat	6
Bleeding	21	Headmoldshot, Horse-shoe-head, & Water in the Head	421	Sores and Ulcers	11
Bursten & Rupture	25	Imposthume	3	Spasm	33
Cancer	81	Inflammation	1008	St. Anthony's Fire	4
Chicken Pox	1	Influenza	2	Stoppage in the Stomach	25
Childbed	216	Jaundice	57	Surfeit	2
Colds	28	Jaw Locked	5	St. Vitus's Dance	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	2	Lethargy	2	Swelling	1
Consumption	4829	Livergrown	27	Teeth	406
Convulsions	3418	Lunatic	225	Thrush	68
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	864	Measles	817	Tumor	4
Cramp	1	Miscarriage	1	Tympany	1
Croup	85	Mortification	224	Water in the Chest	35
Diabetes	1	Overgrown Head	1	Worms	1
Dropsy	782	Palpitation of the Heart	6	CASUALTIES.	
Eaten by Lice	1	Palsy	149	Bit by a mad Dogs	2
Evil	5			Broken Limbs	4

Bruised	4
Burnt	35
Drowned	111
Excessive Drinking	10
Executed*	10
Found Dead	24
Fractured	2
Frighted	3
Frozen	2
Killed by a Stag	1
Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	83
Killed themselves	24
Murdered	5
Over-joy	1
Poisoned	5
Scalded	6
Shot	3
Smothered	1
Starved	1
Suffocated	11
Total	348

* There have been executed in the city of London 17; of which number 10 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS

BIRTHS in the year 1814.

January 8. The countess of Galloway, of a son.

9. Viscountess Gage, of a son and heir.

Viscountess Andover, wife of the gallant captain Digby, of the royal navy, of a still-born daughter.

11. Countess of Ilchester, of a daughter.

19. The marchioness of Ely, of a son and heir.

21. The lady of sir George Prescott, bart., of a daughter.

The lady of sir Edward Synge, of a daughter.

24. The lady of sir T. Winnington, bart., of a son.

30. The lady of sir Grey Skipwith, bart., of a son.

Feb. 8. Lady Mary Markham, of a son.

9. The lady of Henry Irwine, esq. jun., of a son and heir.

17. Right honourable lady Mary Long, of a daughter.

— Lady Caroline Wrottesley, of a daughter.

March 4. The wife of Mr. James Pickworth, of two boys, and on the 6th of two more boys.

12. The wife of the rev. Charles Parr Burney, of a daughter.

19. Lady Melgund, of a son.

23. The lady of sir George Clerke, bart., M. P., of a daughter.

27. Lady Morpeth, of a son.

April 3. Countess of Albemarle, of a son.

— Honourable Mrs. Werninck, of a son.

12. Lady William Somersett, of a daughter.

14. The Countess of Elgin, of a son.

18. The lady of sir Thomas Acland, of a daughter.

21. The lady of sir Francis Burdett, of a daughter.

25. The countess Delaware, of a son and heir.

May 5. The marchioness of Queensberry, of a daughter.

8. The countess of Mansfield, of a daughter.

26. The duchess of Roxburgh, of a daughter.

27. The honourable Mrs. Dundas, of a daughter.

29. Lady Knatchbull, of a daughter.

June 5. Mrs. Howley, the wife of the bishop of London, of a son.

7. Lady Charlotte Drummond, of a son.

11. Lady Littlehales, of a daughter.

13. The lady of the rev. H. J. Wollaston, of a son.

14. Lady Amelia Kaye, of a son.

17. The lady of major-general sir H. M. Vavasour, of a son.

July 10. Right honourable lady Sarah Murray, of a daughter.

28. The countess of Ashburnham, of a daughter.

August 2. The wife of Charles Clement Adderley, esq. of a son and heir.

13. The duchess of Buccleugh, of a daughter.

20. The lady of lieutenant-general sir Alexander Hope, K. B., of a son.

23. Viscountess Pollington, of a son.

24. Viscountess Anson, of a daughter.

September 6. Right honourable lady Isabella Anne Brydges, of a son and heir.

25. Countess Cowper, of a still-born child.

October 21. The wife of George Baker, esq., of a daughter.

22. The wife of Samuel Merriman, M. D., of a son.

24. The

24. The lady of J. Marryatt, esq., M. P., of a daughter.

— The lady of his excellency sir Gore Ouseley, bart., of a daughter.

25. The duchess of Orleans, of a son.

November 1. The countess of Bristol, of a son.

3. The lady of sir William Pole, bart., of a daughter.

4. The countess of Lindsey, of a son and heir.

20. Viscountess Jocelyn, of a daughter.

25. The countess of Clonmell, of a daughter.

27. The lady of sir Orford Gordon, bart., of a daughter.

December 3. The wife of major-general Beatson, of a daughter.

15. The lady of sir O. Mosley, bart., of a son.

23. Lady Bridport, of a son and heir.

— Lady Elizabeth Courtnay, of a son.

26. The marchioness of Donegal, of her seventh son.

MARRIAGES in the year 1814.

January 6. Sir John Chandos Reade, bart., to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late sir David Murray, and niece to lord Elibank.

10. The honourable A. Stuart, to Sophia Isabella, eldest daughter of George Lennox Conyngham, esq.

12. Alexander Goldsmid, esq., to Eliza, eldest daughter of Israel Israel, esq., of St. Mary Axe.

15. Richard Lewis, esq., to Emily, youngest daughter and coheiress of the late William Osborne, esq.

25. Henry Peters, esq., to Caroline Mary Susannah, eldest daughter of John Campbell, esq.

31. John Chanter, esq., to Julia, daughter of John Roberts, esq.

— Right honourable C. Arbuthnot, M. P., to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late honourable H. Fane.

February 1. Rev. Frederick Pleydell Bouverie, to Eliza, daughter of the late sir J. Sullivan, bart.

3. William Burton, esq., to Mary, daughter of the late S. Skey, esq.

4. John Blachford, esq., to Mary Anne, daughter of the right honourable Henry Grattan.

8. J. C. Herries, esq., to miss Sarah Dorrington, of Queen-square, Westminster.

15. Henry Moore, esq., to Lucy, daughter of the late Dr. Currie, of Liverpool.

16. Right honourable Thomas Wallace, M. P., to Jane, viscountess Melville.

22. David Ker, esq., to lady Selina, daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

March 7. Earl of Portsmouth, to the eldest daughter of John Hanson, esq.

8. Captain John Duff Markland, to Helen, eldest daughter of L. D. G. Tregonwell, esq.

21. Lieutenant R. Garrett, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of lord E. Bentinck, brother to the late duke of Portland.

23. T. Nicholson, esq., to Anne Elizabeth, second daughter of William Smith, esq.

29. Rev. Charles Tower, M. A., to Fanny, fourth daughter of George Hibbert, esq.

April 7. William Jones, esq., to Jane, second daughter and coheiress of the late Barrett Bowden Jordan, esq.

9. Sir S. Haughton Clarke, bart., to Catherine Haughton,

second daughter of J. H. James, esq.

9. Marquis Spenetto, to the eldest daughter of Richard Campbell, esq.

10. Hamilton Fitzgerald, esq., to lady Charlotte Rawdon, sister of earl Moira.

16. J. H. Smyth, esq., M. P., to Elizabeth Anne, third daughter of the duke of Grafton.

21. Joseph Ashton Watson, esq. to the only surviving daughter of the late Henry Pilkington, esq.

— T. G. Babington, esq., to the honourable Augusta Julia, fourth daughter of sir Gerard N. Noel, bart.

May 3. P. Warren, M. D., to Penelope, eldest daughter of the rev. W. Davies Shipley, dean of St. Asaph.

10. Theodore baron D'Uklanski, to Emma, eldest daughter of Robert Eyre, esq.

17. Lieutenant-colonel G. B. Fisher, brother to the bishop of Salisbury, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas Rawlins, esq.

24. Lord Folkestone, to the daughter of lady Mildmay.

26. Colonel Huddlestone, to Harriet, second daughter of the late rev. S. Farewell.

June 2. J. H. T. Stapleton, esq., captain in the 3d guards, to the honourable miss Fitzroy, eldest daughter of the late lord Southampton.

16. C. G. Cavendish, esq., youngest son of lord G. H. C., to lady Catherine Susan Gordon, eldest daughter of the earl of Aboyne.

22. The right honourable general lord Combermere, to miss Greville.

28. J. James, esq., to lady Emily Jane Stewart, daughter to the earl of Londonderry.

30. W. G. H. Medhurst, esq., to Fortunata Paula Seraphina Medhurst (late Poppalardo), they having been married before in Sicily.

July 19. Rev. Henry Pole, to Anne, second daughter of J. Blagrave, esq.

23. J. B. Lennard, esq., second son of sir Thomas L., bart., to Dorothy Anne, second daughter of sir Walter Stirling, bart.

— Philip Lake Godsal, esq., to Grace Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. serjeant Best.

August 1. Thomas Wright, esq., to the countess St. Martin de Front, esq.

— Mr. Thomas Stedman, to miss Charett, first cousin to the duchess of Roxburgh.

2. Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, bart., to miss M. E. Egerton.

4. Lord Clinton, to Frances Isabella, eldest daughter of W. S. Poyntz, esq.

6. Mr. Edward Foss, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Peter Martineau, esq.

— Lord Fitzroy Somerset, to Emily Harriet, second daughter of the right honourable W. W. Pole.

8. Honourable William Ponsonby, to lady Barbara Ashley Cooper, only daughter of the late earl of Shaftesbury.

11. The earl of Cavan, to Lydia, second daughter of the late William Arnold, esq.

21. George Bartley, esq., to miss Smith, of Drury-lane theatre.

23. The earl of Morton, to Susan Elizabeth, grand-daughter of the late hon. Mr. justice Butler.

27. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, to her royal highness the dowager princess of Palms.

September 1. Right honourable Frederick Robinson, to lady Sarah Hobart,

Hobart, daughter of the earl of Buckinghamshire.

3. The earl of Clancarty, to mad. Marie Isabelle Hay.

10. Sir George Jackson, bart., to Mrs. Day, daughter of William Woodville, esq.

16. Edmund Henry Barker, esq., to miss S. E. Manley, daughter of the late John Manley, esq.

October 13. Captain W. H. Mulcaster, R.N., to Sophia, youngest daughter of the late colonel Van Cortlandt.

15. Captain Frederick Hunn, R. N., to Emma, only daughter of vice-admiral Pickmore.

20. Robert Warden, esq., to Helen, eldest daughter of sir Archibald Dunbar, bart.

25. Rev. Edward Warren, to Eliza, youngest daughter of James Badham Thornhill, esq.

— John Travers, esq., to Maria, third daughter of the rev. Dr. Lindsay.

November 3. Rev. William Homer, to Sarah, eldest daughter of Edward Homer, esq.

10. Thomas Edward Dicey, esq. to Anne Mary, youngest daughter of James Stephen, esq., M. P.

17. George Raikes, esq., to Marianne, eldest daughter of Isaac Currie, esq.

— T. A. Ward, esq., to Anne, second daughter of S. Lewin, esq.

December 3. John Morgan, esq., to Mary, daughter of John Nichols, esq.

— J. P. Morier, esq., to Horatia, eldest daughter of lord Hugh Seymour.

10. Honourable T. Erskine, third son of lord Erskine, to Henrietta Eliza, only daughter of Henry Trail, esq.

12. Richard Paul Jodrell, esq., to Amelia Caroline King, daughter of the earl of Kingstone.

17. Rev. G. S. Crompton, to Clara, daughter of the late Richard Down, esq., banker.

19. J. Jones, esq., to Louisa, youngest daughter of Peter Moore, esq.

27. Honourable Henry Charles Howard, heir to the dukedom of Norfolk, to lady Charlotte Gower, eldest daughter of the marquis of Stafford.

DEATHS in the year 1814.

January 2. Thomas Lowten, esq., clerk of the Nisi Prius court.

6. Edward Harwood, esq., son of the late Dr. Harwood, well known in the literary world.

8. Rev. Tilly Walker, A. M., vicar of Mears Abbey.

9. Donald Smith, esq., formerly lord provost of Edinburgh.

11. General sir Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general of the ordnance.

— Rev. Michael Kearney, D.D., former senior fellow and professor of history in the university of Dublin.

15. Lieutenant-colonel Aubrey, one of the oldest majors in the army, having been appointed to that rank in June 1783.

20. Dr. Duncan, minister of the Scots church, Peter-street, Golden-square.

21. Lady Maria Hamilton, eldest surviving daughter of the marquis of Abercorn.

24. G. Gregory, esq., rear-admiral of the red.

27. J. Hill, esq., brother of sir Rowland Hill, K. B.

28. Sir Richard Neave, in his 84th year.

February 2. Rev. C. R. Herbert, brother to the earl of Carnarvon.

5. The countess dowager of Home.

7. General Ralph Dundas, governor of Duncannon fort.

— John Greenwell, esq., 40 years in the East India company's service.

8. Lieutenant-general sir Charles Ross.

14. George de la Poer, earl of Annesley, only remaining son of the late earl.

25. In his 82d year, rev. James Andrew Milnes, LL.D.

March 1. The right honourable lady Lucy Taylor, daughter of earl Stanhope, and niece of the late right honourable William Pitt, greatly regretted by all who knew her.

— Sebastian Fridag, esq., his Prussian majesty's consul-general.

4. Sir John Douglas, lieut.-colonel of the royal marines.

6. Rev. Edward Giddy, senior magistrate for the county of Cornwall.

8. Alexander Cummins, esq., F. R. S., celebrated for his skill in mechanics.

18. The right honourable Georgiana, countess dowager Spencer.

20. Rev. William Peters, rector of Knighton, Leicester.

21. The rev. William Clarke, one of the minor canons of St. Paul's.

22. Edward Wigram, esq., lieutenant-colonel of the West London militia.

25. In his 86th year, the right honourable Neil, earl of Roseberry.

27. In her 83d year, the duchess dowager of Leinster.

— Lady Amelia, only daughter of the earl of Grosvenor.

28. Thomas Thornton, esq., author of the "Present state of Turkey."

April 2. Mrs. Mary Bell, sister of the rev. Dr. Bell, prebendary of Westminster.

2. Sir Horace Mann, M. P. for Sandwich during five successive parliaments.

6. C. T. Cobb, esq., second surviving son of S. C. esq., banker.

12. In his 88th year, the venerable Dr. Charles Burney.

18. The right honourable Sarah Lady Caher, mother of the present lord Caher.

May 3. D. Bolton, esq., many years preceptor to the queen and princesses.

5. Maria Grace, youngest daughter of the late George Hay, esq.

10. Lieutenant-colonel Collier, son of the late vice-admiral sir G. C.

12. The rev. Humphrey Aram Hole, vicar of Okehampton.

13. George Augustus Rochfort, earl of Belvidere.

16. In St. Clement's alms-house, dame Mary Anastasia Pryce, widow of the late sir Edward Manley Pryce, bart.

22. Rev. Joseph White, D. D., canon of Christ-church, and Hebrew professor in the university of Oxford.

25. Rev. James Pickburne, author of an excellent treatise on the English verb.

26. Rev. Henry Foster, a very popular preacher in the church of England.

28. The right honourable William Eden, baron Auckland.

29. Josephine, the discarded wife of Bonaparte, and mother of prince Eugene Beauharnois.

31. Sir Nash Grose, late one of the judges of the court of King's Bench.

June 3. In her 94th year, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of sir Christopher Musgrave, bart.

4. Lord

4. Lord viscount Lascelles, eldest son of the earl of Harewood.

6. The earl of Sandwich.

7. Eliza, wife of the honourable Peter Boyle Blaquiere.

13. John Ley, esq., deputy clerk of the house of commons.

15. In his 85th year the rev. Benjamin Dawson, LL. D., rector of Burgh in Suffolk.

21. Mr. John Stockdale, the late proprietor of The New Annual Register.

22. Baron Minto, late governor-general of India.

29. Mary, viscountess Wentworth.

30. The wife of Peter Digges Latouche, esq.

July 7. In his 92d year, Mr. P. Bower, arch-bedel of the university of Oxford, an office which he held 70 years.

9. Right rev. Dr. Delany, titular bishop of the united dioceses of Kildare and Loughlin.

10. W. G. Davies, esq., son-in-law of lord Robert Seymour.

12. Miss Margaret Fordyce, daughter of the late Dr. George Fordyce.

15. Mrs. Anne Henderson, at the great age of 103.

18. Miles Peter Andrews, esq., M. P. for Bewdley since 1790.

20. Sir Beaumont Dixie, bart., of the R. N.

25. Mr. Charles Dibdin, the celebrated song-writer.

26. Richard Down, esq., one of the most respectable bankers of London.

29. Rev. Thomas Wintle, B.D., author of several very valuable works connected with scriptural criticism.

August 6. In his 69th year, Walter Young, D. D. and F. R. S. E.

10. Charles Mayo, esq., attorney at law.

12. The wife of John Adams, esq.

14. Aged 85, Edward Hussey Delaval, esq., author of several learned works, and of some important discoveries in the science of optics.

15. The right honourable Mary Andalusia, baroness of Rendlesham.

17. Sir John Pollen, bart.

22. Daniel Isaac Eaton, who had in his eventful life been prosecuted 8 times by the attorney-general.

24. Her grace the duchess of Buccleugh, a short time after confinement.

30. Sir Peter Parker, captain of H. M. ship Menelaus, killed in action.

September 8. Her majesty the queen of the two Sicilies, sister of the late unfortunate queen of France.

12. Major-general Ross, while attacking the Americans at Baltimore.

15. J. Roper Chambers, esq., son of sir Samuel C., of Bredgerhouse, Kent.

22. Sir Erasmus Burrows, bart. He was the 17th baronet in the family.

23. The right honourable Thomas Egerton, earl of Wilton.

29. The rev. Thomas Howes, rector of Mourning-Thorpe, a considerable writer in the Trinitarian controversy.

October 2. In her 74th year, Sarah, countess of Denbigh and Desmond.

11. The rev. Robert Boucher Nicholls, LL. D., rector of Stoney-Stanton.

13. Lady Monro, widow of sir Alexander M.

— Rev. G. Hodgkins, many years dissenting minister at Stoke Newington.

16. Rev. Nathaniel Jennings, 46 years minister to the independent congregation at Islington.

20. Mr. Philip Astley, of the royal amphitheatre, Westminster.

24. Robert Manning, esq., of Hackney.

30. Maria, daughter of T. Anguish, esq., late accountant-general of the high court of chancery.

31. The right honourable Elizabeth, baroness Conyngham.

November 10. Sir Busick Harwood, vice-master of Downing college.

14. Thomas Mullett, esq., an eminent American merchant: and a fortnight before, his son-in-law, J. Tobin, esq., in the West Indies.

16. The most noble John, marquis of Bute.

18. The right honourable Elizabeth, baroness Kensington.

21. Archibald Maclaurin, esq., professor of geography and history at the royal military college, Bagshot.

22. The right honourable lady Georgiana Leslie, youngest daughter of the earl of Rothes.

29. Anthony James Radclyffe Livingston, earl of Newburgh.

30. Found dead in his chambers, after having been missed three months, John Hinckley, esq.

December 9. By shooting himself, the right honourable Thomas lord French.

10. Rev. John Eveleigh, D. D. provost of Oriel college.

13. Aged 79, the prince de Ligne.

19. The lady of sir Henry Oxenden, bart., fifth daughter of the late lieutenant-colonel Graham.

24. Mrs. Fortesque, mother of viscount Clermont.

27. The notorious Johanna Southcott, who for a long time practised on the credulity of multitudes of the lower class, and even upon some of the clergy who were so ignorant of their Bible as to believe this impostor, or at least infatuated woman, a prophet.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1814.

Carlton-house, Nov. 25, 1813. The honour of knighthood conferred on George Nayler, esq., genealogist and blanc coursier herald of the order of the Bath, and York herald.

Ordnance-office, Feb. 1. Lieut.-gen. sir Hildebrand Oakes, bart., lieut.-gen. of the ordnance, vice Trigg deceased.

Foreign-office, Feb. 5. George Henry Rose, esq., envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the king of Bavaria.——— James, esq., secretary to the legation.

Downing-street, Feb. 15. Lieut.-gen. sir James Leith, K. B., captain-general and governor in chief in and over the Leeward islands in America.

John David Macbride, D. C. L., and principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, the lord almoner's reader in Arabic, vice Ford deceased.

Whitehall, March 1. Serjeant MacMahon, keeper of the rolls in Ireland.

Carlton-house, March 7. Sir Charles Cockerell, of Seasoncote, bart., sheriff for the county of Gloucester, vice Holder.—T. P. Phipps, of Compton, esq., for Sussex.

Carlton-house, March 10. Sir W. Garrow, knt., his majesty's attorney-general, chief justice of Chester.

Foreign-office, March 21. Mr. Daniel Willink, consul for the prince of Orange at Liverpool.

White.

Whitehall, April 16. Lord Napier, his majesty's commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Carlton-house, April 21. Right hon. sir Alex. Thomson, knt., chief baron of the exchequer, sworn of the privy council.

Whitehall, May 3. The dignities of duke and marquis of the united kingdom granted to field-marshal Arthur marquis of Wellington, K. G., and his heirs male, by the names, &c. of marquis Douro, and duke of Wellington in the county of Somerset.—And of a baron of the united kingdom to the following military officers: Lieut.-gen. the hon. sir J. Hope, K. B. by the name of baron Niddry of Niddry, co. Linlithgow.—Lieut.-gen. sir T Graham, K. B. baron Lynedock, of Balgowin, co. Perth.—Lieut.-gen. sir S. Cotton, bart. K.B. baron Combermere, co. Chester.—Lieut.-gen. sir R. Hill, K. B. baron Hill, of Almaraz, and of Hawkestone, Salop.—Lieut.-gen. sir W. C. Beresford, K. B. baron Beresford, of Albuera.

Whitehall, May 7. The dignity of a baronet granted to sir J. Beresford, knt. captain in the royal navy.

Admiralty-office, May 7. Earl St. Vincent, admiral of the red, general of marines, vice lord Bridport deceased.—Sir R. Onslow, admiral of the red, lieut.-gen. of marines, vice earl St. Vincent.

Whitehall, May 14. The dignity of a viscount of the united kingdom, granted to lord Keith.—And that of a baron of the united kingdom to vice-admiral sir E. Pellow, bart. by the name, &c. of baron Exmouth, of Canonteign, Devon.

Admiral Cornwallis, vice-admiral of the united kingdom, vice the late lord Bridport.—Admiral Young, rear-admiral, vice admiral Cornwallis.

Carlton-house, May 23. Earl of Abergavenny invested with the ensigns of the order of the Thistle.

Mr. John Leard, consul at the port of Fiume and its dependencies.

May 31. Lord Middleton, lord lieutenant of the county of Surrey, vice Onslow deceased.

Admiralty-office, June 4. This day, in pursuance of the pleasure of the prince regent, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, viz.—To be admirals of the red—Isaac Prescot, esq. to sir C. M. Pole, bart.; total 7.—To be admirals of the white—Hon. sir G. C. Berkeley, K. B. to sir J. B. Warren, bart. and K. B.; total 11.—To be admirals of the blue—S. Edwards esq. to R. Boger, esq.; total 13.—To be vice-admirals of the red—H. D'Esterre Darby, esq. to J. Hunter, esq.; total 19.—To be vice-admirals of the white—F. Pender, esq. to sir T. Bertie; total 23.—To be vice-admirals of the blue—R. Bulteel, esq. to hon. A. K. Legge; total 22.—To be rear-admirals of the red—F. Fayerman, esq. to M. H. Scott, esq.; total 28.—To be rear-admirals of the white—J. Hanwell, esq. to J. Harvey, esq.; total 20.—And the under-mentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet: To be rear-admirals of the white—Captains Hotham, Burlton, Pater, H. Popham, J. Rowley, and Codrington.—To be rear-admirals of the blue—Captains Parker, Plampin, L. Gower, Blackwood, Douglas, Torrington, Donnelly, Beresford, Ball, Eyles, Gosselin, Rowley, Rogers, Ballard, Rolles, Lock, Milne, Dundas, Young, Macnamara, D. Campbell (1st), Otway, Western, Spranger, Lukin, and Fellowes.

The prince regent has appointed the following to be colonels of marines:—W. T. Lake, W. C. Fahie, sir G. Eyre, and J. Talbot, vice H. Hotham, G. Burlton, sir J. Rowley, and E. Codrington, appointed flag-officers.

War-office, June 7. The prince regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned; the commissions to be dated June 4, 1814:—To be generals in the army, —Lieut.-generals sir Eyre Coote, K. B. to W. Wemyss—total 29.—To be lieut.-generals in the army, —Major-generals F. T. Hammond, to sir C. W. Stewart, K. B.; total 58.—To be major-generals in the army—Colonels sir C. Imhoff, on the staff at Guernsey, to H. Torrens; total 69.—To be colonels in the army—Lieut.-colonels hon. A. Annesley, to R. Travers; total 101.—The under-mentioned officers, aides-de-camp to the prince regent, to be colonels in the army—Lieut.-colonels T. M'Mahon, C. Palmer, and T. Arbuthnot.—To be aides-de-camp to the prince regent, with the rank of colonel in the army—Lieut.-colonels J. Colborne, S. F. Whittingham, sir A. Campbell, A. G. Woodford, and F. C. Ponsonby.—To be extra aides-de-camp to the prince regent, with the rank of colonel in the army—lieuts.-cols. H. F. Bouverie, F. B. Hervey, hon. H. A. B. Craven, baron Eben, and lord Burghersh, —To be lieut.-colonels in the army —Majors R. earl of Athlone, to A. Money; total 101.—And 269 captains to be majors in the army.

The prince regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the royal artillery and royal engineers to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned: the commissions to be dated June 4, 1814.—To be generals in the army—Lieut.-generals Martin and Lloyd.—To be lieut.-generals in the army—Major-generals Douglas, Macleod, Wright, Arabin, Buchannan, and Ramsay.—To be major-generals in the army—Colonels sir C. Holloway, knt. Eng.; Humphrey, ditto; Miller, invalid artillery; Eustace, late engineers in Ireland; Bloomfield, artillery; and Cookson, ditto. —To be colonels in the army—Lieut.-cols. J. Sheldrake, artillery; to P. W. Colebrook, r. art.; total 24.—To be lieut.-colonels in the army—Majors C. Newhouse, invalid art., to W. J. Tucker, late Irish artillery; total 12.—To be majors in the army—Capts. T. Rogers, art., to T. A. Brandreth; total 49.

The prince regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the royal marines to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned: the commissions to be dated June 4. —To be colonels in the army—Lieut.-colonels Cole, Foley, Birks, Bidlake, Home, and Campbell.—To be lieut.-colonels in the army—Majors Boys, Ferzer, Davey, Abernethie, Graham, Lewis, Clarke, Stanser, Dunsmire, Minto, Long, and Westropp.—To be majors in the army—Captains W. Collins to A. Gillespie; total 33.

Foreign-office, June 6. Sir Charles Stuart, K. B. late his majesty's minister at Lisbon, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of France.

Thomas Sydenham, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Lisbon.

June 14. Stratford Canning, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the confederated Swiss cantons.

June 18. The dignity of an earl granted to visc. Cathcart; that of viscount to the earl of Aberdeen; and

and that of baron to sir Charles William Stewart.—Mr. H. U. Addington, secretary to his majesty's legation to the Swiss cantons.

War-office, June 18. The prince regent has been pleased to appoint several officers of the East India company's forces to take rank by brevet in the East Indies only; the commissions to be dated June 4. The list comprises 25 major-generals who are to be lieut.-generals, 17 colonels to be major-generals, 37 lieut.-colonels to be colonels, 65 majors to be lieut.-colonels, and 118 captains to be majors.

Whitehall, June 21. The earl of Chichester and the earl of Clancarty, appointed to the office of post-master-general.

Carlton-house, June 25. Lieut.-gen. right hon. Charles William baron Stewart, K. B. an extra lord of his majesty's bed-chamber.

Whitehall, June 28. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom conferred on the right hon. William Domville, lord mayor of London, and his heirs male.

Whitehall, July 2. George Frederick Beltz, esq. gentleman usher of the scarlet rod of the order of the bath (to which is annexed that of Brunswick herald), *vice* sir Isaac Heard, knt. resigned.

Foreign-office, July 5. The duke of Wellington, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France.—Lord F. Fitzroy, secretary to the embassy.

Foreign-office, July 9. Hon. C. Bagot (with the rank of his majesty's minister plenipotentiary), Colin Mackenzie, esq. and Archibald Elijah Impey, esq. commissioners for carrying into effect the stipulations contained in the 2d and 4th additional articles of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris.

Foreign-office, July 9. The hereditary prince of Orange, a lieut.-gen. in the British army.—Brook Taylor, esq. envoy extraordinary to the king of Wurtemberg.—Sir J. Gambier, consul-general in Holland.—Henry Chamberlin, esq. consul-general in the Brazils.

Whitehall, July 12. William Young, esq. admiral of the red, and rear-admiral, an extra knight of the bath.

Downing-street, July 14. Henry MacDonnell, esq. his majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers.

Whitehall, July 23. The dignity of a baronet granted to the following gentlemen, and their heirs male: General Cornelius Cuyler, of St. John Lodge, Welwyn, Herts: hon. Henry Blackwood, rear-admiral of the blue: sir George Ralph Collier, knt. sir Jas. Dunbar, knt. and William Hoste, esq. post capts. in the royal navy.

Foreign-office, July 16. Joseph C. Mellish, esq. his majesty's consul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Foreign-office, July 23. John Robert Wise, esq., his majesty's consul-general in Sweden.

Gen. sir R. T. Wilson, permitted to accept the Russian order of St. Anne of the first class; hon. capt. G. Cadogan, R. N. the Austrian order of Maria Theresa; and capt. H. Gardner, of the artillery, the Russian order of St. Wolodemir of the fourth class.

Carlton-house, July 23. The earl of Shaftesbury, earl of Aberdeen, and Charles William lord Stewart, sworn of the privy council.

Carlton-house, July 25. The earl of Aberdeen, sir Isaac Heard, knt. garter principal king of arms, and sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, knight, gentleman-usher of the black-rod, plenipotentiaries

nipotentiaries for investing his imperial and royal apostolic majesty with the ensigns and the whole habit of the order of the garter.—George Frederick Beltz, esq. secretary to garter principal king of arms.

Carlton-house, July 29. Right hon. Thomas Hamilton (commonly called lord Binning) and the right hon. Wm. Huskisson, sworn of the privy council.

Foreign office, July 30. Right hon. lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, esq. M. P. and Wm. Adams, esq. D. C. L. commissioners for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with commissioners from the United States of America.—Anthony St. John Baker, esq. secretary to the commission.

Hon. Algernon Percy, secretary to his majesty's legation at the court of Turin.

Aug. 6. Rt. hon. W. Huskisson, T. Dacres Adams, and H. Dawkins, esqrs. commissioners of his majesty's woods, forests, and land revenues.

Whitehall, Aug. 9. Right hon. Robert viscount Melville, sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, knt. vice-adm. of the blue, George Johnstone Hope, esq. rear-admiral of the red, sir George Warrender, bart. John Osborn, esq. Henry Paulet, esq. (commonly called lord Henry Paulet), read-admiral of the red, and Barrington Pope Blachford, esq. commissioners for executing the office of high admiral.

War-office, Aug. 9. Lieut.-general the hereditary prince of Orange a general in the army.

Whitehall, Aug. 16. The hereditary prince of Orange, an extra knight of the bath.

Foreign-office, Aug. 20. Lord Burghersh, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Tuscany.

William Pennell, esq. consul at Bourdeaux and its dependencies.

Foreign-office, Aug. 26. Peter Stuart, esq. his majesty's consul at Havrede Grace and dependencies.

Whitehall, Aug. 27. Earl of Buckinghamshire, visc. Castlereagh, earl Bathurst, visc. Sidmouth, earl of Liverpool, right hon. N. Vansittart, lord Teignmouth, right hon. T. Wallace, visc. Lowther, right hon. J. Sullivan, lord Apsley, lord Binning, right hon. W. S. Bourne, commissioners for managing affairs in India.

Foreign-office, Aug. 27. Lieut.-gen. lord Stewart, K. B. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of Austria.

Foreign-office, Sept. 10. Samuel Gregory Marshall, esq. consul at Embden.—James Stirling, esq. consul at Nantes, L'Orient, and their dependencies.

Sept. 24. Right hon. sir Charles Stuart, K. B. sworn member of the privy council.

Oct. 1. W. A'Court, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Palermo.

H. Fuller, esq. attorney-general for the island of Trinidad.

Foreign-office, Oct. 8. Right hon. sir Charles Stuart, K. B. ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

Peter Carey Tupper, esq. consul at Barcelona and in the province of Catalonia.

Foreign-office, Oct. 10. Richard Belgrave Hoppner, esq. consul at Venice, and the Austrian territories in the Adriatic.

Foreign-office, Oct. 25. Right hon. George Canning, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the prince regent of Portugal.—Louis Duncan Casamajor, esq. secretary to the said embassy.

Foreign-

Foreign-office, Nov. 1. John Parkinson, esq. consul at Konigsberg, Memel, Pillau, and all other ports and places in East Prussia.

Whitehall, Nov. 8. William Adam, esq. king's counsel, one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, *vice* Hepburn resigned.

Downing-street, Nov. 11. Lieut.-col. H. King, lieut.-governor of Heligoland.

Foreign-office, Nov. 22. David Richard Morier, esq. consul-general in France.

Sir J. Brenton, commissioner of the navy at the Cape of Good Hope, *vice* adm. Geo. Dundas deceased.

Foreign-office, Dec. 21. J. Falconer, esq. consul-general at Leghorn; and J. M. Johnson, esq. consul at Genoa.

Whitehall, Dec. 21. The dignity of baronet of the united kingdom to the following gentlemen respectively, and their heirs male:

Sir Hew Dalrymple, of High Mark, co. Wigtoun, knt. general in the army.

Sir John Hamilton, of Woodbrook, co. Tyrone, knt. lieut.-colonel in the army, colonel of the 2d Ceylon regiment, and governor of Duncannon Fort.

Richard Mountney Jephson, of Spring Vale, Dorset, esq. late judge advocate and judge of the vice-admiralty court, Gibraltar.

Whitehall, Dec. 27. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to the following gentlemen respectively, and the heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz. sir Alexander Campbell, knt. major-general in the army, &c.—The right hon. W. M'Mahon, master of the rolls in Ireland.—George Buchan Hepburn, of Smeaton, Haddington, esq.—The right hon. John Marjoribanks, lord provost of Edinburgh city.—John Silvester, of Yardley-house, Esser, esq. recorder of the city of London.—Thomas Hugh Clifford, of Tixall, Stafford, esq.—John Simeon, of Grazeley, Berkshire, esq.—Guy Campbell, esq. lieut.-col. in the army, &c.—Gilbert King, of Charlestown, Roscommon, esq. colonel in the army.—John Jackson, of Ailsey, Bedfordshire, esq.—Henry Steuart, of Allanton, Lanark, esq. with remainder to his son-in-law, Ronald or Reginald Macdonald, of Staffa, and his heirs male.—George Griffith Williams, of Llwyny Wormwood, Carmarthen, esq.—David Dundas, of Richmond, Surrey, esq. serjeant-surgeon to the king.—Robert Holt Leigh, of Whitley, Lancaster, esq. with remainder to the heirs male of Holt Leigh, of Whitley, esq. deceased, father of the said Robert Holt Leigh.—Edmund Antrobus, of Antrobus, Chester, with remainder to his nephew, Edmund Antrobus, jun. esq. and his heirs male; and in default of such issue, to his nephew, Gibbs Crawford Antrobus, esq. and his heirs male, both sons of his late brother, John Antrobus, esq. deceased.—Samuel Egerton Brydges, of Denton-court, Kent, esq.—Jonathan Wathen Waller, of Braywick-lodge in the county of Berks, esq.—John Compton Domville, of Santry-house, Dublin county, esq.—Thomas Preston, of Beeston St. Lawrence, Norfolk, esq.—Rose Price, of Treagwainton, Cornwall, esq.

SHERIFFS *for the year* 1814.

Bedfordshire, Stephen Thornton, of Moggerhanger, esq.

Berkshire, Rob. Hopkins, of Tidmarsh, esq.

Buckinghamshire, sir William Clayton, of Harleyford, bart.

Cam-

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Jonathan Page, of Ely, esq.

Cheshire, John B. Glegg, of Gayton, esq.

Cumberland, T. Benson, of Wreay-Hall, esq.

Derbyshire, F. Hurt, of Alderwasley, esq.

Devonshire, J. Newcomb, of Star-Cross, esq.

Dorsetshire, sir J. W. Smith, of Sydling St. Nicholas, bart.

Essex, R. Wilson, of Woodhouse, esq.

Gloucestershire, John H. Holder, of North Cerney, esq.

Herefordshire, E. M. Barrett, of Hopend, esq.

Hertfordshire, N. S. Parry, of Hadham End, esq.

Kent, J. Wildman, of Chilham-Castle, esq.

Lancashire, L. Rawstorne, of Penwarthen-Hall, esq.

Leicestershire, J. H. Franks, of Misterton, esq.

Lincolnshire, R. Vyner, of Gaultby, esq.

Monmouthshire, sir Sam. Brudenel Fludyer, of Trostrey, bart.

Norfolk, Henry H. Henley, of Sandringham, esq.

Northamptonshire, J. P. Clarke, of Welton, esq.

Northumberland, sir Charles Loraine, of Kirk-Harle, bart.

Nottinghamshire, W. F. Norton Norton, of Elton, esq.

Oxfordshire, James King, of Neithrop, esq.

Rutlandshire, Geo. Fludyer, of Aiston, esq.

Shropshire, Wm. Cludde, of Orleton, esq.

Somersetshire, George Edward Allen, of Bath-Hampton, esq.

Staffordshire, sir Oswald Moseley, of Rolleston, bart.

County of Southampton, Richard Norris, of Basing Park, esq.

Suffolk, Edw. Holland, of Benhall, esq.

Surrey, Richard Birt, of Hall-Grove, esq.

Sussex, postponed.

Warwickshire, A. Hackett, of Moxhall, esq.

Wiltshire, W. Wyndham, of Dinton, esq.

Worcestershire, J. Knight, of Lee Castle, esq.

Yorkshire, Sir Francis Linley Wood, of Hemsworth, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthenshire, Nicholas Burnell Jones, of Pantglaes, esq.

Pembrokeshire, J. H. Powell, of Hook, esq.

Cardiganshire, T. Lloyd, of Bromwith, esq.

Glamorganshire, Hon. W. B. Grey, Dyffryn.

Breconshire, John Hotchkis, of Glan Usk Villa, esq.

Radnorshire, C. H. Price, of Knighton, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merionethshire, Wm. Gryffydd Oakeley, of Tanybwlch, esq.

Carnarvonshire, Charles W. G. Wynne, of Cefn Amwlch, esq.

Anglesey, G. F. Barlow, of Tynyllwyn, esq.

Montgomeryshire, Arthur Davies Owen, of Glan Severn, esq.

Denbighshire, Edw. Rowland, of Gardden Lodge, esq.

Flintshire, Roger Ellis, of Cornist, esq.

Appointed by the prince of Wales.

Cornwall, Rose Price, of Kanegie, esq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH, NOV. 4, 1813.

My lords, and gentlemen,

IT is with the deepest regret that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The great and splendid success with which it has pleased divine providence to bless his majesty's arms, and those of his allies, in the course of the present campaign, has been productive of the most important consequences to Europe.

In Spain the glorious and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria has been followed by the advance of the allied forces to the Pyrenees, by the repulse of the enemy in every attempt to regain the ground he had been compelled to abandon, by the reduction of the fortress of San Sebastian, and finally by the establishment of the allied army on the frontier of France.

In this series of brilliant operations, you will have observed, with the highest satisfaction, the consummate skill and ability of the great commander, field marshal the marquis of Wellington, and the steadiness and unconquerable spirit which have been equally displayed by the troops of the three nations united under his command.

The termination of the armistice in the north of Europe, and the declaration of war by the emperor of Austria against France, have been most happily accompanied by a system of cordial union and concert amongst the allied powers.

The effects of this union have even surpassed those expectations it was calculated to excite.

By the signal victories obtained over the French armies in Silesia, at Culm, and at Dennevitz, the efforts of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian and Prussian territories were completely frustrated.

These successes have been followed by a course of operations, combined with so much judgement and executed with such consummate prudence, vigour, and ability, as to have led in their result, not only to the discomfiture of all those projects which the ruler of France had so presumptuously announced on the renewal of the contest, but to the capture and destruction of the greater part of the army under his immediate command.

The annals of Europe afford no example of victories more splendid and decisive than those which have been recently achieved in Saxony.

Whilst the perseverance and gallantry displayed by the allied forces of every description engaged in this conflict have exalted to the highest pitch of glory their military character, you will, I am persuaded, agree with me in rendering the full tribute of applause to those sovereigns and princes, who, in this sacred

sacred cause of national independence, have so eminently distinguished themselves as the leaders of the armies of their respective nations.

With such a prospect before you, I am satisfied that I may rely with the fullest confidence on your disposition to enable me to afford the necessary assistance in support of a system of alliance which originating chiefly in the magnanimous and disinterested views of the emperor of Russia, and followed up as it has been with corresponding energy by the other allied powers, has produced a change the most momentous in the affairs of the continent.

I shall direct copies of the several conventions which I have concluded with the northern powers to be laid before you, as soon as the ratifications of them shall have been duly exchanged.

I have further to acquaint you, that I have concluded a treaty of alliance and concert with the emperor of Austria, and that the powerful league already formed has received an important addition of force by the declaration of Bavaria against France.

I am confident you will view with particular satisfaction the renewal of the ancient connection with the Austrian government; and that, justly appretiating all the value of the accession of that great power to the common cause, you will be prepared, as far as circumstances may permit, to enable me to support his imperial majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the contest.

The war between this country and the United States of America still continues; but I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the measures adopted by the government of the United States for the conquest of Canada have been frustrated by the valour of his majesty's troops, and by the zeal and loyalty of his American subjects.

Whilst Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, is exerting her utmost strength against the common enemy of independent nations, it must be matter of deep regret to find an additional enemy in the government of a country whose real interest in the issue of this great contest must be the same as our own.

It is known to the world, that this country was not the aggressor in this war.

I have not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the government of the United States to close it, of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of his majesty's subjects.

I am at all times ready to enter into discussion with that government for a conciliatory adjustment of the differences between the two countries, upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law and with the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the services of the ensuing year to be laid before you.

I regret the necessity of so large an expenditure, which I am confident, however, you will judge to be unavoidable, when the extent and nature of our military exertions are considered.

I entertain no doubt of your readiness to furnish such supplies as the public service may require.

I congratulate you on the improved and flourishing state of our commerce; and I trust that the abundant

abundant harvest which we have received from the bountiful hand of providence during the present year, will afford material relief to his majesty's people, and produce a considerable augmentation in many branches of the revenue.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I congratulate you on the decided conviction which now happily prevails throughout so large a portion of Europe, that the war in which the allied powers are engaged against the ruler of France is a war of necessity; and that his views of universal dominion can only be defeated by combined and determined resistance.

The public spirit and national enthusiasm which have successively accomplished the deliverance of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and of the Russian empire, now equally animate the German people; and we may justly entertain the fullest confidence that the same perseverance on their part will ultimately lead to the same glorious result.

I cannot but deplore most deeply the continuance of this extended warfare, and of all those miseries which the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France has so long inflicted upon Europe.

No disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace.

The restoration of that great blessing upon principles of justice and equality has never ceased to be my anxious wish; but I am fully convinced that it can only be obtained by a continuance of those efforts which have already delivered so large a part of Europe from the power of the enemy.

To the firmness and perseverance of this country these advantages may in a great degree be ascribed. Let this consideration animate us to new exertions; and we shall thus, I trust, be enabled to bring this long and arduous contest to a conclusion which will be consistent with the independence of all the nations engaged in it, and with the general security of Europe.

HOLLAND.

DUTCH POTITICAL CONSTITUTION.

The Hague, March 3, 1814.

We, William, by the grace of God, prince of Orange Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c. To all to whom these presents come greeting! Invited to the sovereignty of these States by your confidence and your attachment, we from the first declared, that we would undertake the same only under the guarantee of a wise constitution, which might secure your freedom against all possible abuses; and we have ever since continued to feel the necessity thereof. We regarded it, therefore, as one of the first and most sacred of our duties, to summon together some men of consideration, and to charge them with the weighty task of establishing a fundamental code, built upon your manners, your habits, and corresponding to the wants of the present time. They cheerfully took upon themselves this office, performed it with zeal, and have submitted to us the fruits of their uninterrupted labours. After a careful examination of this work, we have given it our approbation. But this does not satisfy our heart. It respects the concerns

concerns of the whole Netherlands. The whole Dutch people must be recognised in this important work. That people must receive the strongest possible assurance, that their dearest interests are sufficiently attended to therein; that religion, as the fountain of all good, is thereby honoured and maintained, and religious freedom disturbed by nothing of temporal concerns, but secured in the most ample manner; that the education of youth, and the spread of scientific knowledge, shall be attended to by the government, and freed from all those vexatious regulations which oppress the genius and subdue the spirit; that personal freedom shall no longer be an empty name, and dependent on the caprices of a suspicious and crafty police: that an impartial administration of justice, guided by fixed principles, secure to every man his property; that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, be no longer obstructed, but have free course, like rich springs of public and private prosperity; that, therefore, no restraint be imposed on the domestic economy of the higher and lower classes of the state, but that they be conformable to the general laws and the general government; that the movements of the general government be not palsied by too great a zeal for local interests, but rather receive from it an additional impulse; that the general laws, by means of an harmonious co-operation of the two principal branches of the government, be founded on the true interests of the state; that the finances, and the arming of the people, the main pillars of the body politic, be placed in that central point, upon which the greatest and most invaluable privilege of every free people,—their independence,—may be firmly fixed. Which of you can doubt of this truth, after the terrible experience you have had of a foreign tyranny, which acknowledged no right when it wanted means for its own maintenance by violence; after having sighed, of late years, under the most oppressive yoke that ever was imposed since the Spanish times? Now at least you know the true value of those precious rights for which our fathers sacrificed their property and blood; of that happiness which they bequeathed to their descendants; and which we saw lost through the adversity of the times! Following, therefore, and deriving encouragement from their example, it becomes my duty, in imitation of those whose name I bear, and whose memory I honour, to restore that which is lost: it is your duty to support me therein with all your efforts, that under the blessing of divine providence, who summons us to this task, we may leave our beloved country completely re-conquered and re-established to our children. In order to be enabled to judge whether the constitutional code thus framed, as before stated, be a means of attaining the above great object, we have thought it right that the said code be submitted for maturer consideration, to a numerous assembly of persons the most considerable and best qualified among you. We have for that purpose appointed a special commission who are to choose, out of a numerous list given in to us, six hundred persons, in due proportion to the population of each of the now existing departments. Honoured with your confidence, they shall, on the 28th of this month, assemble in the metropolis

polis of Amsterdam, to come to a determination upon this weighty business. They shall in like manner, with the letter of convocation, receive the plan of the constitution, that they may be able to prepare their decision thereon with maturity and calmness of deliberation; and for the more effectual attainment of this object, a copy of the same shall be sent to each member previously. And as it is of the first importance that these members be possessed of the general confidence, we order that a list of the persons chosen for each department be made public, and that to all the inhabitants of the same, being house-keepers, an opportunity shall be afforded, by signing his name without any other addition, in a register which shall lie open in each canton for eight days, to disapprove of any such person or persons as he may deem unqualified. No inhabitant is deprived of this right, with the exception of domestic servants, valets, bankrupts, persons in a state of nonage, or under accusation. When it shall appear to us, from the summing up of the registers, that the majority are satisfied with the persons thus submitted to their election, we shall consider them as the representatives of the whole Dutch people, call them together, appear in the midst of them, and salute them as constituting the great assembly representing the United Netherlands. They shall then commence their labours in freedom, and give us an account of their progress by a committee appointed to that effect; and as soon as the adoption of the constitutional code is the result of their deliberations, we shall make the necessary arrangements for taking the oath prescribed to us by the constitution with all due solemnity, in the midst of the assembly, and after that be installed in state. In the adoption of these measures, worthy countrymen, you must feel convinced that the welfare of our beloved country is my first and only object; that your interests and mine are the same; and how can they be more manifestly promoted, than by the introduction of constitutional rules, in which you will find the guarantee of your dearest rights? They will furnish me with the advantage of conducting, on fixed principles, the charge and responsibility of government, assisted by the best and most intelligent of the citizens; and will secure to me the continuance of that affection, the expressions of which rejoice my heart, animate my courage, lighten my burthen, and bind me and my house for ever to our regenerated country. —Given at the Hague this 2d of March 1814, and of our reign the 1st.

WILLIAM.

By command, A. R FALCK,
Secretary of state.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESSES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT, ON THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE: WITH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S ANSWERS.

Tuesday, 3d May 1814.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

That a humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, to assure his royal highness, that this house, relying, with perfect confidence, on the solemn assurances received by parliament in 1806, and 1810, that his majesty's government would employ every proper means to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and univer-

sal abolition of the African slave trade, beg leave humbly and earnestly to represent to his royal highness, that the happy and glorious events which promise the general pacification of Christendom, the present union and assembly of its greatest sovereigns, and the great and generous principles which they proclaim as the rule of their conduct, afford a most auspicious opportunity for interposing the good offices of Great Britain to accomplish the above noble purpose, with the weight which belongs to her rank among nations, to the services which she has rendered to European independence, and to the unanimous and zealous concurrence of her parliament and people.

That we feel ourselves authorized, by our own abolition of this trade, of the guilty profits of which we enjoyed the largest share, by the fellowship of civilization, of religion, and even of common humanity, to implore the other members of the commonwealth of Europe to signalize the restoration of its order and security by the prohibition of this detestable commerce, the common stain of the christian name, a system of crimes by which the civilized professors of a beneficent religion spread desolation and perpetuate barbarism among helpless savages, whom they are bound, by the most sacred obligations of duty, to protect, to instruct, and to reclaim:

"Humbly to represent to his royal highness, that the high rank which this kingdom holds among maritime and colonial states imposes a very serious duty upon the British government at this important juncture; and that unless we interpose with effect, to procure a general abolition, the practical result of the restoration of peace will be, to revive a traffic which we have prohibited as a crime, to open the sea to swarms of piratical adventurers, who will renew and extend, on the shores of Africa, the scenes of carnage and rapine in a great measure suspended by maritime hostilities; and the peace of Christendom will kindle a thousand ferocious wars among wretched tribes, ignorant of our quarrels and of our very name.

That the nations who have owed the security of their navigation to our friendship, and whom we have been happy enough to aid in expelling their oppressors and maintaining their independence, cannot listen without respect to our voice raised in the cause of justice and humanity; and that among the great states, till of late our enemies, maritime hostility has in fact abolished the trade for twenty years, no interest is engaged in it, and the legal permission to carry it on would practically be a new establishment of it, after the full development of its horrors:

That we humbly trust, that in the moral order by which divine providence administers the government of the world, this great act of atonement to Africa may contribute to consolidate the safety and prolong the tranquillity of Europe, that nations may be taught a higher respect for justice and humanity by the example of their sovereigns; and that a treaty, sanctioned by such a disinterested and sacred stipulation, may be more profoundly reverenced, and more religiously observed, than even the most equitable compacts for the regulation of power or the distribution of territory.

Ordered—That the said address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent by such members of

of this house as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

Friday, 3d *June* 1814.

Mr. Bathurst reported to the house, that their address of the 3d day of May last, respecting the abolition of the African slave trade, had been presented to his royal highness the prince regent; and that his royal highness was pleased to receive the same very graciously, and had commanded him to acquaint the house, that it would be the earnest endeavour of his royal highness to accomplish the object of it.

Monday, June 27, 1814.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That a humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, representing to his royal highness, that, while we learn with great satisfaction the successful exertions of his royal highness in obtaining the consent of the government of Sweden, and still more that of Holland, to an immediate and unqualified abolition of the slave trade, we are bound in duty to express the deep regret of this house, that the late unanimous address of this house, praying his royal highness to interpose his good offices to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and universal abolition of the African slave trade, to which address his royal highness was pleased to return so gracious an answer, has failed to produce those consequences which this house and the country had most anxiously and with confidence anticipated.

That the objects to the attainment of which that address was directed, do, in the opinion of this house, so deeply affect the best interests of Europe, and the happiness and civilization of Africa, as to render it our imperious duty again to press them on the attention of his royal highness:

That, although the government of France, whether from the effect of partial and colonial interests, or from not being sufficiently aware of the enormities attendant on the slave trade, have not agreed to a stipulation for the immediate abolition of it; yet that the consent of that government to abolish the trade in five years, and to unite its efforts with those of his Britannic majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree its abolition, so that it shall cease universally at that time,—together with the disposition the French government is supposed to have manifested, to subject their own slave trade to some restrictions during the intervening period; above all, that government's distinct and unequivocal recognition of the radical injustice of the traffic in slaves, induce the house to entertain a confident hope, that further stipulations, with a view to the abolition or limitation of the slave trade, may be obtained at the approaching congress:

That, independently of the unspeakable evils to Africa which must arise from the permission of this nefarious traffic on the most extended scale for a further term of five years, and of the increased inducements for carrying it on, which will then exist, it is obvious that new and formidable obstacles to the execution of our own laws against the slave trade must be created, that occasions of differences with those powers will be multiplied,

tiplied, that the evils and miseries produced in Africa, from the multitudes of human beings obtained by fraud or by violence being forcibly dragged into perpetual slavery in a foreign land, must be most lamentable and extensive; but they will be particularly afflicting in those parts with which his majesty's dominions have of late had the greatest intercourse, because the restoration of the French settlements and their dependencies, with the right of an unrestrained slave trade, must subject those populous and extensive districts where by the laudable exertions of Great Britain peaceful industry and social happiness have been in some measure produced, to a renewal of the miseries inseparable from this odious traffic: the colony of Sierra Leone, also, whence European knowledge, the blessings of order, and the arts of peace, have begun to diffuse themselves through the neighbouring country, will be deprived of its beneficial influence, and even be exposed to imminent danger of ruin:

That, with a direct view to the considerations and points above stated, this house humbly, but most earnestly, implores his royal highness to endeavour to obtain, if possible, from the government of France some diminution of the term permitted to the slave trade; but, in any case, its restriction, at least within certain limits, and its total exclusion from the parts of Africa where the exertions of Great Britain have already succeeded in suppressing the trade, that the inhabitants of those regions may be left in the enjoyment of that exemption from its ravages, which they have so recently and so happily obtained:

That this house feels most deeply anxious that no exertion should be omitted in the approaching congress, to procure a final and universal extinction of the slave trade, because it conceives that no opportunity can ever again be expected to occur so favourable, for effacing from the character of Europe its most opprobrious stain, or for delivering the unoffending but much-injured inhabitants of Africa from the heaviest of all possible calamities, from intestine war, excited too often by the basest avarice, and the fiercest passions raging without intermission, and productive only of unmixed evil, and of invincible and interminable barbarism, and from practices which, having been exposed to the public eye, have induced the legislature to class slave traders among the vilest of criminals:

That, to produce a universal condemnation of this murderous system, displayed as its horrors now are to the view of mankind, it appears to be only necessary to appeal to those feelings which must exist in every mind capable of reflection, and not steeled against the claims of humanity and justice: That, as this system insults and outrages those sacred and fundamental principles which are common to every sect and denomination of christians, it cannot be doubted that every christian state is required to take part in its condemnation; those who have participated in its guilt being bound to abandon and to reprobate it; while none who enjoy the privilege of innocence are thereby either deprived of the right, or exempted from the obligation, of joining in the sentence:

That this house, therefore, again expressing its profound regret that more has not been accomplished in this

this great work, and convinced that by the endeavours of his royal highness, exerted with renewed energy, much may still be effected in the appointed congress, humbly but most urgently entreats his royal highness, that the most strenuous exertions be there made, on the part of this country, to obtain, as far as may be possible, the objects which have been specified, and that all proper means may be used for urging on the assembled powers the duty, the expediency, and the lasting glory of promulgating to all the world, as the judgement of the states of Europe, a general and solemn engagement, under the most binding and effectual sanctions, that this traffic, the foul and formidable enemy of the happiness and civilization of Africa, will, at a definite and fixed period, certainly not more distant than five years, be abolished utterly and for ever.

Ordered—That the said address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent by such members of this house as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

Monday, 11*th July* 1814.

Lord viscount Castlereagh reported to the house, that their address of the 27th day of June last, respecting the African slave trade, had been presented to his royal highness; and that his royal highness had been pleased to receive the same very graciously, and had commanded him to acquaint this house, that he would not omit any favourable occasion for giving effect to the wishes of the house on this important subject.

LETTER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

Sir,—I am once more reluctantly compelled to address your royal highness, and to inclose for your inspection copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her majesty. It would be in vain for me to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your royal highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet me upon any occasion either in public or private: of these your royal highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive, by my answer to her majesty, that I have only been restrained by motives of personal consideration towards her majesty from exercising my right of appearing before her majesty at the public drawing-rooms to be held in the ensuing month. But, sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed that the words of your royal highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your royal highness what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?

I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know, that, after open persecution and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal: since his ma-

jesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of parliament and the country, to be proved guilty or to be treated as innocent; I have been declared, what I am, innocent; I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

Sir, your royal highness may possibly refuse to read this letter: but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for forgoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank: occasions, however, may arise (one I trust is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation?

I wave my rights, in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your royal highness, not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.

Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England, amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded; others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in the peace of Europe; my my daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire: this season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and, of all his majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented, by your royal highness, from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me. I am, sir,

Your royal highness's
faithful wife,

C. P.

Connaught Place, May 26, 1814.

THE LETTER OF THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Windsor Castle, May 23, 1814.

The queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the princess of Wales, that she has received a communication from her son the prince regent, in which he states that, her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.

The queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the princess of Wales the impossibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at her drawing-rooms.

CHARLOTTE R.

LETTER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

Madam,—I have received the letter which your majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public

lic drawing-rooms which will be held by your majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

I will not presume to discuss with your majesty topics which must be as painful to your majesty as to myself.

Your majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the king was so kind as to honour me, up to the period of his majesty's indisposition, which no one of his majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself, and that his majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation by his public reception of me at his court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me. There I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your majesty; I am now without appeal or protector: but I cannot so far forget my duty to the king and to myself, as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by your majesty.

That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your majesty's situation, I yield, in the present instance, to the will of his royal highness the prince regent, announced to me by your majesty, and shall not present myself at the drawing-rooms of the next month.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inquire of your majesty the reasons of his royal highness the prince regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his royal highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience, even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe: the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will, in all probability, be assembled at your majesty's court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

I beseech your majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious strangers with the motives of personal consideration towards your majesty, which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard.

Your majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from the suspicion of disrespect towards your majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from court at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance. I have the honour to be,

Your majesty's most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,

C. P.

Connaught House, May 24, 1814.

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Windsor Castle, May 25, 1814.

The queen has received this afternoon the princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the prince regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the

disposition expressed by her royal highness not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both.

The queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the princess of Wales's letter to the prince regent; and her majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers, who may possibly be present at her court, the circumstances which will prevent the princess of Wales from appearing there, if her royal highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence.

CHARLOTTE R.

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

The princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her majesty for her gracious condescension in the willingness expressed by her majesty to have communicated to the illustrious strangers who will in all probability be present at her majesty's court, the reasons which have induced her royal highness not to be present.

Such communication, as it appears to her royal highness, cannot be the less necessary on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her royal highness to give to her motives; and the princess of Wales, therefore, entreats the active good offices of her majesty upon an occasion wherein the princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood.

C. P.

Connaught Place, May 26, 1814.

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Windsor Castle, May 27, 1814.

The queen cannot omit to acknowledge the receipt of the princess of Wales's note of yesterday, although it does not appear to her majesty to require any other reply than that already conveyed to her royal highness's preceding letter.

CHARLOTTE R.

PROTEST AGAINST THE REJECTION OF LORD GRENVILLE'S MOTION UPON THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.

June 30.—DISSENTIENT,—Because, in the article of the treaty of peace lately concluded at Paris, respecting the African slave trade, a public interest of the first importance has been sacrificed, and, as we firmly believe, without any necessity or adequate cause; this inhuman traffic being, under the sanction of that article, revived and continued in the colonies which we have surrendered to France, for the term of five years; and an immense district on the continent of Africa, which had been entirely relieved from it, again exposed to all the evils which must flow from its re-establishment. —Because, deeply impressed with the horrors of a commerce which the humanity of the legislature had prohibited, and which is described, in the article above referred to, as repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and of an enlightened age, this house had unanimously addressed his royal highness the prince regent to employ the whole weight and influence of this country, in the late negotiations for peace, to procure its general and entire abolition; and because it is incumbent on ministers to show from what causes the endeavours which it was their duty to make for the attainment

tainment of this important object have failed, under circumstances which were undeniably most highly favourable to their success.—Because, this proof can only be given by the production of the papers which have passed during the late negociation upon this subject, as was admitted to be usual in cases of failure, and because no sufficient reason for withholding such information, in the present instance, was given in the debate.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, WILLIAM FREDERICK, GREY, LAUDERDALE, GRENVILLE, VASSAL HOLLAND.

SPAIN.

DECREE FOR RE-ESTABLISHING THE INQUISITION.

Madrid, July 25.—The king has just issued the following decree:—

The glorious title of *Catholic*, which distinguishes us from among all other christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain, who would never tolerate in their states any other religion than the catholic, apostolic, and Roman. This title imposes upon me the duty to render myself worthy of it by all the means which Heaven has placed within my power. The late troubles, and the war which has desolated during six years every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been made in Spain by troops of different sects, almost all of whom were infected with sentiments of hatred towards our religion; the disorder which has been the infallible result of this; and the inattention with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check; dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root in our states by the same means as they are spread in other countries. Wishing then to remedy so grievous an evil, and to preserve among my subjects the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which they have always revered, and in which they have lived and always wish to live, either on account of the personal obligation of having no other imposed on the princes who reign over them by the fundamental laws, which I have promised and sworn to observe, or because this religion is the most certain means of sparing my people from intestine dissentions, and ensuring to them that tranquillity of which they stand in need,—I have judged it necessary, under the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the holy office should resume its jurisdiction. Upon this subject, learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have represented to me that Spain is indebted to this tribunal for the good fortune of not having fallen, in the 16th century, into errors which have caused so many misfortunes among other nations; and that on the contrary, at that period, the sciences were here cultivated with distinction, and Spain produced a multitude of great men distinguished by their knowledge and their piety. It has further been represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe has not neglected to employ, as an efficacious method of introducing the corruption and discord which supported so well his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretext that it could exist no longer in consequence of the enlightened state of the present age, and that the pretended cortes, general

neral and extraordinary, under the same pretext, and under the favour of the constitution, which they tumultuously decreed, abolished also the holy office, to the regret of the whole nation. For these causes, I have been earnestly supplicated to re-establish it in the exercise of its functions; and yielding to considerations so just, and to the wish manifested by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our ancestors has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recal spontaneously the subaltern inquisitors of some provinces, I have, therefore, resolved, that from this moment the supreme council of the inquisition, and the other tribunals of the holy office, shall resume their authorities conformable to the concessions which have been made to them by the sovereign pontiffs, at the instance of my august predecessors, and by the prelates of the dioceses, and by the kings who have assured to them the full exercise thereof, observing in this double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the ordonnances which were in force in the year 1808, and the laws which have, on different occasions, been made for obviating certain abuses. But, as independent of these ancient laws it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect that establishment in such manner as to render it eminently useful to my subjects, it is my desire that, as soon as the said supreme council of the inquisition shall be assembled, two of the members who compose it, joined to two of the members of the council of Castile, both appointed by me, shall examine the forms and mode of proceeding of the holy office, in its processes, and with respect to the censure and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interests of my subjects, or the claims of sound justice, require any reform or change, they will make a report to me, supported by their observations, in order that I may take the necessary resolutions.

July 21, 1814. I, THE KING.

[This decree is countersigned by his excellency don Pedro Macanaz, whose grandfather passed the greater part of his life in prison, at the commencement of the last century, and died in exile for having written against the inquisition. We will make no observations on the subject of this measure taken by his majesty. The first duty towards the holy office is consecrated by a national proverb which ordains absolute silence.]

July 30. In the house of lords, the royal assent was given by commission (commissioners lords Eldon, Cholmondeley, and Shaftesbury,) to the clergy residence bill, the Irish assaults bill, Irish sedition or disturbances bill, post horse duty bill, and to the whole of the bills remaining before the house, except two or three, which were read the third time.

At two o'clock his royal highness the prince regent came from Carlton-house in state, to prorogue parliament.

The speaker, attended by about forty members, soon afterwards appeared at the bar. The speaker addressed his royal highness in a speech of some length. He commenced by noticing the importance of the period at which they had met, and of the events during their session, of which, though distant, they had not been idle spectators. They had proceeded in their usual course to correct errors which experience showed them had crept into our old institutions; to originate new

new measures experimentally; and to collect information, which, though not immediately acted upon, would be the basis for progressive improvements hereafter. With regard to their financial arrangements, they had, without having recourse to new burthens upon the people, been enabled to sustain, on the extended scale to which it had been raised, the mighty military establishments of the country. From these great establishments in the south, co-operating with the powerful efforts in the northern nations, and from their joint exertions, had sprung those glorious events, which had ended in the overthrow of that enormous military despotism—the disgrace of our times. He then paid a compliment to the wisdom, justice, and ability, with which our military affairs had been conducted at home, and the consummate skill and bravery which abroad had contributed so much to the happy termination of the contest. The speaker then adverted to our efforts in concluding a peace, not less prosperous than the war had been glorious; a peace which had demonstrated the justice of our diplomatic system, and raised our national fame as high in policy as in arms. He eulogized the temperance and firmness displayed on this occasion, and characterized the peace as equally honourable and advantageous to all the contracting powers. Peace restored, commerce revived, and thrones re-established, furnished well-founded hopes that the same master-hand which had accomplished these things, would be equally visible in the approaching congress, and only cease in its endeavours when it had left the world in a state of universal happiness. The right hon. gentleman concluded by alluding to the contest with America, and observing, that however desirous of peace we might be, it neither could nor ought to be attained by any compromise of our maritime rights.—He then presented the three million vote of credit bill, to which the prince regent gave the royal assent in person.

The prince regent then addressed the parliament:

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot close this session of parliament without repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. When, in consequence of that calamity, the powers of government were first intrusted to me, I found this country engaged in a war with the greater part of Europe. I determined to adhere to that line of policy which his majesty had adopted, and in which he had persevered under so many and such trying difficulties. The zealous and unremitting support and assistance which I have received from you, and from all classes of his majesty's subjects; the consummate skill and ability displayed by the great commander, whose services you have so justly acknowledged; and the valour and intrepidity of his majesty's forces by sea and land; have enabled me, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to surmount all the difficulties with which I have had to contend. I have the satisfaction of contemplating the full accomplishment of all those objects for which the war was either undertaken or continued; and the unexampled exertions of this country, combined with those of his majesty's allies, have succeeded in effecting the deliverance of Europe from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it has ever laboured. The restoration of so many of the antient and legitimate governments

ments of the continent affords the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, I have concluded: and you may rely on my efforts being directed, at the approaching congress, to complete the settlement of Europe, which has been already so auspiciously begun; and to promote, upon principles of justice and impartiality, all those measures which may appear to be best calculated to secure the tranquillity and happiness of all the nations engaged in the late war.—I regret the continuance of hostilities with the United States of America. Notwithstanding the unprovoked aggression of the government of that country, and the circumstances under which it took place, I am sincerely desirous of the restoration of peace between the two nations upon conditions honourable to both. But, until this object can be obtained, I am persuaded you will see the necessity of my availing myself of the means now at my disposal, to prosecute the war with increased vigour.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year.—The circumstances under which the war in Europe has been concluded, and the necessity of maintaining for a time a body of troops in British pay upon the continent, have rendered a continuation of our foreign expenditure unavoidable. You may rely, however, upon my determination to reduce the expenses of the country as rapidly as the nature of our situation will permit.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is a peculiar gratification to me to be enabled to assure you, that full justice is rendered throughout Europe to that manly perseverance which, amidst the convulsions on the continent, has preserved this country against all the designs of its enemies, has augmented the resources and extended the dominions of the British empire, and has proved in its result as beneficial to other nations as to our own. His majesty's subjects cannot fail to be deeply sensible of the distinguished advantages which they have possessed; and I am persuaded that they will ascribe them, under Providence, to that constitution which it has now for a century been the object of my family to maintain unimpaired, and under which the people of this realm have enjoyed more of real liberty at home, and of true glory abroad, than has ever fallen to the lot of any nation.

The lord chancellor then declared parliament to be prorogued to the 27th of August next.

NORWAY.

PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE CHRISTIAN TO THE NORWEGIANS.

Norwegians,—When upon the dissolution of your union with Denmark, we took upon ourself the direction of the affairs of Norway, it was to prevent your beloved country from being torn to pieces by civil war and factions. Your wishes called us to the throne of Norway: we obeyed the call. Your confidence and your good cause demanded our participation. We resolved to make every personal sacrifice, in order to secure to you those benefits. It is true we were aware of the dangers which threatened your hopes and ours in such an unequal contest; but we could not possibly conceive that the most powerful states of Europe would combine to oppress

oppress a noble and innocent people, whose reasonable wish was liberty, and whose only desire was independence. Meanwhile, Sweden's powerful allies informed us by their envoys, that the union of Norway with Sweden was irrevocably determined on. It is known to you that we were willing to sacrifice our personal happy situation, if the great assembly of the nation should find it conducive to the happiness of the nation; but you likewise know, that the conditions upon which an armistice was at that time offered, were such that we could not accede to them till the fortune of war had been tried, because they were contrary to the fundamental laws. We saw with regret that our sincere endeavours to avoid a war in the north were fruitless. The extensive frontiers and sea coasts of Norway made it necessary to divide the troops. Sweden made great exertions to arm at different points; and in the uncertainty on what part of the kingdom the attack might be expected, from which we could cover the interior provinces of the kingdom, and at the same time hasten to the assistance of such points as were threatened or attacked; in all these respects Glommen seemed to present the most advantages. On being informed of the enemy's invasion by Ide-Sletten and Swinesund, we hastened to collect a corps at Rackestadt, in order, by an attack from that side, to stop the further progress of the enemy; but the unexpected surrender of Frederickstadt obliged us to take a position on the Glommen, the enemy having obtained a secure passage, so that the road to Christiania might be forced. The enemy being superior at sea, had it in his power by frequent landings to turn our right flank. A long blockade by the English and Swedish naval force had hindered us from furnishing our magazines in a sufficient manner; they were nearly exhausted, and want of the first necessaries threatened to break that courage which the superior force of the enemy could not bend. The deputies from the diet were not received by the English ministry, and, therefore, returned without any hope of assistance or a relaxation of the inimical measures of that kingdom. Under these circumstances Sweden proposed an armistice; of the two fortresses, the occupation of which by Swedish troops had been refused in the negotiations that were broken off, one was already in their hands, and the other cut off from all relief and bombarded. The fortune of war had declared against us, and the continuation of the contest would, in such circumstances, have led only to the total ruin of our country. To prevent this, and to give the nation an opportunity of learning the condition of the kingdom by a meeting of the diet, we repeated our offer of voluntarily retiring from that happy situation to which your confidence had called us. The armistice and convention of the 14th inst. were signed; and in consequence thereof, we have by our rescript of this day, directed to the chief magistrates, caused an extraordinary diet to be summoned, to meet at Christiania, on Friday, the 7th of October, this year.—Beloved people of Norway! only imperious necessity, this you cannot doubt, could have induced us to take a step which your attachment to us renders doubly painful. Our desire was to deserve your love; our comfort is the conviction of your sentiments, and the consciousness, that your welfare was the object of all our actions.—Given at

at Moss, August 16, 1814, under our hand and the seal of the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

AMERICA.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A proclamation.

Whereas the enemy by a sudden incursion have succeeded in invading the capital of the nation, defended at the moment by troops less numerous than their own, and almost entirely of the militia; during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they wantonly destroyed the public edifices having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science. And whereas advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more immediately guarding the neighbouring town of Alexandria, to place the town within the range of a naval force, too long and too much in the habit of abusing its superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had inconsiderately cast themselves upon the justice and generosity of the victor. And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction, "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable;" adding to this declaration the insulting pretext that it is in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorised and promptly shown to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavours to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself. And whereas these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit a deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity and the rules of civilized warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negotiations for peace, invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manful and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader. Now, therefore, I, James Madison, president of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the officers commanding the respective military

military districts to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof; for the more effectual accomplishment of which they are authorized to call to the defence of exposed and threatened places portions of the militia most convenient thereto, whether they be or be not parts of the quotas detached for the service of the United States under requisitions of the general government. On an occasion which appeals so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves, what they owe to their country and the high destinies which await it; what to the glory acquired by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven have blessed them. —In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed to these presents.—Done at the city of Washington, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1814, and of the independence of the United States the 39th.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,
JAS. MONROE, Sec. of state.

WASHINGTON, *Sept.* 20. — A quorum being present, the president transmitted by his secretary the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow citizens of the senate and house of representatives,—Notwithstanding the early day which had been fixed for your session of the present year, I was induced to call you together still sooner, as well that any inadequacy in the existing provisions for the wants of the treasury might be supplied, as that no delay might happen in providing for the result of the negotiation on foot with Great Britain, whether it should require arrangements adapted to a return of peace, or further and more effective provisions for prosecuting the war.

The result is not yet known: if on one hand the repeal of the orders in council, and the general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggest expectations that peace and amity may be established, we are compelled on the other hand, by the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the emperor of Russia, by the delays in giving effect to its own proposals of a direct negotiation, and, above all, by the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, to infer that a strict hostility is indulged more violent than ever against the rights and prosperity of this country. This increased violence is best explained by two important circumstances, that the great contest in Europe for an equilibrium, guaranteeing all its states against the ambition of any, has been closed without any check on the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean, and that it has left in her hands disposable armoury, with which, forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people, and yielding to the intoxication of success with the example of a great victim to it before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further aggrandising a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation more able to maintain

than

than it was to acquire its independence, and with a devotion to it rendered more ardent by the experience of its blessings, can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating the extravagant measures of unwarrantable passion, with which alone the war can now be pursued against us. In the events of the present campaign, with all its augmented means and wanton use of them, he has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprise against this metropolis and the neighbouring town of Alexandria, from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation can accrue for the loss of character with the world, by his violation of private property, and his destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilised warfare. On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara by the American forces under major-general Brown, and brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulated companions the most unfading laurels; and having triumphantly proved the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture. On the southern border victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of major-general Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tennessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostiles avages; and by establishing a peace with them, preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, we have guarded against the mischief of their co-operations with the British enterprises which may be planned against this quarter of our country. Important tribes of Indians on our north-western frontier have also acceded to stipulations which bind them to the interest of our United States, and to consider our enemy as theirs also.

In the recent attempts of the enemy on Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was received with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to the ships, whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was successfully resisted by the steady and well directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it. In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only, the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat, our gallant bands pressing upon him. On the lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid on Lake Ontario.

Our

Our squadron is now and has been for some time in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port, and to favour the operations of our land forces on that frontier. On lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action with the American, commanded by captain Macdonough: it issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of this officer and his intrepid comrades is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory which immortalized another officer, and established, at a critical moment, our command of another lake. On the ocean, the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported: a second frigate has indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of heroism with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius, maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast. This officer and his comrades have added much to the glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their country is ever ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety.

Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy, but by superiority of force, which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by captain Warrington, the other by captain Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class with a gallantry and good conduct, which entitled them and their commanders to a just share in the praise of their country.

In spite of the naval forces of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruisers also have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports: contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which has been made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States.

To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy, great bodies of militia have been taken into the service of the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient and more œconomical, congress will see the necessity of immediate measures of filling the ranks of the regular army, and enlarging the provisions for special corps, mounted and dismounted, to be engaged for a longer period of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew at the same time a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as by classing and disciplining on the most prompt and active service the portion most capable of it, will give to that resource for the public safety all the requisite energy and efficiency.

A part of the squadron on lake Erie has been extended to lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command of that lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinan, which failed, with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer distinguished for his gallant exploits; and the expedition, ably conducted by both

land and naval commanders, was otherwise valuable in its effects.

The monies received into the treasury during the nine months ending the 13th of June last amounted to 32 millions of dollars, of which 11 millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceed 34 millions of dollars, and left in the treasury on the 1st of July near five millions of dollars.

The demands during the remainder of the present year already authorised by congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render it necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them. From this view of the national affairs, congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies, as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and character which the war has assumed.

It is not to be disguised that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts: our enemy is powerful in men and money, on the land and on the water: availing himself of fortunate circumstances, he is aiming with an undivided force a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilised warfare, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property.

In the pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and manufactures: his barbarous policy has not even spared those monuments of taste with which our country had enriched and embellished our infant metropolis. From such an adversary, hostility in its greatest force and worst forms may be looked for.—The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit which, in their revolutionary war, defeated his unrighteous projects; his threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary, the national legislator will not distrust the enlightened patriotism of his constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burthen of every kind which the safety and honour of the nation demands.

We have seen them every where give their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity: we have seen them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call; and, offering their blood, they give their surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.

Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly 1000 American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war which had lasted nearly 20 years, and which, according to appearance at that time, might last as many more—having manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country,

try, and to oppose to the enemy's persevering hostility all our energy, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence.

JAMES MADISON.

SAXONY.—DECLARATION.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, by the grace of God, king of Saxony, duke of Warsaw, &c.

We have just learned with lively feelings of grief that our kingdom of Saxony has been provisionally occupied by the troops of his Prussian majesty.—Firmly resolved never to separate our fate from that of our people; filled with confidence in the justice and magnanimity of the allied sovereigns, and intending to join their alliance as soon as we had the means of doing so, we determined, after the battle of Leipsic, there to await the conquerors. But the sovereigns refused to hear us. We were compelled to depart from our states, and proceed to Berlin. His majesty the emperor of Russia nevertheless made known to us, that our removal from Saxony was dictated only by military interests, and his majesty at the same time invited us to repose in him entire confidence. We also received from their majesties the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, affecting proofs of interest and sensibility. We were in consequence enabled to cherish the hope, that as soon as these military considerations ceased to operate, we should be reinstated in our rights and restored to our dear subjects..... Far, however, from crediting the reports circulated with regard to the fate of our states since the epoch of the peace of Paris, we place entire confidence in the justice of the allied monarchs, though it be impossible to penetrate the motives of the proceedings which they have pursued towards us. The conservation and consolidation of legitimate dynasties was the grand object of the war which has been so happily terminated: the coalesced powers accordingly repeatedly proclaimed in the most solemn manner, that, far removed from every plan of conquest and aggrandisement, they had only in view the restoration of the rights and liberties of Europe. Saxony, in particular, received the most positive assurances, that her integrity would be maintained. That integrity essentially includes the conservation of the dynasty for which the nation has publicly manifested its constant attachment, and the unanimous wish to be re-united to its sovereign. ... The inviolability of our rights and of those of our house to the well and justly acquired inheritance of our ancestors, is acknowledged. Our speedy reinstatement ought to be the consequence thereof. We should be wanting to the most sacred duties towards our royal house, and towards our people, were we to remain silent under the new measures projected against our states at a moment when we are entitled to expect their restitution. The intention manifested by the court of Prussia, of provisionally occupying our Saxon states, compels us to forearm our well-founded rights against such a step, and solemnly to protest against the consequences which may be drawn from such a measure.—It is before the congress of Vienna, and in the face of all Europe, that we discharge this duty, by signing these presents with our hand, and at the same time publicly reiterating the declaration,

communicated

communicated some time ago to the allied courts, that we will never consent to the cession of the states inherited from our ancestors, and that we will never accept any indemnity or equivalent that may be offered to us.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

Given at Frederickfeld,
Nov. 4, 1814.

PROCLAMATION.

We, CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. To all our subjects inhabiting the kingdom of Norway!

We now perform a duty dear to our heart in acquainting you that the national diet of the kingdom of Norway having on the 4th inst. unanimously acknowledged and elected us constitutional king of Norway, we yesterday, by the hands of our well-beloved son, Charles John, crown prince of Sweden and Norway, and generalissimo of the sea and land forces of both kingdoms, deposited with the diet our oath to govern the kingdom of Norway according to its constitution and its laws, and received the oath of the diet to us and to the constitution. The great object of our wishes is thus accomplished, and the last seal is affixed to the union of the two nations of the Scandinavian peninsula. Norwegians! henceforward you have sacred claims on our heart and on our paternal solicitude. Your fidelity and attachment will be the return for the new duties which we have to fulfil towards you, and the most satisfactory reward which a good king can desire.—The fundamental law which your representatives have adopted in concert with our commissioners, and which we have solemnly received and approved, will serve as a guarantee both of your rights and your future prosperity. Bear in mind that these valuable blessings are only to be preserved by respect for religion and social order, and that the sanctity of rights always rests on the faithful performance of the duties thereto attached.—We are aware of the difficulties which we have to surmount; but we entertain the consoling hope, that, seconded by the intelligence and energy of patriot-citizens, we shall be enabled successively to effaee the remembrance and the effects of a long and disastrous war. It is by encouraging agriculture, by giving to commerce uninterrupted activity, that the public welfare will gradually resume new strength. The union between Sweden and Norway collecting in one mass the hitherto divided powers of the two kingdoms, furnishes the most powerful motive and the surest means for maintaining peace. The nations of the Scandinavian peninsula have within themselves strength to defend their independence and their laws. Beyond its limits they have no real advantage to expect.—May Providence bless our paternal efforts for your happiness! Union of heart and of resolution, obedience to the laws, energy against oppression,—such are the surest foundations of the existence of states: it is by them that the north, amidst all future vicissitudes, will maintain its name, its liberty, and glory, defended by the sea and its mountains, and by the courage of its sons.—By the authority of my most gracious sovereign and lord,

CHARLES JOHN.
FISCHER.

Christiania, Nov. 11, 1814.

LITERARY

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Interesting Particulars in the Life of General Moreau.

[From Memoirs, &c. by John Philippart, Esq.]

In the month of February, 1804, before the designs of Buonaparte upon the monarchy of France had unfolded themselves to the world, a few distinguished individuals, who were well acquainted with his ambitious projects, jealous of the honour and freedom of their country, entered into a compact either to relieve it from the system of tyranny he had commenced, or prescribe boundaries to his ambition.

General Pichegru, Georges, Cadoudal, (formerly a chief of the insurgents in Brittany,) and Lajollais, a friend of General Pichegru, were implicated in this conspiracy, and it was believed from appearances at the time, that General Moreau had to a certain extent entered into the views of the conspirators; but a perusal of the trial of Pichegru, Georges, and their friends, must convince every individual that General Moreau, if acquainted with a part of the plan, certainly did not intend giving to it any support.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1798, the fortune of war had thrown into the hands of General Moreau the baggage of the Austrian General Klinglin, wherein were discovered papers in cypher which left no room to doubt that a plan was formed to effect a counter-revolution, and that communications for that purpose were carried on between General Pichegru, the Prince de Condé, and the British minister, Mr. Wickham.

The friendship General Moreau entertained for General Pichegru made him desirous of suppressing these papers: he was however obliged finally to make a confidential discovery to Barthelemy, but which action was not condemned even by General Pichegru.

The delinquency of General Pichegru, the bosom friend of General Moreau, and his preceptor in the art of war, as well as the reserve and mystery observed by General Moreau, in regard to the correspondence and papers in cypher, determined Buonaparte to involve, if possible, that upright character in ruin: and although the industry of his emissaries could not adduce one proof of his having embarked

in the conspiracy, yet he was arrested and treated as an enemy to the state.

General Moreau, together with Lajollais, and some other persons obnoxious to the first consul, were arrested on the 17th of February, 1804, and the following report of the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice to the Government, was read to the Tribunal.

"CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

"New plots have been hatched by England. This was the case even amidst the peace which she swore to maintain, and when she violated the treaty of Amiens, she counted less on her strength, than on the success of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the steps of the agents of the enemy were followed by the eye of justice: the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear of the explosion of that mine, which had been dug under our feet. At any rate the most ominous reports were spread, and they were indulging the most criminal hopes;—on a sudden the agents of the conspiracy were arrested; proofs have accumulated, and they are so strong and so evident that they carry with them conviction to every mind.

"Georges and his band of assassins had remained in the pay of England; the agents were still traversing La Vendée, Morbilian, the Côtes Du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partizans, of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government and of the laws.

"Pichegru, unmasked by the events which preceded the 18th *Fructidor*, year 5, (Sept. 5th, 1797) and convicted, in particular, by that correspondence which General Moreau had addressed to the Directory, had carried with him to England his hatred against his country. In the year eight, he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemy, in order to unite with the brigands of the South. In the year nine he conspired with the committee of Bareuth, and since the peace of Amiens, he has still been the hope and the counsellor of the enemies of France.

"The British perfidy associated Georges with Pichegru—the infamous Georges, with that Pichegru whom France has esteemed, whom she wished for a long time to consider as incapable of treachery. In the year eleven a criminal reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honour ought to place eternal hatred. The police seized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment when he was returning a second time from England. This man had in his possession, documents, which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bonds which united them been formed by criminality.

"On the arrest of this agent, General Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took some private steps to ascertain whether government was informed of it; but it was passed over in silence, and he himself, when he recovered his tranquillity, concealed from government an event which could not but awaken its vigilance. He observed silence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the British ministry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France, Government was disposed to consider his silence as arising from the dread of a confession which would have humbled

humbled him, as it considered his retirement from public affairs, his suspicious connexions, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peevishness and discontent.

"General Moreau, who could not fail of being suspected, since he maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and who in consequence of this suspicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arrested, was suffered to enjoy in tranquillity his honors, an immense fortune, and the kindness of the republic. Events, however, rapidly succeeded each other. Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris, carried to Pichegru the ideas of General Moreau—carried back to Moreau the ideas and designs of Pichegru and his associates; the brigands of Georges were preparing, even in Paris, every thing that was necessary for the execution of their common designs.

"A place was assigned between Dieppe and Treport, at a distance from molestation or the eye of vigilance, where the brigands of England brought over in English ships, landed without being observed, and where they found corrupted men to receive them, men paid to conduct them during the night from fixed stations, previously agreed on, and thus to convey them to Paris.

"At Paris lurking places were procured for them, hired before hand, where they had confidants to protect them; they had some of these in different quarters and streets at Chaillot, in the rue de Bacq, in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, in the Marrais. A first debarkation was effected, consisting of Georges himself, and eight of his brigands. Georges returned to the coast to assist at the landing of Coster St. Victor, condemned by a sentence passed in the affair of *Nivôse* three, and of ten other brigands.

"In the commencement of the present month a third landing was effected. It consisted of Pichegru, Lajollais, Arnaud, Gaillard, (brother of Raould,) John Marie, (one of the first confidants of Georges,) and some other brigands of the same stamp.

"Georges with Joyau, called Dassar, St. Vincent, and Picot, went to receive this third debarkation: the whole assembled at the farm de la poterie.

"A fourth landing was expected; the vessels were in sight, but contrary winds prevented them from approaching; a few days ago they were still making signals. Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris, where they lodged in the same house, surrounded by about thirty brigands under the command of Georges: an interview took place between them and Moreau; the place, the day, and the hour, where the first conference was held, are known—a second was agreed upon, but did not take place—a third and a fourth took place, even in the house of General Moreau.

"The presence of Georges and Pichegru at Paris, those conferences with General Moreau, are confirmed by incontestible and numerous proofs. Georges and Pichegru have been traced from house to house. Search has also been made for those who assisted at their landing; those who, under the cloud, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris; their confidants and accomplices. Lajollais, their principal agent, and General Moreau are arrested: the af-

fects and papers of Pichegru have been seized, and the police is employing the greatest activity to find him.

"England wishes to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France, to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confusion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty million of citizens, and surrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a task, not only superior to the strength of England, but of all Europe.

"England, therefore, had no hopes of accomplishing her design, but by the assassination of the First Consul, and by covering this assassination under the shadow of a man, who was still protected by the remembrance of his services. I must add, that the citizens need be under no uneasiness. The greater part of the brigands have been arrested, the rest have fled, and are closely pursued by the police. No suspicion attaches to any class of citizens, or to any branch of administration.

"I shall not give any further details in this report; you have seen all the papers; you will, therefore, give orders for their being laid before the eyes of justice. Signed by the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice.

"REGNIER."

Certified in due form, the
Secretary of State.
"H. B. MARET."

The brother of General Moreau, who was a member of the tribunate, immediately addressed that assembly, testifying the deepest concern to find that endeavours were making to traduce a man who had rendered such important services to the republic He made a solemn protestation of his brother's innocence, complained that he was deprived of the liberty to offer an exculpation of himself, and demanded that he should be brought to trial, when he pledged himself that the innocence of General Moreau should be made manifest.

The tribunate replied, that the defence of General Moreau should have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity, of which so important a cause was susceptible.

Deputations from all the bodies, of which the government was composed, presented themselves before the First Consul, deprecating in the strongest language the conduct of England in the conspiracy which had been revealed. The most remarkable passage in the addresses was used by the President of the Tribunate, Joubert, and was as follows:

"While we imagined, Citizen First Consul, that you had nothing to dread but the dangers of legitimate war, the perfidy of the English government surrounded you with new snares. What a humiliating avowal of its inability to combat with open arms the repairing genius of France!!"

Buonaparte replied to these addresses, that, since he had attained the chief magistracy, many plots had been formed against his life. Educated in camps, he never regarded, as important, dangers which caused in him no fear. But he could not avoid experiencing a serious and painful feeling, when he reflected on the situation in which that great nation would have been involved, had this last conspiracy succeeded: for it was principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that it was planned.

He had long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private

private life. All his days were employed in fulfilling the duties, which his fate and the will of the French people had imposed upon him. Heaven would watch over France, and defeat the stratagems of the wicked. The citizens might be free from alarm—his life would continue as long as it should be of utility to the nation. But he wished the French people to understand, that without their confidence and affection, existence would be to him without consolation, and to them without an object.

These measures were accompanied by communications to the same effect issued in general orders to the French armies, and were followed of course by corresponding addresses. General Pichegru, although still in Paris, had contrived to elude the vigilance of the police: notwithstanding a proclamation had been issued, offering a reward of a million of livres for his apprehension. He was, however, at length betrayed by the person with whom he lodged, an exchange broker of the name of Blanc, and arrested on the 28th of February. Blanc, however, did not escape unpunished for his treachery. Murat, who had signed the proclamation, had him arrested and exiled from Paris.

On the 29th, a law was proposed and passed in a single sitting, to punish with death every person who should afford an asylum to Georges, or any of his accomplices.

Georges was taken on the 9th of March, accompanied by a person of the name of Leridan: he killed with a pistol shot one of the police officers, and wounded another.

It was not unknown in Paris that the jealousy of Buonaparte had long been excited against General Moreau, on account of his high military reputation, his probity, his moderation, and disinterestedness. He was adored by a great proportion of the army, and possessed the esteem of all well disposed persons. He was also considered as the natural rival of Buonaparte, and looked up to as the only person who was able to deliver France from his sway.

It was not therefore unlikely that Buonaparte should be anxious to rid himself of this formidable barrier to supreme power: but nevertheless the state of parties in France, and the popularity of General Moreau, rendered it necessary for Buonaparte to exert all his capabilities for manœuvre and intrigue to mask his real plans against General Moreau.

Even after the arrest of General Moreau, Buonaparte perceived the necessity of proceeding against him with the most guarded caution. The trial lasted nearly three weeks, from nine in the morning until six in the evening. During its progress, General Moreau was received in the hall with enthusiastic applause, and throughout he displayed the greatest firmness.

The sentence of the judges was, that General Moreau was not guilty of the charges alleged against him by the Tribunate, but that his conduct had been inconsiderate. And they therefore sentenced him to two years imprisonment.

A fear of raising the indignation of the army, induced the First Consul to remit the punishment decreed to that of banishment. A letter which General Moreau addressed to him, was made the plea for this lenity, and General Moreau immediately quitted Paris. He went first to Spain, and was at Cadiz during the malignant contagion which raged there in the beginning of 1805, and from thence to America. On his

arrival in America, General Moreau made a tour along the banks of the Ohio and the Missisippi. He visited the astonishing falls of Niagara, and surveyed every other natural wonder with which that extraordinary country is ornamented. In this excursion, General Moreau had an opportunity of observing the manners of the Americans: their internal policy and national resources. He clearly comprehended the strength and ability of the states, and in all his views of the Americans as a rising people, he invariably spoke with judgment, and predicted with truth.

After his tour, General Moreau, having been joined by his wife and child, purchased a house called Morrisville, below the fall of the Delaware; and there, with the wreck of his once large fortune, had the happiness to find in the enjoyment of a few friends, whose tastes and sentiments were congenial with his own, a portion of tranquillity, which banished in some degree the remembrance of what he had lost in Europe.

By the Code Napoleon, the expense of the trial falls on the person accused. And the government have the choice amongst all the individuals implicated in the same accusation. It fell of course on General Moreau; and Madame Hulot, his mother in law, who had undertaken to send him the produce of his property, to America, was obliged to pay out of it the whole expense of the trial of Pichegru, Georges, and their friends.

It is observed in a work intitled "the Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte," that at the conclusion of each day's sitting on the trial of General Moreau, the prisoners were conducted to their prisons between two files of soldiers and that as General Moreau passed the soldiers grounded their arms, and some whispered in his ear, "*Mon General voulez vous de nous?*" General do you want us? "*Non,*" was the answer, "*Je naime pas le sang.*" "No, I do not love blood." Had he but given the word, it was generally believed that Buonaparte would have been a prisoner in the Temple in less than six hours.

Although retired from public scenes and public men, General Moreau was not to be forgotten; and when the oppressed continental states rose to throw off their chains of slavery and misery, to compel Buonaparte to confine himself to the ancient boundaries of France, and to restore to their rightful owners the territories he had possessed himself of: when the revolutionary springs of France appeared to be worn out, the counsels and the military skill of General Moreau were regarded by the sovereigns of Europe, as essentially necessary to the completion of their just and honourable designs.

Colonel Rappatel, the aide de camp of General Moreau, who had shared in many of his most brilliant victories, and who did not abandon his general in the hour of misfortune, passed through this country about a year since in his way to Russia, whither he had been tempted to go in consequence of overtures from the court of St. Petersburg, by their minister at Philadelphia, Mr. Dashkoff, to General Moreau, offering him a command, and requesting his aid in the general deliverance of Europe. He was there received with those distinctions which were due to the friend and fellow soldier of Moreau, and was in a short time appointed to an important

portant command in the Russian army. From the representations made by that officer, General Moreau was induced about the end of May, 1813, to quit his retirement at Philadelphia, in order to reassume that situation he was so admirably qualified to fill. He accordingly retired from those scenes where he had passed some years, universally beloved, in the enjoyment of that respect, which is due to a life well spent, and embarked in the Hannibal for Europe, again to plunge into that tempestuous ocean, where all his brightest hopes had once been shipwrecked.

The Americans repeatedly offered General Moreau the command of their armies, and the agents of Buonaparte were continually employed to induce him to the adoption of some step that might deprive him of his well earned popularity; and they even flattered themselves with inducing him to become ruler of North America; but those, and every other attempt, were foiled by the nobleness which constantly animated General Moreau, and which, throughout his tempestuous career, drew respect from such of his enemies as enjoyed any liberality of feeling.

When the Russian minister found that General Moreau acceded to the wishes of the Emperor Alexander, he applied to the British Admiral Cockburn, for a licence for an American ship to go to Europe with a passenger, and on the 21st of June General Moreau embarked at Hell Gate, on board the Hannibal, 500 tons burthen, and sailed from America. He landed at Gottenburg the 26th July, and on the 4th August he again embarked at Ystadt, in a Swedish brig of war for Stralsund. The Crown Prince of Sweden, then at Berlin, set off to give his early friend a meeting, and to concert with him a plan of military operations for the ensuing campaign. It was determined to organize a separate corps d'armée, to be principally composed of French prisoners, and called Moreau's legion. This body was to be decorated with the white or national cockade, to bear the motto "*pro patria*," to fight for the deliverance of Europe, and in particular for the emancipation of Frenchmen. A part of the plan agreed upon was, that General Willot, who was expected in England from America, together with General Rewbel, (the commander in chief of the Westphalian army, at the time of the escape of the Duke of Brunswick, and who was disgraced by Buonaparte on account of that event,) were to organize such of the French prisoners as they could raise in this country, and to have disembarked with them in the north of France.

After a passage of two days, General Moreau arrived at Stralsund: his reception there was proportionate to his rank as a general in chief, to his misfortunes and his renown. He pursued his journey, and on the 16th of August reached Berlin, accompanied by Colonel Rappatel, and Mr. Svinine, a gentleman in the civil department of the Russian government, and now in this country. General Moreau was greeted by the populace with the most rapturous welcome. They assembled in front of his apartments with joyful acclamations, and in the evening he was serenaded.

On the morning of the 11th General Moreau visited all the princes and generals then resident at Berlin: those distinguished personages immediately returned his visits; and

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in the evening of the same day he set out from Berlin, accompanied by the gentlemen above mentioned, to join the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, at their head-quarters.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 16th August, General Moreau arrive: at Prague.

The counsellor of legation, Colonel Rappatel, was immediately sent to the emperor and king, to acquaint them of the same. These personages, conceiving General Moreau to be extremely fatigued from his journey, deferred seeing him till the following morning: but before the General was dressed, the emperor rushed into his apartment, and embraced him.

The King of Prussia soon after arrived, and assured the general of his high satisfaction in finding that they should have his able assistance: the emperor desired that he would draw on his treasury for every demand that he should require, but which noble offer the general with equal nobleness declined: representing that he brought with him sufficient funds for the present campaign, and which he hoped would be the last. Two days afterwards, the 18th August, the Emperor of Russia presented General Moreau to the Emperor of Austria, by whom he was received in a manner flattering to his feelings, and worthy of his character.

The eventful years that had passed since the departure of General Moreau from the land of his nativity, the success of his imperial rival, and the changes effected in the politics of Europe, were alike unable to obliterate from the minds of men the services or the just renown of General Moreau. His reputation was permanent, because it was founded on the qualities of the heart; and his military character was unimpaired, because it was solid. His health was drank at Dresden by the officers in the service of Napoleon; and but for the interference of General Berthier, they would have paid for their enthusiasm by their lives. Two officers in the service of Buonaparte deserted to General Moreau from Dantzig; and had he been spared to his country, there is no doubt that he would have been joined by many valuable French officers.

The battle of Dresden, and the plan of the campaign were arranged and advised by General Moreau—they are no doubt some of the grandest ideas that he had ever projected. General Moreau was in earnest conversation with the Emperor Alexander in the midst of the battle, and in the act of giving his opinion on some military movements, while passing with the emperor behind a Prussian battery, to which two French batteries were answering, one in front, and the other in flank, and the British minister, Lord Cathcart, and Major General Sir Robert Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh, and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and carried away the calf of his other leg. He uttered a deep groan, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and perceiving the officers around him in the greatest distress, he observed, "*Soyez tranquilles, messieurs, c'est mon sort!*" and leaning on Colonel Rappatel, who supported him in his arms, he observed, "though I am lost, to die in so good a cause, and in the presence of the Emperor Alexander, is sweet."

The horror and consternation that followed

followed this catastrophe are indescribable, but General Moreau, after receiving his wound, never deviated from the calm and even temper, which so peculiarly characterized him: and indeed throughout the whole of his sufferings, he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared, to those with whom he conversed, from his extreme composure and calmness, to endure but little pain."

Arrest, Trial, and Execution of Algernon Sydney.

[From Mr. Meadley's Memoirs.]

"AFTER the death of Lord Shaftesbury, however, in November, 1682, Sydney no longer hesitated to engage in the counsels of his friends; and, through the Earl of Essex, whose confidence he had acquired, was induced to bear a part in the consultations of that nobleman, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, and the younger Hampden, on the situation of public affairs. By his persuasion, Lord Howard also was admited into their confidence, although implicated in the wildest schemes of Lord Shaftesbury, and otherwise regarded with distrust. And, at a later period, with as much imprudence, they associated with Lord Grey of Wark. It is impossible to ascertain clearly the exact purport of their meetings, since the testimony of these two men, who alone have pretended to develope it, is liable to many serious objections.

"Alarmed at the rapid strides of despotism, the Whigs had resolved to avoid all active interference, while the nation continued regardless of the impending danger; unless, by the calling of a new parliament, the exertion of their influence should be required. The arbitrary measures of the court, meanwhile, had almost reached their achmé, and the privileges of the people had been grossly invaded, in the last election of sheriffs at Guildhall. In such circumstances, therefore, the attention of Sydney and his associates might be justly directed to the means of averting the danger, which threatened the extinction of their liberties. They might listen to Lord Howard's details of what had been, or might still be devised for the public good. A communication with their friends in Scotland being expedient, for their common safety, a messenger might be dispatched to collect information on the state of that country. And Sydney might loudly assert his preference of a republican scheme of policy, and even vindicate the legality of taking arms against an oppressive government, without any of the party involving themselves in acts of conspiracy or treason.

"Resistance had indeed become a matter of prudence rather than of morality, in the prevailing temper of the times; since the chains of despotism are more closely rivetted, by every injudicious attempt to break them. It is probable, therefore,

fore, that their attention was chiefly directed to the means of warding off the evils of a capricious tyranny, by submitting the public grievances to the early consideration of a parliament legally convened. This, however, was no easy matter to accomplish, against the influence of a reluctant court; and, when some of the party proposed, in a public declaration of their objects, to express a wish that matters might be happily accommodated. Sydney was well warranted in observing, that 'when wise men drew their swords against their king, they laid aside the thought of treating with him.' He no doubt had spoken boldly, and with unsuspecting confidence, the indignant feelings of his heart, and his language was liable to very different constructions, according to the circumstances in which it was detailed.

"The intercourse of such distinguished men, could not long escape the notice of a jealous government, and was calculated to excite the royal vengeance on the first convenient pretence. Their names unfortunately had been too freely mentioned, in the cabals of Lord Shaftesbury's adherents, where many foolish, and some wicked projects, had been the subject of occasional discourse. Sydney, however, was not even personally acquainted with these men; whilst some of his associates had determined, to withhold all further confidence from Lord Howard, who alone, of all the party, had secretly fomented their proceedings.

"On the arrival of some Scotch gentlemen in London, in the beginning of April, 1683, and their suspected intercourse with Lord Russell, the vigilance of government was increased. Sydney was, in consequence, informed of a design to imprison him; and, on enquiring the reason, was told of some frivolous allegations, respecting persons whom he did not know. His informant, however, was firmly persuaded, that some occasion would certainly be found; and, if he were but once secured, the cause would be of little moment, since he could not possibly escape conviction, from such judges and juries, as the court was determined to employ.

"The *Rye-house plot*, in which the alleged assassination of the king and his brother, on their return from Newmarket, was artfully connected with the schemes of insurrection formerly devised by Lord Shaftesbury, at length furnished the desired pretence. The town was full of rumours, Sydney's name was in every coffee house, and he was again informed, from various quarters, of a design to arrest him. He mentioned it to several of his acquaintance, but, conscious of his own innocence, determined to remain at home; in which resolution he persisted, even after he had heard that one Rumsey had surrendered as a witness, and that the Duke of Monmouth had retired. And he felt himself so little interested in these occurrences, that he spent the morning of the 26th of June in his usual studies, or in receiving the visits of his friends.

"Whilst he was at dinner, however, he was arrested, by an order from the privy council, in the king's name; and, in the course of a few minutes, a second messenger arrived with an order to secure his papers. Finding nothing, after the most diligent search, in any place of concealment, the messenger took possession of some manuscripts, which either lay upon the table, or beside

beside it in a trunk; and having packed them up, desired Sydney to affix his seal. This he positively refused, remembering what had passed on a similar occasion, and not knowing what might have been put in. On affixing his own seal, therefore, to the packages, the messenger promised that they should not be opened, except in Sydney's presence. In the sequel, however, the whole were carefully withheld from him, though more than once petitioned for, as containing papers which might probably conduce to his defence.

"When he was brought before the privy council, Sydney answered some questions 'respectfully, and without deceit;' but, on being further pressed, he replied, that 'if they had any proof against him, he was ready to vindicate his conduct; but that otherwise he would not fortify their evidence:' prudently declining to involve himself by any unguarded admissions. But, although there appeared to be no sort of evidence against him, to justify his further detention, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason, by a warrant signed on the preceding day.

"His commitment was contrary to law, in the first instance, and his confinement afterwards so rigorous as to affect his health. His money and bills of exchange in the hands of his banker, were seized, and his other property, even to his wearing apparel, taken possession of. His friends were denied access to him, and his servants prevented from carrying him a change of linen. And, notwithstanding repeated petitions to the king and council, he received no redress in these particulars, till Ducasse, a Frenchman in his confidence, applying to Lord Halifax, obtained permission to visit and attend him.

"Lord Russell was already in custody; whilst Lord Howard being still at large, went about protesting the falsehood of the charges, and his own ignorance and disbelief of the plot. At Sydney's house in particular, where, immediately after his arrest, he had applied to the servants to entrust him with the goods and plate, he called God to witness, that he knew nothing of the alleged conspiracy, and declared his conviction of their master's innocence, who had been in the habit of entrusting him with the knowledge of all his concerns. He, at the same time, expressed his obligations to Sydney in his former imprisonment, and observed, that he would rather do any thing than be a prisoner again. As he shewed great consternation, he was earnestly advised to keep out of the way, if he thought there was any thing against him, or if he had not strength of mind to bear up against the event. At length, however, on the 8th of July, he also was taken in his own house, attempting to conceal himself in a chimney. Hampden and the Earl of Essex were afterwards successively committed to the Tower, Lord Grey having previously escaped from his keeper, and the Duke of Monmouth still eluding all pursuit.

"Three persons, convicted on the evidence of some associates, suffered death for the assassination plot, on the 20th of July; but, whilst they admitted many treasonable conversations, to which they had been instigated by their accusers, they denied any knowledge of the crime for which they died. Lord Russell fell a sacrifice

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to royal vengeance on the following day. His trial having been proceeded in immediately after he was arraigned, that the jury might be influenced against him, by the violent death of Lord Essex, supposed to have fallen by his own hands. It appeared in evidence, that he had been present at a conversation about surprising the guards, though without taking any part in, or even attending to the discourse; and Lord Howard swore to two subsequent consultations, in which they had been mutually engaged. The firmness with which Lord Russell bore the insolence of the crown lawyers, at his trial, had excited a lively interest, which was much increased by his dignified composure, in the hour of death.

"Sydney, however, although present at the recent meetings of the party, was altogether unconnected with the conversation about surprising the guards: so that, after the prisons had been diligently ransacked, after menaces and persuasions had been alternately employed among the prisoners, and when Smith and Wildman, his supposed adherents, were in custody, no second witness could be found. Aaron Smith, indeed, the messenger dispatched to Scotland, when tampered with by an agent of the government, to propose his own terms for discovering what might suit their purpose, intrepidly replied, that 'he could not say any thing that would touch a hair of Sydney's head.' Nor was the court more successful, in an attempt to derive matter of accusation from himself; for when a committee of the privy council were sent to examine him in the Tower, he treated them roughly, observing, that "they seemed to want evidence, and were come to draw it from his own mouth; but they should have nothing from him."

"During the delays, which were occasioned by these repeated disappointments, Sydney's friends began to look forward to his release: the crown lawyers, aware of his talents and intrepidity, not daring to proceed, until, by some new arrangements, they had strengthened their interest on the bench. The chief justice of the King's Bench being lately dead, Sir George Jefferies, a king's serjeant, who had distinguished himself by his violence at Lord Russell's trial, was promoted to the vacant seat September 29, 1683; and joined with three colleagues of similar principles and views. And, as a warning to all other judges, Sir Francis Pemberton, who had conducted himself with some regard to decency, at Lord Russell's trial, was removed from his seat in the privy council, and his office as chief justice of the Common Pleas. Jefferies, however, actually consulted with the crown lawyers, on the means of compassing the prisoner's death; a paper, containing the result of their conference, being seen on the attorney-general's table. In the mean while, Peter Daniel, one of the aldermen, and Samuel Dashwood, being appointed sheriffs of London and Middlesex, by a commission under the great seal, selected Thomas Rowse, and Charles Hargrave, two men equally devoted to the service of the crown, for under-sheriffs. By such violations of all decorum, the agents of government were at length prepared, for a sturdy conflict with a man, whose life they were determined to sacrifice, but of whose vigour and resources they were afraid.

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"These preliminaries being finally arranged, Sydney was informed by the lieutenant of the Tower, on the 6th of November, that he had received orders to bring him before the court of King's Bench, by a writ of habeas corpus, on the following day. He was conveyed to Westminster, early in the morning, before the grand jury were assembled, or any bill of indictment had been exhibited against him; and detained about an hour at a tavern, till the bill was found. On its being presented, he was hurried to the bar, through a guard of soldiers, and immediately arraigned. The indictment was long, confused, and perplexed; alleging a variety of crimes, distinct in their nature, and distinguished from each other by law; setting forth no overt act of treason precisely, no person with whom he had conspired; and fixing on the 30th of June, when he was actually a prisoner, as the medium time of his conspiring in the parish of St. Giles's in the Fields. He consequently excepted to the bill, as vicious and erroneous, and desired to see the record. But this was peremptorily refused, the chief justice insisting that he must either plead to the indictment or demur, which amounted to a confession of the fact. He then produced a special plea, quoting the three acts of treason, and desiring that the separate charges might be distinguished; which was also refused, unless waving the fact, he would rest his case solely on that plea. Sydney on this proceeded to deny, distinctly, that he had either conspired the death of the king, levied war, invited the assistance of others of a neighbouring nation, or written any thing to stir up the people, as separately charged in the indictment; but he was interrupted by the chief justice, who declared, that unless he pleaded in the usual form, sentence should be immediately pronounced. Thus by repeated menaces from the bench, he was obliged to abandon every advantage which the law allowed him, and by pleading not guilty, to come to a general issue on the merits of his cause. A fortnight was allowed him to prepare for trial; but the copy of the indictment, and the assistance of a counsel, unless he should assign any particular point of law, which the court might think proper to debate, were refused. The indictment was then read to him in Latin, but all information respecting the statute, on which the attorney-general intended to proceed against him, was denied.

"But, although the whole tenor of the indictment appeared liable to exception, it required a very nice examination, to devise the further means of overthrowing it; and the ablest lawyers could afford the prisoner a very imperfect account of it from recollection alone. When the day of trial approached, therefore, Sydney petitioned the king for a copy of the record of Lord Russell's attainder, and of the indictment against himself, or at least the most material part of it, as necessary to his just defence; but his petition appears to have been disregarded. The attorney-general, indeed, had openly declared, that he should not have counsel, lest they should furnish him with legal objections; and a copy of the indictment had been refused him, contrary to repeated precedents, and the express provisions of a statute of the 46th Edward III. Of the counsel, who had been previously assigned

ed him, by an order from the Earl of Sunderland, October 29, 1683, to assist in preparing for his trial, Serjeant Rotherham had already drawn the plea, which he presented; and Williams, whilst advising him to persist in it, had been reproved from the bench. Before he was brought up for trial, also, he was duly prepared, with legal proofs and arguments, to expose the injustice of his prosecutors, and provided with a paper of instruction and reference, drawn by Williams, for the conduct of his defence.

"As a man of quality, Sydney expected to have been tried by a jury of his peers; but, when the pannel was presented to him, he found that it consisted chiefly of the lower class of mechanics, men of ruined character or fortune, with or without freehold, and chosen expressly by the solicitors for the crown. To save appearances, indeed, the names of a few gentlemen were inserted, who had received no summons to attend; and, of the whole pannel, he was only acquainted with the quality of three persons, whom, if present, he determined to accept.

"When Sydney appeared before the court, on the 21st of November, a copy of the indictment was again peremptorily refused to him, although he produced a transcript of the statute, by which it is expressly allowed in all cases, and to all men. The jury being called, he excepted against several persons, as being in the king's service, wanting freeholds, or having exposed themseves to infamy by some specific misconduct. But every special objection being over-ruled, he was forced to challenge peremptorily those, whom he knew to have been chosen for his destruction; and thereby, when his challenges were exhausted, to admit others of the same cast. Before a jury thus arbitrarily selected by his prosecutors, Sydney was called upon to answer to a complicated charge of treason; and exposed, without the assistance of counsel, to the determined violence of the bench and bar.

"After a speech from Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, detailing the heads of the accusation, West, who, having confessed many treasons, was still unpardoned, Rumsey, and Keiling, were examined as to the design of a general insurrection; and, although totally unconnected with the prisoner, were allowed to depose against him whatever they had heard from others; while their varying testimony alone was sufficient, to discredit the ill-concerted tale. When the minds of the jury had been thus artfully prepared, Lord Howard, deviating in minuter circumstances from his evidence at Lord Russell's trial, gave a detail of two conversations which had passed between that nobleman, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Essex, young Hampden, the prisoner, and himself, on the most effectual means of defending the public interest from invasion, without involving themselves in the obloquy of entertaining any selfish designs. Nothing, however, of moment, appeared to have been agreed upon at these meetings, except the propriety of settling an understanding with the Earl of Argyle, and also of communicating with Sir John Cochrane and some other leading Whigs in Scotland; when Sydney recommended Aaron Smith, as a person whom they might safely trust, and afterwards provided him with

with money for his journey. Of this circumstance, indeed, the witness only spoke from hearsay; for being called away, by business, into the country, he had gone from thence immediately to Bath. The arrival of these gentlemen in London, on pretence of treating about a purchase in Carolina, was also given in evidence, without any proof of their intercourse with the prisoner or his friends.

"The crown lawyers being obliged to rest their case, on the unsupported assertions of Lord Howard, who had testified nothing of a treasonable nature, ventured to supply the defect of a second evidence, by producing some papers found in Sydney's study, and supposed to be in his hand-writing, in which the paramount authority of the people, and the lawfulness of resisting an oppressive government, were ably and eloquently maintained. A few passages, best suited to the purpose being read, at the request of the attorney-general, Sydney complained of this partial proceeding; when the chief justice, endeavouring to entrap him, slily asked, to what heads he would refer. Perceiving the drift, however, he calmly answered, 'let him give an account of it that did it.' The attorney-general, having closed his evidence, informed the prisoner, that he was indicted on the first branch of the statute of the 25th Edward III. for conspiring and compassing the death of the king.

"Sydney, in his defence, insisted on the defect of evidence, where two witnessess were so expressly required, and where treason also should have been accurately distinguished; since levying war, and conspiring the death of the king, were acts distinct in nature, in reason, and in law. The testimony of Lord Howard was improbable, inconsistent with what he had sworn to at Lord Russell's trial, and the deposition of a single witness, where the laws of God and man required two: for if a single witness were received to separate charges, there would be no means of detecting falsehood, as appeared from the story of Susanna; and no person would be safe. If there were two witnesses to prove a conspiracy, and in that conspiracy any matters of treason, he must answer to it; but he desired that the law might be reserved to him, and that he might have counsel on the validity of the evidence adduced. Again, he asked, was there a war levied or prevented? if prevented, it was not levied; and if not levied, it was not within the statute, and did not affect his case. Lord Howard had accused himself of divers treasons, for which he was still unpardoned; and had said that he could not get his pardon, until he had done some other jobs, and was past the drudgery of swearing: that is to say, having incurred the penalty of high treason himself, he would procure his own indemnity by destroying others. Lord Howard was his debtor, and endeavouring to defraud him; and besides, by tampering with his servants, had attempted to take possession of his plate and other goods. His lordship, also, had repeatedly, and with the most solemn asseverations, attested his innocence, and expressed a firm conviction that the plot was all a sham.—By a strange kind of construction and imagination, some papers said to have been found in his study were adduced, as having relation to this plot, as it was called. But, as similitude of hands was no

legal proof in criminal cases, as appeared from the judgment of Chief Justice Keiling, in the case of Lady Carr, indicted for perjury in 1669, these papers were not before the court; and Lord Howard's testimony, being single, was destroyed for want of proof. Was it likely that six men, without followers, would undertake so vast a design, and yet neglect, as it appeared, every means of securing its success; no officers, soldiers, or money being provided, no time or place assigned? He did not think himself called upon to answer for the papers produced by a king's officer, who ought to be no witness: as had been admitted, by the arbitrary government of France, a few years before, in the case of de Fouquet, a minister of state. Similitude of hands was nothing, since hands might be counterfeited so that no man should know his own. He did not know whether the papers, shewn him by the attorney-general, were his or not: but these very papers, such as they were, were abhorrent to the design. By the ink, which was old, they might have been written twenty years; and seemed to be a polemical discourse, in answer to Filmer, who had vindicated the absolute sovereignty of kings, in all circumstances, and in whatever way their power had been acquired. Cromwell, a tyrant, as he had often called him in his life-time, and a violent one, against whom he had acted, would not endure the odious principle, *that possession was the only right to power*; which Filmer asserted as consonant to the law of nature and God. The papers were not proved upon him, and if proved were no crime.'—The chief justice, perceiving the force of this argument, diverted his attention from pursuing it, by suggesting the importance of impeaching the credibility of Lord Howard. Sydney then desired counsel on a second point, that conspiring to levy war was not treason; contending, at the same time, that he had neither made war, nor conspired to levy it. But this also was refused, unless he would admit the fact; upon which, the court maintained, all doubts in point of law depend.

" 'If therefore,' he resumed, 'they would make a concatenation of things, a supposition upon supposition, he would take all these asunder, and shew that if they were nothing in themselves, they could be nothing when joined together. It was material, that a whimsical imagination of a conspiracy, should not pass for a real conspiracy of the death of the king. Besides, if these papers were found in his house, it was a crime created since his imprisonment, which could not come in, for they were found since. If right, they mentioned upwards of two hundred sheets, and shewed neither beginning nor end. Should then a man be indicted for treason for such scraps of papers, so found, intended innocently, and when pieced and patched with Lord Howard's story, made a contrivance to kill the king? It was a right of mankind, exercised by all studious men, to write what they pleased in their closets, and for which no man could be answerable, unless he published it. He had lived under the inquisition—and there was no *man in* Spain could be tried for heresy'—'My Lord,' continued he, on being interrupted from the bench, in this stage of the argument, and desired to draw no precedents from the inquisition, 'if you take scripture by pieces,

pieces, you will make all the penmen of the scripture blasphemous; you may accuse David of saying *there is no God;* and accuse the evangelists of saying that *Christ was a blasphemer and a seducer;* and of the apostles that *they were drunk.*' On being again artfully required to point out any of the papers which explained the sense of them, and refuted the charge against him in the libel, he replied, 'If they will produce the whole, my Lord, I can see whether one part contradicts another.'

"During the latter part of this discourse, when his arguments began to bear more forcibly upon the question, Sydney was repeatedly interrupted by the chief justice, who observed so well the time of breaking in upon him, as to invert the method which he had laid down for his direction, and to prevent his finishing any point which pressed too hard upon the conduct of his prosecutors, or conduced most to his defence. He had prepared twelve points of law to be argued by his counsel, or reserved to be found specially, if the jury found any fact against him. But whenever he cited a law, or any adjudged case, that made for him, or proposed a point of law to be argued or reserved, he was told that it was nothing to the purpose, or had been already determined, and he was consequently obliged to desist. When he observed that 'it was to no purpose to speak, if law, reason, and truth were not regarded;' the chief justice replied, that 'if he would not speak, they knew how to proceed.' Driven into straits, by such unwarrantable conduct, he was obliged to call his evidence prematurely, and to abandon the strong grounds of his defence in reason and in law.

"The Earl of Anglesey, Lord Clare, Lord Paget, Doctor Burnet, and two gentlemen of the Howard family, were then called to impeach the credibility of Lord Howard; who deposed, either to his solemn asseverations of the prisoner's innocence, or to his repeated disavowal of all knowledge or belief of the supposed plot. Blake, a draper, testified to his Lordship's saying, that he must not have his pardon till the drudgery of swearing was over;' whilst Ducasse, and two female servants, gave evidence to his denying all communication with their master on this subject, and applying to them for the custody of his plate and goods. Lord Howard admitted the debt, with which he had been charged; and some other witnesses did not appear. Wharton, a person present, offering to imitate the writing in any of the sheets produced, so that it could not be distinguished from the original, was rudely answered by one of the judges, that he might have spent his time to a better purpose.

"Sydney, on resuming his defence, observed, 'that a complication of crimes was laid to his charge; and that the statute, 25th Edward III. had two branches; one relating to the levying of war, the other to conspiring, imagining, and compassing the death of the king. No evidence of his conspiring the death of the king had been adduced; and no overt-act to prove his levying war; which, if not levied, was not within the act. He was not a man to have a design to kill the king: no man who knew him would think so; perhaps he might say that he once saved his life: so that it must be by implication, imagining that he designed to raise a war, which should tend

to the destruction of the king. He knew that it might follow; but not naturally or necessarily; and, not being natural or necessary, it could not be so understood in law: many wars having been made, in which the death of the king did not ensue. To make war, and to endeavour to kill the king, were two distinct things; and, as there was no pretence that he had endeavoured to kill the king directly, there could be none by inference, since that was treason of another kind. He was incompetent to argue these points; and thought himself entitled to have counsel; for these things should not be confounded to the overthrow of all justice, as Lord Coke had said. If the making of war could not be understood to be conspiring the death of the king, he was not guilty of the indictment; and yet, there was neither conspiring the death of the king, making war, nor conspiring to make war. Besides, the best man's evidence would be insufficient, in a case where the law required two.'

" 'The business of Aaron Smith also was merely conjectural, and told so imperfectly, that there was nothing in it: for although Lord Howard stated a letter to have been sent by him, he did not say by whom it was written, what it contained, and whether it was ever delivered. Some Scotch gentlemen, it was said, had afterwards arrived in town, but he professed that he had never heard the name of any of them, till it was mentioned to him in the Tower. He had not sent, nor written, a letter into Scotland since the year 1659; nor did he know a single person to whom he could write, or from whom he had ever received one: since his return to England in 1677, he had neither written nor received any. He had never seen either of the Campbells or Monro; if any one could prove his connection with them, he should submit.'

" 'Then, as to these papers, he insisted that if any thing could be made of them, the whole should be read. He had been asked to name the passage, which he would have read: he did not know a single passage in them, either good or bad. But, if such papers were found in his study, for it was doubtful, and they might be counterfeit, the hand was such as to shew, that they had been written many years. One part of them, which seemed to be an account of the sections and chapters, was but a scrap. But if papers, not strictly justifiable, either in his own hand or another's, had been so found, was it treason, did it imagine the death of the king?—If any man could say that he ever printed a sheet, he would submit to any punishment. Many persons wrote what occurred to them, his own father, for instance, who had filled many quires, for his own satisfaction, and yet never published a single sheet. And, for himself, he believed that he had burnt more papers of his own writing than a horse could carry: for these papers, then, he could not answer. They amounted in themselves to nothing, and could have no connection with Lord Howard's select council, selected by nobody, in pursuit of Lord Shaftesbury's designs, and taking the fact for granted, which he did not, what was this council, adjusted with so much fineness, to do? It was nothing, even if the witness had been credible, but a few men talking at large of what might or might not happen, without either intending

or

or doing any thing: without so much as enquiring after men, arms, or ammunition. A war to be made by five or six men, not knowing or not trusting one another: for what Dr. Coxe had said, at Lord Russell's trial, of his Lordship's trusting Lord Howard, he might also say of others. These papers had no manner of coherence, no dependence upon any such design; and could never be calculated for raising the people. What imagination, then, could be more vain than that: what man could be safe if the king's counsel might make such groundless constructions? The plot was said to have been broken to the Scots: and the Campbells to have arrived in town about the time of hir arrest; and yet Lord Howard, the great contriver, the most active adviser in this delicate business, had attended the council, but agreed to nothing; then went into Essex to look after a little pimping manor, and, finally, had loitered away five weeks at Bath, regardless of the event. Could any men, who had the sense of grooms and porters, have done such things as he alleged? If the attorney-general was right, the paper was written in consequence of a combination with the Scots; for it it was stated that he was doing it at that time; but from the context it was evident, that it must have been the work of four or five years.—Constructive treasons belonged only to parliaments, and were beyond the province of the bench, who were confined to go according to plain proof. Was there, then, an overt of treason, which brought his case within either branch of the statute 25 Edward III.? if not, it was a matter of construction, and, as had been adjudged in Throgmorton's case, was above the jurisdiction of inferior courts. But he should have somebody to speak for him on this point.' The court again dissenting, unless he would acknowledge the fact, 'There were several judgments of parliament,' resumed he, 'to that purpose. If similitude of hands was not admissible as proof, in any criminal case, as had been resolved in that of Lady Carr, it certainly could not be received in the greatest. He thought it therefore impossible, from the nature of the evidence, for the jury to find the fact in this matter; but if, contrary to his opinion, they should find it, he desired to have the law reserved.'

"The solicitor-general, Heneage Finch, in his reply, after briefly attempting to invalidate the legal objections of the prisoner, by a reference to the case of Sir Henry Vane, and the more recent conviction of Lord Russell, entered into a long detail of the evidence, for the prosecution, insisting on its competence, and depreciating the testimony and argument by which it had been so forcibly assailed. Sydney then requested leave to say a few words, and was proceeding to remark on the eagerness of the solicitor-general to convict him, when he was interrupted by the chief justice, as having no further right to speak. Admitting the claim of the king's counsel, to conclude if they pleased, he shortly observed, that "a wise man had said there never could be too much delay, when the life of a man was in question; it was not enough to bring a man to death by any means; the case of Sir Henry Vane had been utterly misrepresented. According to Coke and Hale, the overt-act of one treason was not an overt-act of another. Compassing

passing by bare words, said Hale, is not an overt-act; conspiring by bare words is no overt-act.'

"The lord chief justice, in his charge to the jury, sanctioned all the principles of law advanced by the king's counsel, controverted the prisoner's objections, and insisted strongly on the competence of the evidence for the prosecution; artfully endeavouring to blend the consultations, in which Sydney had been implicated, with the other supposed conspiracies for an insurruction, and attempt upon the life of the king. But, not satisfied with this partial statement, he followed the jury out of the court, under pretence of taking some refreshment, and, when they were consulting about their verdict, gave them more particular instructions. When, in about half an hour, they returned with a verdict of *guilty*, Sydney desired to examine them by turns, before it was recorded, that he might not be deprived, like Lord Russell, of the benefit of making his exceptions, "whether every one of them had found him *guilty*, and more especially whether they had found him guilty of compassing the king's death; of levying war against the king; of any treason within the statute, 25th Edward III.; or of any proved against him by two witnesses: but the chief justice would not allow him to proceed. His trial had lasted from ten o'clock in the morniug till six at night, and during the whole time, notwithstanding the rudeness to which he was exposed, he steadfastly maintained his temper, frequently smiled at the conduct of his persecutors, and, even after his conviction, appeared indifferent to his fate.

"Three days after this extraordinary trial, on the evening of the 24th of November, the Duke of Monmouth, who had hitherto eluded the vigilance of government, after writing a very submissive letter to his father, surrendered himself to the secretary of state. Being brought before the privy council on the following day, he was received with much apparent favour, and pardoned for his share in the supposed plot. Whilst many were surprised at this proceeding, Sydney's friends began to entertain more sanguine expectations, and himself to look forward to the importance of such an evidence, if a new and more impartial trial could be obtained.

"On the 25th of November he presented, through Lord Halifax, a very manly petition to the king, recapitulating the irregular proceedings, which had led to his conviction, and praying for an audience of his majesty, whose honour and interest were so much concerned to preserve him from oppression. But the Duke of York, whose interest was again predominant in the council, seems to have been determined on his fate; and Jefferies, in his furious way, declared, that either Sydney or himself must die. The prayer of his petition was, in consequence, refused, and he was referred to the very judges of whom he had complained.

"When, therefore, on the 26th, he was brought up for sentence, and asked what he had to say in bar of judgment, Sydney boldly alleged the irregular conduct of his prosecutors, the defect of evidence, and the gross injustice of the court, insisting also on the omission of *Defensor fidei*, amongst the king's titles, which rendered the indictment void. And, as the attorney-general had maintained, that the papers

papers were to be published in support of the insurrection, he appealed to the testimony of the Duke of Monmouth, which might now be procured, whether there had been any thing of the kind in agitation between them, in pursuance of the Duke's designs. But he was again repeatedly interrupted, and every objection, whether of law or fact, which he produced, every reason on which he applied for a new trial, were peremptorily over-ruled. When he was insisting on the rejection of his special plea, Judge Wythens, who seemed to be drunk, gave him the lie; on which he calmly observed, that 'having lived above threescore years, he had never received or deserved such language, having never asserted any thing that was false.' Finding all that he had stated in arrest of judgment thus violently overborne by his judges, he said aloud, 'I must appeal to God and the world, I am not heard.'

"The chief justice, therefore, after declaiming, for a few minutes, on the prisoner's guilt, his obligations to the king, and the treasonable nature of his writings, and laying much stress on his adherence to the *old cause*, pronounced sentence of death in the usual form. 'Then, O God! O God!' said Sydney, with an unaltered mien, 'I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to the country, nor the city through which I am to be drawn; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall upon those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake.' Conceiving the chief justice to have insinuated, that he spoke this in a distempered state of mind, Sydney, free from all emotion, held out his hand firmly, and exclaimed, 'My Lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered, I bless God, I never was in better temper than I am now.' The inhuman Jefferies boasted to the king of the important service which he had rendered him, by such a gross violation of law and decency, and is said to have been afterwards rewarded for his services with a present of a valuable ring.

"But the glaring injustice of his conduct, exciting elsewhere a very general indignation, powerful intercession was made in Sydney's behalf, and it was, for a time, expected that, at least, a remission of his sentence would have been obtained. In these circumstances, he was prevailed upon to present a second petition to the king, praying that his punishment might be changed into perpetual banishment, and engaging to withdraw himself immediately from the realm. In the meanwhile, Hampden, being indicted only for a misdemeanour, was released on bail; and, intending to visit Sydney, at his departure, was earnestly dissuaded by his friends. He then wrote to intimate the design, and offered to see him, if he wished it, before he left the Tower. He was charged, however, by Sydney, not to come, but to write, if he was afraid of the least inconvenience. He therefore contented himself with this proof of his regard, and with stimulating the Duke of Monmouth, to attempt the preservation of their friend. The Duke, though fully aware of the difficulty, readily undertook the charge; but, being persuaded to sign a confession, which he soon recanted, he was immediately dismissed the court. The king,

king, who had hesitated before, now became inexorable, and all further application was in vain.

"Sydney, however, placing no reliance on the justice or mercy of his persecutors, and being persuaded that his death would afterwards be called in question, employed the interval allowed him after he received his sentence, in drawing up an appeal to posterity on the injustice of his fate. After premising a few circumstances of his early life, he entered into a detail of the proceedings resorted to for his destruction. Comparing his own times to those of Richard II., 'when through the perversion of the law, no man knew what to say or do for fear of treason;' a perversion which led to the most violent remedies, he expressed his trust that God would soon in mercy visit his afflicted people, since in the recent stretches of power, for the establishment of an arbitrary dominion, his and the people's cause was seriously involved. 'I know,' said he, in concluding, 'that my Redeemer lives, and as he hath, in a great measure, upheld me in the day of my calamity, hope that he will still uphold me by his spirit in this last moment, and, giving me grace to glorify him in my death, receive me into the glory prepared for those that fear him, when my body shall be dissolved.' As this *Apology in the day of his death*, was designed chiefly for the satisfaction of posterity, Sydney consigned it to the care of his attendant Ducasse, till a more auspicious period should arrive. An authentic record of some of the most atrocious proceedings, which the chief justice had expunged from the report of this abominable trial, has in consequence been faithfully preserved.

"Sydney consulted with some independent ministers, in preparing to meet his fate, and to them expressed a deep remorse for whatever sins he had committed, and a firm confidence in the mercies of God. But, as his religion consisted rather in the devout feelings of his own mind, than in any sort of external ceremonies, he engaged none to attend him at the hour of death. When he saw the warrant for his execution, he expressed no concern, and amazed all around him by his calm demeanour. He told the sheriffs who brought it, that he would not expostulate with them on his own account, for the world was now nothing to him; but he desired them, for their own sakes, to consider how guilty they had been, in not returning a fair jury, but one packed by the solicitors for the crown. One of the sheriffs, struck with his expostulation, actually wept. The signing of this warrant excited a very general surprize, as, from the strenuous exertions which had been made to save him, and the glaring iniquity of his sentence, confident hopes had been entertained of a pardon, or a long reprive. In compliment to his family, however, a part of his sentence was remitted, and he was ordered to lose his head.

"On the morning of the 7th of December, the sheriffs again proceeded to the Tower, and about ten o'clock, receiving Sydney from the hands of the Lieutenant, after signing and sealing counterparts of the indenture for his delivery, conducted him on foot, to the place of execution on Tower-hill. He was attended only by two of his brother's servants. He ascended the scaffold with a firm, undaunted mien, worthy of the man, who set up

Marcus

Marcus Brutus for his model. He gave a paper, containing a manly vindication of his innocence, to the sheriffs, observing that, 'he had made his peace with God, and had nothing more to say to men:' but he declined either reading, or having it read to the multitude, and offered to tear it, if it was not received. He then pulled off his hat, coat, and doublet, saying that 'he was ready to die, and would give them no further trouble.' He gave three guineas to the executioner, and perceiving the fellow grumble, as if the sum was inadequate, desired a servant to give him a guinea or two more. He then kneeled down, and, after a solemn pause of a few moments, calmly laid his head upon the block. Being asked by the executioner if he should rise again, he replied intrepidly, 'not till the general resurrection;—strike on.' The executioner obeyed the mandate, and severed his head from his body at a blow.

His remains, being placed in a coffin, were immediately restored to his friends; and, on the following day, interred with his ancestors at Penshurst. They have since been removed into a small stone coffin, and placed in front of the family vault, with this brief inscription on a brass plate.

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF THE
HONO: ALGERNON SIDNEY, ESQ.
SECOND SON OF Y^E
RIGHT HONO. Y^E EARLE OF LEICESTER,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 7TH DAY OF DECEMBER,
IN THE 61ST YEAR OF HIS AGE.
ANNOQUE DOM. 1683.

The Noble Principles of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital on Religious Freedom.

[From Essay on the Life of De L'Hôpital, on Religious Freedom, by Charles Butler, Esq.]

"THE religious troubles in France had just begun when l'Hôpital was appointed to the office of chancellor. Soon after the introduction of the doctrines of Luther into the north of Germany, the doctrines of Calvin were introduced by his followers into the south of France, and made a number of proselytes. Government was alarmed; and, by a mistaken policy, the ministers of Francis the first and Henry the second attempted to restrain the further progress of them by persecution. The usual consequences of persecution followed; the favourers of the new opinions rapidly increased; the spirit of fanaticism became general, and the whole kingdom was divided into the odious distinctions of Papist and Huguenot. The king of Navarre and the prince of

of Condé, were at the head of the Huguenots; the princes of Guise, an illustrious branch of the house of Lorraine, were their declared enemies.

"Henry the second was succeeded by Francis the second, a weak prince, and wholly guided by his mother, the celebrated Catherine of Medicis. She threw herself into the arms of the Guises. They soon engrossed all the powers of the state; and the queen found that a defence against them was absolutely necessary. With this view she prevailed on her son to appoint l'Hôpital to the dignity of chancellor. She found the less opposition from the Guises to his appointment, as the cardinal of Lorraine had been one of the earliest patrons of l'Hôpital, and the Guises therefore naturally expected much from his gratitude; but it was not long before they found that they were not to experience from him that unbounded subserviency to their politics which they had expected.

"The earliest care of l'Hôpital after his appointment to the office of chancellor was to assemble the states-general: 'The king,' he said, 'and his subjects, ought to be acquainted. The last princes of the house of Pharamond lived like the last Assyrian princes, in a state of invisibility, and both princes lost their kingdoms. Let those who wish to engross the favour of the monarch keep him aloof from his people. I wish them to meet, and to meet often.' The states-general met at Orleans, and several excellent laws, formed afterwards into an ordonnance, were passed, enjoining residence to the clergy, protecting the people against the oppression of the feudal laws, and regulating the administration of justice.

"One of the favourite projects of the Guises was to introduce the inquisition into France. In the accounts which have been published of that tribunal there probably is some exaggeration; but, after every reasonable deduction from them is made on this supposition, enough will remain to justify our considering the Inquisition as one of the greatest triumphs, which mistaken religion and sanguinary policy have ever achieved over humanity. Every candid Roman-catholic makes this concession. One of the best accounts which have been published of the inquisition is the Histoire des Inquisitions by Marsollier, canon of Usés, and the most eminent of French biographers. After a dispassionate examination of the proceedings of the Inquisition, he concludes, that "there is nothing so different from the spirit and conduct of the church during the thousand first years of her establishment as the proceedings of the Inquisition in the countries in which it is established." The Guises succeeeded so far in their project of introducing it into France as to obtain a resolution of the royal council in its favour. In this stage of the business l'Hôpital interfered. He thought much good is obtained, when, by permitting a small mischief, a great evil is avoided. He therefore prevailed on the king to publish the edict of Romorantin, which declared that the cognizance of heretics should remain with the bishop of the diocese; and directed the bishops to proceed in the usual manner against them. This was too great a sacrifice to intolerance; but it gave the bishops no new power, and completely eluded the project of the Inquisition. Such, however, was the general spirit of the nation against conferring any temporal power on the

the clergy, that it was found very difficult to prevail on the parliament to register the edict.

"In his pacific views, l'Hôpital was seconded by many persons of distinction; they formed a kind of third party, of which l'Hôpital was confessedly the head. The members of it adhered to the Roman-catholic religion, but wished its discipline altered in those instances, to which the separatists from her particularly objected; and, even on points of doctrine, recommended that decision should be delayed, as they thought the minds of men were, at that time, in too great a ferment to give a fair hearing to argument; and that decision might therefore prevent discussions of the subjects in controversy, in times, when the people would be disposed to give them a more dispassionate consideration. In the interval, they wished that the fullest toleration should be granted to every sect. 'God alone,' they said, 'is the judge of hearts; he alone can discern that wilful obstinacy in error, which it is proper to punish in heretics, or that real attachment to truth, which it is proper to reward in the faithful. All citizens, they said, 'who obey the laws, and perform their duties to their country and their neighbour, have an equal right to the advantages which civil society confers; those only deserve punishment who break her laws. The virtuous catholic and virtuous protestant equally deserve the protection and rewards of law: the wicked catholic and wicked protestant are equally deserving of legal punishment. The intolerance which makes us look with an evil eye on those who hold religious opinions, different from our own, is a principle destructive of virtue. It certainly is very desirable that no cause whatever of division should exist among the citizens of the state, and of course, that there should be no heretics. But to bring back heretics to the fold, charity, patience, and prayer, are the only arms which the Divine Founder of our religion, himself used to draw nations on him. The thunder of heaven was at his command, but he refused it to the prayer of the two unwise disciples who wished it hurled on the unbelieving Samaritans.' Such, we learn from the biographers of l'Hôpital, was his constant language. Such too, is the language of that admirable preface, prefixed by his friend, the president de Thou, to his Universal History, which Lord Mansfield, in his celebrated speech in the case of the chamberlain of London against Mr. Allen Evans, declared he never read without admiration. L'Hôpital acted up to his principles; from his elevation to the office of chancellor till the moment when the seals were taken from him, he laboured incessantly in the glorious cause of religious toleration. As it usually happens, he offended the zealots of each party; but he persevered: and though he met with great opposition, his efforts were not wholly without success. Through his influence, many edicts were procured which protected the lives and fortunes of protestants, and ensured to them, under certain restrictions, the free exercise of their religion. On one occasion, when it was agitated in council, whether war should be declared against the Huguenots, and l'Hôpital spoke against it with much eloquence, 'It does not,' the connétable de Montmorency said to him, 'become you, gentlemen of the long robe, to give your opinions

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on matters of war.' 'It is true,' replied l'Hôpital, 'that we are ignorant of the art of war; yet we may know when it is wise or prudent to declare it.' But, while l'Hopital protected the Huguenots against oppression; he blamed their occasional indiscretions and excesses, and that republican spirit, with which, in his Avis Aux Refugiés, they afterwards reproached by Bayle.

"A short account of the Edicts of Pacification, as they are called by the French historians of those times, will shew the address and wisdom of l'Hôpital's counsels in favour of religious freedom, and their good effect. *(Daniel, Hist. de France,* An. 1561, 1562, 1563, *Esprit de la Ligne,* liv. I. II. In the beginning of the year 1561 an edict was published, by his advice, by which the king directed that all persons who had been imprisoned for their religion, should be set free; and enjoined all the magistrates of his kingdom to restore, to the lawful proprietors, all the real and personal property of which they had been deprived in consequence of their religious principles. He exhorted all his subjects to conform to the rites and usages of the national church, and inflicted the penalty of death on all, who, under the pretence of supporting the interests of religion, should disturb the public tranquillity.

"Finding this ordonnance was not a sufficient protection to the Calvinists, his majesty, in the following April, caused another ordonnance to be promulgated, by which he revived all the salutary provisions of the former edict, and forbade all his subjects to revile one another with the odious appellation of Papist and Huguenot; he forbade them to assemble in bodies, or to make domiciliary visits, under the pretence of discovering religious practices contrary to law; and he recalled to the kingdom all who had been forced to quit it in consequence of any law against the Calvinists, and who were willing to conform externally to the catholic religion. Those who would not submit to those regulations, had liberty to sell their property, and quit the kingdom.

"People were divided in their sentiments on these edicts:—To tranquillise the public mind on them, l'Hôpital prevailed on the king to refer them to the parliament of Paris. The meeting was held in July 1562, and was very solemn: the king, the queen-mother, and the principal nobility, attended it. The chancellor opened the assembly by a wise and conciliatory discourse: 'We are not met,' he said, 'to discuss points of doctrine. The only subject of our discussion is, what are the best means of preventing the dissentions, which the difference of religious opinion occasions in the state; and to put an end to the licentiousness and rebellion of which it hath hitherto proved a continued source.' The assembly was split into three parties: the first party contended that the edicts against the protestants should be wholly suspended till a national council should be called; the second contended that all Huguenots should be capitally punished; and the third contended that the cognizance of heresy should be assigned to the bishops, and that a severe punishment, but short of death, should be enacted against Huguenots who should assemble, even peaceably, for their religious worship. The second of these opinions had very few votes: the chancellor strenuously

strenuously supported the first; but the third opinion was carried against him by a majority of three votes. He contended that, on such a question, so small a majority was a defeat; and that no one could say that it did not make further deliberation necessary. But the partisans of the measure declared that it was regularly carried, and pressed for its execution.

"L'Hôpital, however, was steady in his views. The queen-mother, by his advice, addressed to the pope a letter, strongly pointing out the expediency of conciliatory measures; she entreated him to look with compassion on those who had the misfortune of being seperated from him on religious points. 'They are not,' said the queen, 'the anabaptists of Munster, or libertines; they believe the twelve articles of the creed. Many persons of piety think that, in condescension to their weakness, they should be permitted to have churches without images; to omit some ceremonies in the administration of the sacraments; to communicate under both kinds; to celebrate the divine service in the language of the country; and all this, they say, may be done, without any innovation in the doctrine of the church or its hierarchy, and without any want of submission to the 'sovereign pontiff.'—But the suggestions of the queen-mother were not attended to by the pope.

"The chancellor's next measure was to prevail on the king to call an assembly of the notables. It consisted of the principal officers of state, deputies from every parliament of the kingdom, and many of the most respectable magistrates. The assembly met in January 1562. The chancellor addressed the members of it in a speech of great good sense and eloquence. He called their attention to the actual state of the Calvinists, their number and strength. He showed the injustice and impolicy of those, who wished the king to put himself at the head of one party of his subjects, and to establish peace by the destruction of the other. 'In such a war, where is the king to find his soldiers? Among his subjects. Against whom is he to lead them? Against his subjects. A triumph and a defeat is equally the destruction of his subjects. I abandon to theologians, controversies on religion; our business is not to establish articles of faith, but to regulate the state. Without being a catholic, a person may be a good subject. I see no reason why one is not to live in peace with those, who do not observe the same religious ceremonies as ourselves.' The majority of voices was in favour of toleration; and the king published an edict in the following January, which ordered the Huguenots to restore to the catholics the churches and other property which they had taken from them; and, on that condition, gave the Huguenots ample toleration, except that it prohibited their holding their assemblies within the precincts of any walled town. The public mind, however, was in too great a ferment to be immediately tranquillized by the provisions, however wise or salutary, of this edict: and, soon after its promulgation, an event, called by the French historians the massacre of Vassy, (the particulars of which are foreign to the subject of these pages), took place, which threw the parties into open civil war; but, by the incessant exertion of l'Hôpital, peace was made between them; and the ground of it was,

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an edict of the month of March in the same year, by which almost a general liberty of holding their religious assemblies in any place they should think proper was conferred on the Calvinists; and they were declared to be good subjects to his majesty.

" Such were the salutary effects of toleration, that the political adventurers among the leaders of the Calvinists could not conceal the vexation which the edict gave them. ' This single stroke of a pen,' they said, ' is the ruin of more of our churches than armies would have destroyed in ten years.

" The salutary effects of the edict were immediately observed. The insurgents returned to their duty, and catholics and protestants vied in demonstrations of loyalty to their royal master, and in zeal for his service. The English having taken the town of Hâvre, the king and queen-mother proceeded in person to the siege. They were received with acclamations of joy. On one occasion, the chancellor remarked to them the ardour and bravery of the troops in mounting a breach:—' Which of them,' he asked the monarch, ' are your catholic, which your protestant subjects? Which among the troops whom you behold are your bravest soldiers, your best servants? All are equally brave and good. This is the effect of the edict, so much blamed by some! See how it reunites the royal family; restores to us our brothers, our relations and friends; it leads us out, hand in hand, against our common enemy; and makes him feel how respectable we are for virtûe and power, when united among ourselves.'

" The triumph of Hôpital was now complete: but some years after this event, the troubles of France again broke out. The history of them does not belong to these pages. After thirty-five years of civil war, with all its horrors, the edict of Nantes in 1598, restored peace to the distracted nation; and the catholics remarked that the terms of it were much more favourable to the Calvinists than those given to them by the edict of March 1563, for which l'Hôpital had been so greatly blamed.

" An important event in the public life of l'Hôpital is the opposition which he gave to the reception of the Council of Trent in France.—The leading distinction between protestants and catholics is, that, in matters of religion, the protestant acknowledges no law but that of the Scriptures, no interpreter, but his own conscience; the catholic acknowledges the Scriptures, and, in addition to them, a body of traditionary law, and receives both Scripture and tradition under the authority and with the interpretation of the church. It follows, that in all matters of doubt the catholics refer the question to the church; and generally, in concerns of moment, the pastors of the church assemble to consult and decide upon them. When only the pastors of a particular territory assemble, the assembly, as the case happens, is called a provincial, or a national council; when all the pastors of Christendom are summoned to it, it is called a general or œcumenical council.

" In an early stage of the Reformation, the expediency of assembling such a council was sensibly felt. After many delays it was assembled in 1543, at Trent, a town on the confines of Germany, but did not hold its first sitting till the beginning

beginning of the year 1546. From Trent it was transferred to Bologna, but returned to Trent; and, with several interruptions, continued its sittings in that city till its conclusion in 1564. All its doctrinal decisions have been received, without any qualification, by every catholic state of Christendom; but several states objected to some of its decisions in matters of discipline. It met no where with more resistance than in France. L'Hôpital was at the head of those, who opposed the unqualified acceptance of it. He thought, that in some matters of discipline, greater concessions should be made to protestants; that in other points of discipline, the decrees of the council trenched on the acknowledged liberties and privileges of the church of France; and that in some there was an express, and in others an implied, admission of the right of the church to temporal power. The most strenuous and powerful advocate for its reception was the cardinal of Lorraine; and warm discussions upon it took place between him and l'Hôpital. One of the grounds on which the latter objected to its reception was that it would irritate the Huguenots, and probably produce a civil war. The cardinal appearing not to be struck with this objection, l'Hôpital pointed out to him, with great eloquence, the horrors of the late wars: 'Are we,' he boldly asked the purpled prelate, 'to be indifferent to these scenes of carnage and blood? Are we to consider them as trifles? If all who advise measures leading to war were themselves obliged to fight in the ranks, the advocates of war would not be numerous." His opinion partially prevailed. In all doctrinal points, the authority of the council was admitted in France, universally and without any qualification; in matters of mere ecclesiastical discipline, it bends occasionally to the discipline of the church of France; where it affects temporal power, it has no weight.

" In the different atmospheres of Venice and Rome, the history of the council of Trent has been written by the celebrated Fra. Paolo, (the translation of whose work, with notes, by Dr. Courayer, is more valued than the original), and by cardinal Pallavicini. The cardinal does not dissemble that some of the deliberations of the council were attended with intrigues and passion, and that their effects were visible in various incidents of the council; but he contends that there was an unanimity in all points which related to doctrine, or the reformation of manners; and Dr. Courayer, in the preface to his translation, concedes that, 'in what regarded discipline, several excellent regulations were made, according to the ancient spirit of the church;' and observes, that 'though all the disorders were not reformed by the council, yet, if we set aside prejudice, we may with truth acknowledge, they are infinitely less than they were before.' The classical purity and severe simplicity of the style in which the decrees of the council are expressed are universally admired.

Last Years and Death of the Cardinal de L'Hôpital.

[From the same.]

"WE have endeavoured to present our readers with a short view of the leading principles by which l'Hôpital was guided in the discharge of his high office; it remains to mention his fall from power. We have said, that he resisted the cardinal of Lorraine on the great question of the reception of the Council of Trent in France, and that his resistance was successful. This was never forgiven by the house of Guise: the princes of it determined on the chancellor's removal; but he was so much esteemed and loved by the king, the queen-mother, and the great body of the nation, that the Guises did not venture to take the seals from him; and therefore, by their continual opposition to his measures, compelled him to resign them. He then retired to his country house at Vignay.

"He had always cultivated the Muses: several of his Poetical Epistles have reached us. Considering them as literary compositions, their unpretending simplicity is their greatest merit: but they show such real dignity of character, they breathe so pure a spirit of virtue, and are full of such excellent sentiments of public and private worth, that they will always be read with pleasure.

"They are particularly remarkable for the perfect lessons to be found in them of complete religious toleration, and it adds much to their merit in this respect, that, in those days, religious toleration was a virtue very little known—'It is a folly,' l'Hôpital observes in one of them (lib. vi. p. 290), "to suppose, that you can destroy by force, the divisions which subsist among us. You may put to death some of the innovators; the consequence will only be, that the land, fertilized by their blood, will produce a thousand others. You may prevent them, for a time, from assembling in their temples; but, by thus concentrating the fire, you only give it more activity, when it finds a vent: an explosion must take place, and a general conflagration, the flames of which may touch the very skies, will then ensue. This kind of remedy does not suit the evils, under which we labour. Does not the founder of our religion enjoin us to love peace, to refrain from violence? Did he ever intimidate any one by acts of violence? Did he not constantly endeavour to gain hearts to him by the meekness of his words? What can the sword do to the mind? it may force the tongue to be silent, or perhaps to utter untruth; but the internal sentiment will remain,

main, and, when the danger is over, will burst forth with double force.'

"He blamed both parties:—'The Huguenots,' he says, 'have defiled the sanctuary with the blood of priests; they have violated the tombs of the dead. But have the catholics been guilty of no crime?—War, cruel war, has perverted every heart. The fear of God has disappeared from the world; yet every army professes to fight for his cause!'

"From these scenes of blood and carnage, his muse often fled.—'Health,' he exclaims in another epistle, 'health to the dear friends, who, quitting the roads to great towns and splendid castles, come to visit me in my humble retreat. The luxury, the amusements of the capital, they don't expect to meet with there; the smallness of my fields does not enable me to treat them sumptuously.—But, all I have, they may all command.' He proceeds to boast of 'his sheep, his lambs, 'his milk, his fruit, his nuts, and his wine, made under his wife's own care; the hares they might hunt, the birds they might shoot.' He hints to them, however, that the situation of the domain, to which he invites them, was not very beautiful: he tells them that they were not to look for extensive prospects, or even for a crystal stream; all his water, he says, come from a well.—But, 'Spartam, quam nactus sis, 'orna;—Sparta has fallen to my 'lot, and I must make the best of 'her.'

"His expressions on his fall from power are those of dignity and conscious rectitude. 'No! my dear friend!' thus he writes to the president de Thou, 'I am not conquered! I have withdrawn from the administration of the public concerns; but I did not give up my post through cowardice. As long as I could be of any use to my king or country, no danger alarmed me; I endured every thing. But abandoned by all, both the king and the queen-mother being terrified from the support of me, I retired, with a sigh for my unhappy country. How contentedly should I die, if I could behold my king restored to his just prerogatives, and peace and liberty restored to my fellow subjects! My own career draws to its end, my tenth lustre verges to its close. The world to come should now be my only care.' He speaks of his general conduct in life with modesty, and appeals, with confidence, to the judgment of it by posterity; yet he wishes it better known, what violence he had to combat, what artifices to contend with. 'If those were fully known, it would be wondered that I was not sooner overpowered.' He rejoices that he had persevered to the end.

"He foresaw that the peace, which preceded the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, would not be of long duration. He narrowly escaped being among its victims. One of the few circumstances in the life of Charles the ninth, which can be related with any praise, is the attachment which he showed to l'Hôpital. During the massacre on St. Bartholomew's-day, he sent a troop of horse to protect l'Hôpital from outrage; and in the last illness of l'Hôpital, he and the queen-mother sent him a message of great kindness, with an assurance that they would provide for his grandchildren.

" L'Hôpital survived his retirement from office about four years; and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day some months. That horrid event embittered all his hours: ' I have lived,' he says, in a letter written soon after it, ' I have lived too long! I have seen, what I could not have believed, a young prince of an excellent natural character, change, in a moment, from a mild king to a ferocious tyrant. Those were not the manners of the ancient kings: they were too fond of war; but they made it openly. No prospect of advantage would have induced them to break a peace, which they had solemnly sworn to observe. But we have been corrupted by our neighbours; our manners are changed.

" The office of chancellor had not added to his fortune. The small provision, which he should leave behind him for his grandchildren, afflicted his last moments. He was sensible of the kind assurances which he received from the king and queen-mother; but he foresaw, that, if they had the will, the circumstances of the times would deprive them of the means of giving them effect.

" In the life of the connétable de Montmorency, Brantôme inserts the will of l'Hôpital: It is very interesting.

" It contains a short statement of the principal events of his life. He particularly mentions his appointment to the office of chancellor: ' I soon found,' he proceeds, ' that I had to do with persons as enterprising as they were powerful, who preferred violence to council and prudence. They almost displaced the queen from the administration of government; and they forced the king of Navarre into a war. It was ever my opinion, that nothing is so destructive to a state as a civil war; and that peace, almost on any terms, is preferable to it. The advocates for war stirred up all ranks against me;—nobility, princes, magistrates and judges; and by their cabals prevailed over me. Thus they ruined the king and kingdom. We saw, what I cannot mention without tears, foreign soldiers sporting with our lives and property, while those, who should have been the first to defend us against them, were the first to lead them on. Finding I had no longer the means of resisting them, I retired. My last prayer to the king and queen-mother was, that, since they had resolved to break the peace, and to make war on those, with whom, but a short time before, they were concerting measures of peace, they would, when the first thirst for carnage and blood was satisfied, and before the state was brought to the last stage of ruin, embrace the earliest occasion that offered of making peace. It broke my heart to see the young king and his brother taken from me, when they stood most in need of my councils. I take God and his angels to witness, that nothing has been so dear to me as my king and country. The good of religion served as a pretence for my removal: its real cause was, that those whose cabals removed me, felt, that so long as I remained in office, I would not permit the king's edicts to be trifled with, his finances to be dilapidated, or the fortunes of his subjects to be plundered.' He

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then proceeds to dispose of his property.

"'L'Hôpital,' says Brantôme, was the greatest, worthiest, and most learned chancellor, that was ever known in France. His large white beard, pale countenance, austere manner, made all who saw him think they beheld a true portrait of St. Jerome; he was called St. Jerome by the courtiers. All orders of men feared him; particularly the members of the courts of justice; and, when he examined them on their lives, their discharge of their duties, their capacities, or their knowledge, and particularly, when he examined candidates for offices, and found them deficient, he made them feel it.'

"'He was profoundly versed in polite learning, very eloquent, and an excellent poet. His severity was never ill-natured; he made due allowance for the imperfections of human nature; was always equal and always firm. After his death, his very enemies acknowledged that he was the greatest magistrate whom France had known, and that they did not expect to see such another.'

"He died at Vignay, on the 13th of March 1573.

"Both catholics and protestants reproached him with being a concealed protestant. Theodore Beza caused an engraving of him to be made, and a lantern with a lighted candle in it, fastened to his back; designing to intimate by it, that l'Hôpital had seen the light, but turned his back to it, and left it for others to follow. His uniform declaration in favour of the toleration of the Huguenots, his marrying his daughter to a Huguenot, her subsequent conversion to Calvinism, and there not being found a single expression of regret, at any of these circumstances, in his poems, which are full of domestic details, favour this supposition. On the other hand, when the cardinal of Ferara was sent by the pope, as his ambassador to France, in 1562, one object of his mission was to procure the removal of the chancellor on the ground of his supposed Calvinism; but, in one of his letters to cardinal Borromeo, he mentions, that 'it would be impossible to fix on l'Hôpital the imputation of heresy; as he was seen regularly at mass, at confession, and at communion. The cardinal adds, that when he mentioned the matter to the queen-mother she would not hear of it; all these imputations, she said, were the work of a few individuals interested in his removal.' Most assuredly, his support of the Jesuits against the parliament does not favour the notion of his being a Calvinist; and it is observable, that under Henry the fourth, one of his grandsons was archbishop of Aix.

Anecdotes and Literature of the Venerable Bede.

[From Mr. *Berrington's* Literary History of the Middle Ages.]

"CONTEMPORARY, or nearly contemporary with these sages of the heptarchy, was Bede, who from his superior learning and admirable virtues, received in his lifetime the appellation of Venerable. He was born in the county Palatine of Durham, within the domain of two neighbouring monasteries; under the superiors of which he was educated from his earliest youth, and where, becoming a monk, he lived, taught, and died. His first instructor was the abbot Bennet Biscop, the interpreter of Theodore, when he first came into England; and who had probably imbibed a love of letters from his lectures and conversation. The proficiency of Bede in all the branches of learning, and in the Greek and Latin languages, was certainly considerable, and while we admire his acquirements, we are inclined to suppose that there were others, amongst his brethren, pursued the same course; and that the late primate and his African friend had been been able to excite a spirit of intellectual cultivation, the beneficial effects of which were extensively diffused. The continued intercourse with Rome, among a people emerging from barbarism, would serve to animate curiosity, and to multiply the competitors for intellectual distinction. Bede thus speaks of himself: "My life was spent within the precincts of the same monastery, devoted to the meditation of the divine word; and where, in the observance of conventual discipline and the songs of the choir, it was ever pleasing to me to learn, to teach, or to write." He adds, that his days were passed in these occupations till he arrived at the age of fifty-nine; and he gives a list of the various works which he compiled.

"The fame of the Saxon monk, before he had reached his thirtieth year, had penetrated to distant countries; and Pope Sergius requested that he might be sent to confer with him in some pressing exigencies of the church. But Bede did not quit his cell. It was a subject of astonishment that such treasures of science should be found "in a remote corner of the globe." The superiors of these northern convents, indeed, seem themselves to have been men of talents. They collected books, improved the style of architecture, and were the first who made use of glass in the construction of windows. So says the historian. Engaged in such society, and interested by the progress of the arts, Bede might naturally prefer the calm seclusion of his monastery to the more brilliant attractions of a journey to Rome. The number of his pupils was besides great; and he attended to their instruction to his dying hour, solving difficulties, and proposing questions for their exercise. His last labour was employed upon the gospel of St. John, which,

which, for the improvement of those who were little versed in Latin, he expounded in the Saxon tongue. Bede died in 735.

"If the fame of such a master attracted many scholars, we might naturally expect a succession of men of learning; and an increased diffusion of knowledge. But the historian whom I have quoted, and who flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century, observes: 'with Bede was buried almost the entire knowledge of events down to our own times. No Englishman, emulous of his learning, or pleased with his elegance, was anxious to follow his steps. Some, not altogether void of letters, passed their days without leaving any record of their talents; others, not masters of the first elements, indulged in a torpid sloth. Thus the indolent were succeeded by a race still more indolent than they; and for a long period, the love of letters was no where to be found. Of this what stronger evidence can be demanded, than the lines of the contemptible epitaph inscribed on the tomb of Bede?

Presbyter hic Beda, etc.

"'In the monastery, which was, while he lived, justly deemed the school of general science, could no one be found qualified to celebrate the praises of his master, in language more worthy of the subject?'

"Since that time more justice has been done to the memory of Bede, and more elegant Latinity has been employed in his encomium. Amongst his panegyrists, the monk of Malmesbury, whilst dwelling with admiration on the number and character of his works, hesitates not to say that 'heaven had encircled his mind with copious streams of inspiration.' The works themselves contain the least ambiguous testimony of their value. They are, certainly, numerous, and on various subjects; evincing extensive reading; an unbounded range of curiosity; unwearied industry; and great facility of composition. But judicious selection, nice discrimination, or critical exactness, are not to be expected; when, whatever might be the subject, sacred or profane, the highest proof of talents and of erudition was supposed to be furnished by a promiscuous accumulation of opinions and authorities. Hence the commentaries of Bede on the Scriptures are formed of extracts from the fathers; and his philosophy flowed from a borrowed source. The Ecclesiastical History of England in five books, from the coming of Julius Cæsar to the year 731, is his only work which is now read. He candidly cites the authorities, on which his narrative rests, and as these were sometimes oral, they might be fallacious; but no better could be found. The credulity of Bede is seen in the admission of idle tales into a history, which in other respects merits the highest praise. For my part I should lament, had the historian of those times been guided, in the selection of his materials, by a more discriminating scepticism; for we should have wanted a just transcript of the age in which he lived; and might even have doubted the authenticity of the composition. As it is, we see what was at that period the superstitious character of our ancestors; and in the historian we behold a man, endowed with great talents, and possessed of extraordinary erudition, but in those habits of his mind—in which virtue was not

not concerned—not less weak nor credulous than his contemporaries. Such is sometimes the lot of individuals of great learning and talents, till knowledge, more generally diffused, has dissipated prejudices, broken the iron mace of superstition, and rendered the horizon of science more spacious and serene. The style of Bede is sufficiently perspicuous and flowing, but not always pure, and seldom elegant.

"As works of really classical taste are barely mentioned by Bede, it is probable that he had read few, and that, in his public lectures, he proposed them not as models for imitation. What was the degree of his proficiency in the Greek language, does not distinctly appear; though, as observed, he speaks highly of the acquirements of many of his contemporaries, who had been the scholars of Theodore and Adrian. It may then be asked, what authors were generally read in the English and other schools? The reply is not easy; but the subject has been carefully investigated.

"The recent and high authority of St. Gregory appears to have thrown discredit on the elegant productions of heathen writers, and to have substituted others, which were less dangerous to orthodox piety. Among these his own Moral writings seem to have held a conspicuous place, though, as he owns, they were compiled 'without regard to the rules of grammar,' and with some affectation of barbarism. Of his Dialogues, I may add, that, as they were written purposely to excite the attention of an unlettered age, they would provoke imitation; and, probably, in addition to the general taste, they were no small inducement to Bede, to encumber his history with so many tales.

"In Moral philosophy the works of St. Gregory became a sort of classical text, to which passages were added from other fathers, particularly from the works of St. Augustin. The erudition of this great man naturally commanded respect; and his acuteness in disputation caused him to be regarded as a complete master in the dialectic art. It has, however, since been proved, that the work, which was in most request, was not the genuine production of the bishop of Hippo; and had it been otherwise, though the principles of accurate reasoning might have been learned from it, the general ruggedness of his style and the involution of his sentences, with other blemishes of African origin, must have evinced, how unfit he was to reform a vitiated taste; or rather to exhibit to the barbarous tribes of Europe, a perfect model of correct and elegant composition.

"In Philology, Marcianus Capella was the guide, a native also of Africa, who, in the fifth century, wrote a Treatise, in nine books, on the liberal arts. In the succeeding centuries, this work was read with general applause; when the asperity of its style could best accord with the rude taste of Gothic ears. It became a school-book, in which the grammarian, as Gregory of Tours observes, learned the rules of construction; the logician to arrange his arguments; the orator to persuade; the geometrician to trace his lines; the astrologer to watch the courses of the stars; the arithmetician to fix his numbers, and the lover of harmony to adopt his words to the modulation of musical sounds. And it was afterwards observed of this favourite work, that he, who possessed its contents, might be deemed a master of the whole circle of

of the sciences. Capella was undoubtedly a man of learning, and his compilation recorded many opinions which were derived from early times; but a deep shade of obscurity was thrown over the whole, and rendered it, without a commentator, peculiarly unfit to enlighten the students of a barbarous age.

"The works of Cassiodorus and Boetius, particularly of the latter, were much studied. They were both, considering the age in which they lived, writers of elegance, and abounding in valuable information. Ignorant as men had, at this period, become of the Greek language, they drew from Boetius some knowledge of its treasures; and his own maxims became, as they well deserved, the canons of their philosophy. Our Alfred, it is known, translated into the Saxon tongue the celebrated Consolation of Philosophy. Boetius had likewise written on music, which, as it was reckoned one of the liberal arts, and was particularly cultivated since the days of St. Gregory, increased the number of his readers. The work of Cassiodorus which chiefly attracted notice, was his Treatise on the Seven Arts, coinciding in matter, but surpassing in style and arrangement the Encyclopædia of Marcianus Capella.

"Some scholars of better taste are said not to have disdained the heathen Macrobius, and other secondary writers; and it is possible, that the best models may have sometimes passed through their hands: but that they derived no real advantage from them, is clearly proved from the character of their various works, which are still preserved.

"The subjects which are taught in the schools were, soon after this, comprised under the general heads of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, words which are sufficiently indicative of their barbarous origin. *Trivium* included what was deemed the introductory and less noble arts, Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric: *Quadrivium* closed the circle by Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. The following lines served to fix them in the memory:

Gramm. loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat:
Mus. canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra.

"Why the place of honour was rather given to the latter than to the numbers of the *Trivium*, does not distinctly appear; but whatever may have been its temporary ascendant, Logic, or rather the scholastic art of disputation, was afterwards pursued, with so much ardour, that it absorbed all its sister arts, and triumphed over the circle of the *Quadrivium*.

Anecdotes and Learning of Abeillard.

[From the same.]

"BEFORE I speak of Abeillard, whose name is essentially connected with letters, I must observe, that the new method of philosophizing in religion, to which I allude, had grown out of the more sober rules, which were established by the great masters of the Bea school,

school, in their theological lectures: It was the dialectic art, rendered complicated and mysterious by metaphysical terms and subtleties, applied, as a test of truth, to every subject, and particularly to those of religion. But it is evident, that religion could not be benefited by such an auxiliary; and what service was it likely to render to philosophy? The object of these doctors was not so much to elucidate truth, or to promote its interests, as to perplex by abstruse and elaborate distinctions; and, on every question, to evince an imperturbable obstinacy. No attention was paid to the realities of nature, nor to the operations of the human mind; but the wildest fictions, and the most palpable sophisms were embodied in a nomenclature of distinctions, which seemed calculated for the defence of error rather than the support of truth. It had, however, a powerful tendency to exercise the faculties of the mind, the extraordinary display of which often attracted admiration, particularly of numbers who flocked to the schools, and crowned the triumphs of the masters with their applause. The feats of the Grecian sophists, which had been exhibited in Rome and in Athens, were repeated, in the twelfth century, on the benches of our christian schools, and with the nearly similar effect, of engendering difficulties, of multiplying errors, and of obscuring truth.

"To the solution of theological questions the philosophy of Aristotle had, before this time, been applied, imperfect translations of certain portions of which were in the hands of the western teachers. It now came into much more general vogue; and acquired higher estimation. Some men of curious inquiry resorted to the Arabian schools, particularly those of Spain, in which—having learned the language, or, at least, understood, in what esteem the writings of the Athenian sage were held by them—they brought back other translations, which were, it is said, less faithful than those already in their possession. Even their intricacy conferred a value, which the difficulty of their procurement would serve to enhance. From this time, the Peripatetic philosophy gradually obtained the ascendency in the schools, which it maintained through a succession of many years. Its progress, indeed, was occasionally checked by men of sober discernment, who beheld the fatal use to which its perverted precepts were applied. The history of its various fortunes, in the schools of Paris alone may afford some instructive entertainment.

"These schools had now acquired considerable celebrity. Here the great dialectician and teacher, William de Champeaux, afterwards Bishop of Chalons, when he had founded the abbey of St. Victor, is believed to have delivered the first lectures in scholastic theology. Abeillard was his pupil. This extraordinary man, extraordinary both from his talents and his misfortunes, is thought by some to have been first a hearer of Roscellin, the founder of the sect of the Nominalists, by whom he was initiated, as wholly congenial with the character of his mind, in the subtle art of disputation. This art was generally esteemed so fascinating, that they, who excelled in it most, were most admired, and deemed most worthy of ecclesiastical preferment. Abeillard entered the career of honour. 'Because,' says he of himself, 'I preferred the armour of dialectic warfare,

warfare, to all other modes of philosophy; for it I quitted the military life, choosing rather the conflicts of disputation, than the trophies of real battle. With this view, emulating the Peripatetic fame, and disputing, as I went, I passed through various provinces, wherever I understood that the study was zealously pursued. At length I reached Paris, which was then the great theatre of the art, where William de Champeaux taught; whom I chose for my preceptor.' But soon, impelled by a forward petulance and a skill in disputation above his years, to enter the lists with that preceptor, he incurred his displeasure; when he formed the design of opening a school himself, and of giving public lectures. This he did with wonderful applause; first at the royal castle of Melun, and then at Corbeil, which was still nearer to Paris, where he had a more favourable theatre for the display of his talents, and more opportunity of mortifying his opponents. The undisguised jealousy, indeed, of De Champeaux contributed much to the cause of Abeillard, and brought to his lectures a more numerous and more applauding audience. But his health was unequal to the incessant exertion which his situation required; and he withdrew to his native air of Brittany.

"When the sophist had recovered his health, he returned, after an absence of two years; when, finding his old master in the monkish habit, but still delivering his lectures, and that on a more extended plan, he chose, from what motive must be left to conjecture, again to become his hearer. 'Again,' says he, 'I attended his school, to hear his lecture on the art of rhetoric; but where, in our several contests, I so pressed him on his favourite doctrine of universals, that he gave up the point, renounced his former opinion, and hence lost all the fame which he had acquired.'

"The sophists of the day were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to genus and species, otherwise denominated universals. The dispute, indeed, was of high antiquity, taking its rise in the schools of Plato. Zeno, and Aristotle; and it was now revived with uncommon ardour. On one side were the Realists; on the other the Nominalists: the first affirming, that the primordial or essential forms of things had a real existence, independently of intellectual conception; the latter, that they were nothing more than general notions, formed by mental abstraction, and expressed by words. Champeaux was a Realist; Abeillard a Nominalist. The questions branched out into a variety of nice and impalpable distinctions; and the Universal, such as human nature in the abstract, was represented in their language, as metaphysical, physical, and logical, that is, *ante rem, in rem, post rem.*

"The school of Champeaux was almost deserted after his discomfiture, and the reputation of his rival had a proportional rise. We then read of the success of Abeillard, though still opposed; of his return to Melun; and of his finally opening a school on the mount of St. Genevieve, where, within the precincts of the enemy's camp, and surrounded by his pupils, he waged incessant war, and was daily engaged, as he pompously describes it, in the most furious contests, for Champeaux had rallied his forces, and returned to the attack. At this critical period Abeillard, on some concerns

cerns of his parents, was called into Brittany, after which—hearing that his rival was promoted to the See of Chalons for his theological science, which, as he doubted not, the dialectic art had regularly advanced—he resolved to pursue the same path, trusting that it would prove also to him the path of ecclesiastical honours.

"We now find him at Laon, attending the theological lectures of the professor Anselm, a man of high fame in sacred science, under whom Champeaux had studied. The fastidious Abeillard, however, thus describes him: 'I went,' says he, 'to this old man, who had acquired a name from long practice, not by talents nor the force of memory. If, uncertain in any question, you asked his opinion, you returned still more perplexed. Possessing an easy flow of words, but words void of sense and argument, he was admirable only to the spectator; when questioned, he was nothing. He seemed to light up a fire; but from it issued only smoke. He was a tree, richly decorated with foliage, when viewed at a distance; but when approached and nearly examined, he was found to bear no fruit.' By whatever spirit this judgment was dictated, it was plain, that he who formed it would derive little advantage from such a teacher. Abeillard ceased from attending the lecture, and, with his usual self confidence, undertook himself to interpret the prophecy of Ezechiel. If the attempt gained the applause of his hearers—who admired it is said, that his erudition, and the readiness with which he strung together (which was the common mode of commenting) the opinions of the ancient fathers excited the jealous indignation of Anselm, by whose machinations he was soon compelled to leave Laon, and again to repair to Paris.

"This theatre of his renown became the scene of his troubles. At Paris he pursued his theological course; completed his comment on Ezechiel: and launched into the ocean of mystery, applying to every question his favourite philosophy, and the art of sophistic argumentation. 'My fame in sacred science,' he observes, 'was soon not less widely spread, than had been my philosophical renown.' And it was at this time, as we are told, when the radiance of worldly glory did not permit him to see, that he might become the sport of fortune—that Rome, once the mistress of the arts, sent her children to imbibe wisdom from his lips; that no distance of place, no height of mountains, no depth of vallies, no road, however beset with difficulties and dangers, kept back the crowd of pupils hastening to his school; and that England, regardless of the sea and its perils, urged forward her youth to enjoy the feast of his instruction. This feast proved also to himself a copious source, as well of pecuniary advantage, as of literary renown. The philosophy of Abeillard, however, had not taught him the knowledge of himself; much less had it impressed him with the principle of temperance and self-controul. He fell in love with the accomplished Heloisa. For her he neglected, what had hitherto been his principal delight, the lectures of the school; and for her, or rather to cover his own fame, he was induced to take a step which, after a tissue of adventures, terminated in the catastrophe, with which every reader is acquainted.

"He retired, in an agony of grief and

and shame, to the convent of St. Dennis; and when Heloisa, at the same time, had taken the veil at Argenteuil, he was earnestly solicited to resume his lectures. He obtained permission from the abbot; and had soon the satisfaction to behold his school more thronged than ever. 'As was more becoming my new profession,' he says, 'I now turned my mind to sacred study, still not utterly neglecting the secular arts, in which I was most versed, and in which many sought instruction from me. Like the great Origen, as history relates, I baited my hook with philosophy, that, when I saw my hearers were allured by its sweetness, I might draw them on to the study of a truer wisdom. In both walks heaven shewed an equal favour to me: my lectures were numerously attended, while those of others daily failed.' This again excited jealousy; and as he had written a book, in which he attempted, by dialectic reasonings, to explain the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, he was cited before a Synod held at Soissons; treated with much harshness; and compelled to throw his volume into the flames.

"We may accompany him, as he returned with an afflicted mind to St. Dennis, where his stay was short. He was hated by the monks, as too severe a censor of their irregular lives; and he was otherwise obnoxious. He withdrew therefore, into the territories of the Count of Champagne; and after some delay and the adjustment of various difficulties, aided by powerful friends, he procured leave to quit a society, mutually odious, and to choose his own abode. The spot which he selected was a delightful solitude near Nogent, in the diocese of Troyes, well adapted to sooth his perturbed spirits. Here he raised an oratory and a cell of reeds and mud. We may believe, that his wish now was to live unknown; but it could not be. The love of science, or of wrangling, which had hitherto attracted so many round him, still prevailed. His retirement was broken in upon, and a more spacious place of worship was erected at the expense of his friends, which, from the comfort he began to enjoy, he dedicated to the divine Spirit, and named the Paraclete.

"The scenes of his former greatness was renewed. From the castles and the towns of the neighbourhood numbers assembled to hear him; they supplied him and themselves with the homely fare, which the country afforded; they built huts round his dwelling—for they would not lose the precious hours of instruction—and made their beds of straw or stubble. Before the end of the first year, six hundred youths attended his lectures, and a new Athens seemed to have risen in the wilderness. But even here envy found means of access to trouble his repose. The name of Paraclete gave offence; and his former enemies, who were themselves incapable of hurting him, had the address to rouse the zeal of some eminent men against him, among the foremost of whom stood the celebrated St. Bernard. To his mind, as I remarked, every deviation from the simple language of revealed truth was suspicious; and he particularly abhorred the method of attempting to elucidate it by the subtleties of the dialectic art. On this head, Abeillard, in his lectures and in his writings, was justly obnoxious. He was, therefore, represented as unsound in the faith; and the word

alone

alone carried conviction with it. Abeillard saw the storm which was gathering around him; whispers, and then loud reports, assailed even his moral character; his friends grew cool, and by degrees deserted him, while those, who were more constant, judged it prudent to dissemble; and soon the Paraclete itself, instead of comfort, brought only anguish to his mind. 'God is my witness,' he says at the melancholy moment, 'when I heard, that any ecclesiastical meeting was holden, I doubted not, but that it was to condemn me; and I expected the bolt to fall. Often, in despair, I thought of retiring to some country of unbelievers, in order there to seek the repose, which was denied me by my fellow christians.' In this distress, he was easily prevailed upon to accept the government of an abbey in Lower Brittany: though the country was savage; its language not intelligible to him; the inhabitants uncivilized; and the monks addicted to vice. He quitted the Paraclete, when in his forty-seventh year; and about the year 1128, repaired to the abbey of St. Gildas, which he soon found to be a station of more vexatious solicitudes than what hitherto he had experienced. At the same time, the nuns of Argenteuil being expelled from their convent, he had it in his power to make over to them, and with them to Heloisa, the lands and buildings of the Paraclete.

"I have followed the memoirs of his sufferings, written by himself, which contain little more than an account of the visits which, from motives of pure kindness, he made to the Paraclete; but which again set in motion the tongues of the malevolent. In order to silence their censures, he stirred no more from his convent, how painful soever the station was; and this absence, joined to the above memoirs, which had fallen into the hands of Heloisa, roused all the feelings of a heart too sensitive, and occasioned the correspondence which is come down to us.

"My motive for thus particularising many events in the life of Abeillard, was to shew the nature of the philosophy which was now so prevalent: but more especially to prove, from the eagerness with which his lectures were every-where attended, that the minds of many had caught a zeal for learning, which seems almost incredible. I must think, though the statement does not come from the partial pen of Abeillard alone, that there is much exaggeration in the account. But if a part only be true: what shall we say of the multitudes of scholars who rushed to the Paraclete, where the known circumstances of the situation seemed to damp the most ardent curiosity? And what were the lectures which were such a powerful centre of attraction? They were not the sublime rhapsodies, conveyed in the enchanting melody of the Greek tongue, with which Plato captivated the attention of his hearers; nor were they highly-finished orations, nor patriotic harangues, which, while they interested the passions charmed the ear: but they consisted of debateable questions, on points of theology or of philosophy, as it was called, on which the professor preluded, and in which the pupils sometimes bore a part, as we saw in the contests between Abeillard and de Champeaux. The whole address of sophistry, in distinctions, divisions, and inferences, animated the discussion, and entangled

tangled the progress towards truth. I know not therefore, what could be the charm which wrought the wonderful effect, unless we may ascribe it to something singularly fascinating in the manner of the speaker. The style of Abeillard, as we may judge from his writings, was void of all elegance and perspicuity; and the subjects which he discussed, were arid and uninviting. But one general inference may be drawn, that, notwithstanding the inauspicious character of the times, there was, in all countries, an increasing thirst for intellectual improvement; and that, had Abeillard himself possessed a taste, formed on the classical models of antiquity, his influence was so commanding that he might have infused the same taste into the minds of his hearers; and have accelerated, by some centuries, the revival of letters.

It appears, that Abeillard, quitting the turbulent monks of St. Gildas, resumed his lectures on the Mount of St. Genevieve, at Paris, about the year 1137, when our countryman John of Salisbury was among his hearers. 'Then,' says he, 'that great man taught. At his feet, I imbibed the first rudiments of science, and, as far as my tender mind would then permit, eagerly caught whatever fell from his lips. But he hastily left us.' This hasty departure was caused by the troubles by which he was again menaced. He had written other works which, though admired by many, and as it is said, even read with applause in the Roman court, gave offence to the more timorous, and particularly to St. Bernard, when certain propositions, extracted from them, were officially submitted to his consideration. Abeillard appeared before a synod convened at Sens, where, from what motives cannot be conjectured, declining all defence, and appealing to Rome, he witnessed the condemnation of his errors, and was himself permitted to depart. He published an Apology: 'Some things, perhaps,' he says, 'I may have written, by mistake, which should not have been said; but I call God to witness and to judge my soul, that, in what is imputed to me, I am not chargeable with malice nor with pride.' Calling at Clugni on his way to Rome, he was detained by Peter the Venerable, abbot of the convent, by whose benevolent interposition he was reconciled to St. Bernard; and, after two years spent in learned repose, and in devotional observances, he closed a life of trouble in 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age.

"It is unnecessary, after what has been said, to speak of his works, which are chiefly theological. Heloisa was a more elegant writer, and the powers of her mind were certainly great: but I am not disposed to think, that she possessed so much erudition, or was so well acquainted with the Greek and Hebrew languages, and with the sublimer sciences, as her too partial encomiasts and Abeillard have asserted. In the women, or in the men of that period, a scanty portion of learning was more than sufficient, to create a phenomenon.

"The following epitaph, which is inscribed on the tomb of Abeillard, may be taken as a sample of the poetry of the age.

Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Hesperiarum,
Noster Aristoteles, logicis, quicunque fuerunt,
Aut par aut melior, studiorum cognitus orbi
Princeps, ingenio varius, subtilis et acer,
Omnia.

Omnia vi superans rationis et arte loquendi,
Abeillardus erat; sed tunc magis omnia vincit,
Cum Clunicensem monachum moresque professus,
Ad Christi veram transivit philosophiam,
In qua longævæ bene complens ultima vitæ,
Philosophis quandoque bonis se connumerandum,
Spem dedit, undenas Maio renovante calendas.

"It was written by Peter Maurice, whose virtues caused him to be styled the Venerable, and, who, with the kindness congenial with his nature, after the death of the ill-fated man, transmitted his body to the Paraclete; attended the obsequies; and delivered an oration in his praise. I will add of him, that to uncommon gentleness of heart he joined an excellent understanding, and a degree of literary accomplishments, not surpassed by any scholar of the age. His letters, which form the principal part of his works, as far as I have read them, seem written with purity and ease; enlivened by sprightliness; and invigorated by reflection. Impelled by a laudable desire to acquire some knowledge of the Arabian literature and religion, he travelled into Spain, where he spent some time among that extraordinary people, acquired their language, and translated the Koran into Latin, the errors of which he afterwards undertook to refute. On his arrival in Spain, we are told that he found men of learning from England and other countries, sedulously applying themselves to the study of astrology, in which the Arabians were so renowned. It speaks not much in favour of our christian taste, that, when the Arabian schools, in the various branches of science, had so much to offer, we should have selected that, which has been known invariably to accompany a drivelling superstition, and an utter ignorance of the laws of nature. But by astrology, perhaps, should be understood, as at least, connected with it, astronomy, or that study of the heavens, which the disciples of Mahomet had brought with them from the East; and which they continued to cultivate under another sky."

Memoirs of Roger Bacon.

[From the same.]

"BUT there is one man who must not be thus transiently noticed; I mean Roger Bacon, born early in the century.—After finishing the elementary studies of grammar at Oxford, he devoted his whole attention to philosophy, the recesses of which he investigated with a sagacity which was hitherto unexampled. Having his mind thus richly stored, he repaired to Paris in the company of many other youths. Paris, observes the historian, was now much frequented by the English, and particularly by the Oxonians. Here Bacon found a copious variety of intellectual nutriment. He sedulously applied himself to languages, to history, to jurisprudence, to the mathematics, and to medicine; and closing the wide circle by theology, he was appointed to a public chair, and received academical honours. His own country

country was now to be benefited by his learning. He returned to Oxford, and by the persuasion, it is said of Grosteste, (if not earlier) the friend and patron of the order. entered among the Franciscans. He prosecuted his former studies in the retirement of a cell; took a more accurate survey of nature and her laws; methodised the sciences, and particularly the philosophy which he had deeply imbibed; and by the help of languages, especially that of Greece, accumulating observations which the common herd of scholars found it impossible to obtain, opened a way to new inquiries. A mind like his could observe, could investigate, and could invent; but it was not possible to advance without instruments. He is said himself to have constructed instruments; to have engaged the ingenuity of others; and to have expended a large sum in the purchase of books, and the prosecution of experiments. From the titles of his works, it appears, that perspective, astronomy, optics, geometry, the mechanic arts, chemistry, and alchymy, were amongst his favourite pursuits. He delivered lectures upon these and other subjects.

"Leland, in his usual style, wishes for a hundred tongues and a hundred mouths, that he might be able to celebrate the wonderful discoveries of Bacon as they deserved. His contemporaries were less adulatory. Many wondered; but in their stupid admiration they ascribed his inventions to the black art. In his knowledge of the Hebrew and the Greek languages, they saw nothing but a medium of holding a secret intercourse with the devil; and the same suspicion was confirmed by the lines of circles and triangles. Nor were these the surmises only of the vulgar: men even of some education, entertained the same; the brethren of his order refused to admit his works into their libraries, and are said to have procured his incarceration.

"In the progress of man towards improvement, there are certain stages, which, if too rapidly passed, appear to retard, rather than to accelerate his advancement. The discoveries of Roger Bacon were productive of little benefit to the thirteenth century. His contemporaries could not appreciate their value; and ascribing them to necromancy, or supernatural agency, they added new strength to former prejudices, and increased the obstinacy of ignorance. On his side, the philosopher despised the boasted learning of the schools, not considering that this very learning, by giving exercise to general talents, was perhaps best adapted to prepare the mind for that degree of light, which was tardily but gradually dawning around it. Speaking of his own times, he says: 'Never was there such a show of wisdom, such exercises in all branches, and in all kingdoms, as within these forty years. Teachers are every-where dispersed, in cities, in castles, and in villages, taken particularly from the new monastic orders. Yet never was there more ignorance, more error. The common herd of students, poring over their wretched versions (of the works of Aristotle), lose their time, their application, and their money. Yet, if the senseless multitude applaud, they are satisfied.' He elsewhere says of those versions, that, if he had them in his power, they should be committed to the flames, as serving only to perpetuate error and multiply ignorance.

"The opinion of his own talents and

and acquirements was widely different. In his *Opus Majus*, addressed to Clement IV. speaking of himself, he says, that, from the time he had learned his alphabet, he had spent forty years in the study of the sciences and languages; but that now, in the half of one year at most, he would undertake to communicate all his knowledge to any diligent man, possessed of a sufficient capacity of retention, under certain easy conditions which he mentions. He doubts not but that within three days, he can put it into the power of such a man to learn the Hebrew tongue, in such a manner as accurately to understand what may be necessary for the elucidation of the scriptures. He will infuse the Greek language in the same space of time, so that whatever has been written, concerning theology and philosophy, shall be clearly comprehended; and as to geometry, it shall be fully developed in one week, and arithmetic in a second. What opinion must we form of the extent of the knowledge which could be communicated with this singular rapidity; or ought we to lament, that friar Bacon has not left behind him an art of teaching so inestimably valuable? He died about the year 1284, and was buried in the Franciscan convent at Oxford."

Memoirs and Character of Dante.

[From the same.]

"DANTE degli Alighieri was now advancing to the zenith of his literary glory. He was born at Florence in the year 1265; where he studied, as well as in other cities of Italy, collecting from all quarters, and even, it is said, from the universities of Paris and Oxford, whatever was deemed most excellent in philosophy, theology, and the liberal arts. On his return to his own city, he was employed in many honourable offices. The cultivation of the Italian tongue, which was yet rude and inharmonious—but which the muses were now about to adopt as their own—had deeply engaged his attention. Thus was Dante occupied; when in 1302, in one of those civil commotions, to which the free cities of Italy were, at this time, daily exposed, the party, which he had espoused, was vanquished by its antagonists, and he was himself forced into exile. To Florence he never returned; but the cities of Italy continued to afford him an asylum; the regrets of banishment which he felt with the keenest severity, did not suspend his literary ardour. He died at Ravenna in 1321.

"The works of Dante, on various subjects, in prose and verse, some of which were composed in Italian, and others in Latin, may be considered as almost absorbed in the renown of that to which his admiring countrymen have affixed the lofty title of the *Divina Commedia*. They, indeed, can be the only judges of its merit. At what period of the poet's life, or where it was written, or begun to be written, is uncertain; and the cities of Italy contend as eagerly for the honour of each canto, as those of Greece once did for that of Homer's nativity. The poem, as every scholar knows, contains

tains the description of a vision, in which, with Virgil, sometimes, for his guide, the poet is conducted through hell, and purgatory, and paradise, and indulged with the sight and conversation of various persons. It is evident that the sixth book of the Æneas suggested the general outline, and however inferior the modern poet of Italy may be thought to his great prototype, it is with peculiar pleasure we peruse the following lines, which at once shew, that the bard of Mantua, after the long lapse of ages of tasteless ignorance, had found a reader, who could admire and rival his beauties. Art thou Virgil? he asks, on his first presenting himself to his view:

Oh degli altri poeti onore, e lume,
Vagliami 'l lungo studio, e'l grande amore,
Che m'han fatto cercar lo tuo volume.
Tu se' lo mio maestro, e'il mio autore:
Tu sé solo colui, da cu' io tosi
Lo bello stile, che m'ha fatto onore.

"The Italians allow, that this work of Dante is not a regular composition; that it abounds with wild and extravagant passages; that his images are often unnatural; that he makes Virgil utter the most absurd remarks; that some whole cantos cannot be read with patience; that his verses are frequently unsufferably harsh, and his rhymes void of euphony; and, in one word, that his defects, which no man of common judgment will pretend to justify, are not few nor trifling. But, whatever may be the sum of his imperfections or the number of his faults, they are amply compensated, by the highest beauties:—by an imagination of the richest kind; a style, sublime, pathetic, animated; by delineations the most powerfully impressive; a tone of invective withering, irresistible, and indignant; and by passages of the most exquisite tenderness. The story of Count Ugollno and his children, than which the genius of man never produced a more pathetic picture, would alone prove, that the Muses were returned to the soil of Latium. When it is, besides, considered, that the Italian poetry had hitherto been —merely an assemblage of rhymed phrases, on love, or some moral topic, without being animated by a single spark of genius—our admiration of Dante must be proportionally increased. Inspired as it were, by him whose volume, he says, he had sought, and whom he calls his master, he rose to the heights of real poesy, spoke of things not within the reach of common minds; poured life into inanimate nature; and all this in a strain of language to which as yet no ear had listened.

"Among the various attractions which I have enumerated, and to which may be aded the rich colouring with which the poet had the skill to invest all the arts and literature of the age, as they make their appearance in his work, I ought to state that the many living, or at that time well-known characters, whom he brought forward, and whose good and bad deeds he tells without reserve, greatly augmented the interest of his work, and rendered it a feast for the censorious or malevolent.

"Scarcely had this poem seen the light, when the public mind was seized as if by a charm. Copies were multiplied, and comments written, within the course of a few years. Even chairs, with honourable stipends, were founded in Florence, Bologna, Pisa, Venice, and Piacenza; whence able professors delivered lectures on the *divina commedia*, to an admiring audience. They did not always display its

beauties, nor elucidate its obscurities; but, under the mistaken conviction, that it abounded with allegories and mystic meanings, they dwelt too much on these; and thus they often occasioned darkness rather than diffused light. But the general ardour at least evinces, what the example of a single man was able to effect, and that the groundwork of a better taste was already laid."

History and Literary Pursuits of Petrarch.

[From the same.]

"PETRARCA was born in Arezzo, a city of Tuscany, in 1304, and, when no more than nine years old, was taken to Avignon, which had now become the residence of the Roman bishops; in which situation, and in the neighbouring town of Carpentras, he completed the usual course of studies, comprising grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. He applied to civil jurisprudence in Montpellier, and also in Bologna; the jejune study of which, however—though he professed to admire it, as connected with the noble antiquities of Rome—was often interrupted by the perusal of the works of Cicero or of Virgil. He returned to Avignon in his twenty-second year. At this time he lost his parents, and was rather distressed in his circumstances, when in conjunction with his brother, he put on the clerical habit; and finding powerful protectors in the illustrious house of Colonna, was enabled, by their kindness, to indulge his favourite pursuits, whether of vanity, of literature, or of love. The object of his passion was the celebrated Laura, whom he saw for the first time in 1327, the year after his return to Avignon. The affectionate attachment of Petrarca to Laura has been immortalized by the many beautiful sonnets, which it caused him to write, by which his countrymen have never ceased to be enraptured, and which have operated as a sort of seductive charm in all countries in which the Italian language is read. These sonnets added greatly to the polish, elegance, and harmony of the language of Italy; which was almost instantaneously matured into perfection, whilst the vernacular tongues of other nations were still awkward in structure and dissonant in sound. In order to mitigate his vexations or to dissipate his regrets, and to improve his mind by the view of different objects, and by the conversation of the learned, he now travelled through France and some parts of Germany. He afterwards visited Rome, which to him was a scene of sublime contemplations; and when his troubled thoughts could still find no repose, he retired, in 1337, to Vaucluse. Many of his works, in Latin and Italian, in verse and prose, were written, in this delightful solitude; and here he began his poem, entitled Africa, or the Achievements of Scipio Africanus, which was not completed till a much later period.

"The

"The taste for poetry and elegant composition—for which the public mind had been prepared by the writings of Dante—ascended to a pitch of enthusiastic admiration, when the works of Petrarca appeared. Their style, and particularly that of his Latin compositions, was far removed from classical perfection; but men judged by comparison; and compared with the low standard of his predecessors, the hermit of Vaucluse seemed to them something more than mortal. He was complimented by the Mæcenas of the age, Robert, king of Naples; and, by a singular coincidence, received letters on the same day, from the Roman senate, and the university of Paris, in which he was earnestly solicited to honour their cities with his presence, that they might present him with the crown of laurel, which his literary labours had so justly merited. This ceremony had been formerly practised in Greece, and afterwards in the Capitoline games at Rome; but as the literary spirit became torpid, it fell into disuse. The poet embraced the invitation with rapturous promptitude; and though he might appear for a short time to hesitate, it was plain, what his choice would be. He had looked with ardent solicitude to the revival of Roman greatness; with which, as a first step, he might perhaps connect his coronation in the Capitol! He resolved to repair to Rome: but that the distinguished honour might seem a well-earned tribute to merit, he first visited the Neapolitan monarch; conversed with him on subjects of literature; inspired him with a higher ardour in their pursuit; and, in his presence and in that of his court, submitted, during three days, to a public examination. From Naples he proceeded to Rome; where he was crowned on Easter day, in the year 1341, with those ceremonious solemnities which his historians have minutely detailed.

"This ceremony was not entirely without its effects upon the interests of literature. By contributing to excite a vivid recollection of former days, it led the mind to inquire the persons who had thus been previously honoured; when they found that the honour had been conferred not only on victorious commanders of armies, but on those who, in the retired walks of life, had acquired renown by intellectual exertion. It seemed to indicate that the spirit of those times was returning; that the gates of the Roman Capitol were thrown open to a private votary of the Muses; and that the crown of Petrarca, with all its attendant applause, might be the reward of every citizen who should successfully emulate his literary fame.

"After quitting Rome, the poet spent some months at Parma, the lords of which city were his particular admirers: when he once more returned to the banks of the Rhone. In 1343, we again find him at Naples, and subsequently at Parma, and in other cities of Italy, where he contributed by his conversation and his writings, to disperse the seeds of science, and to promote their vigorous cultivation. When he revisited France, it was the end of the year 1345. Clemenr VI. at this time filled the papal chair, who himself was among the admirers of the poet. The year 1347 was remarkable for the wild attempt of Rienzo to restore liberty to Rome. Petrarca contemplated this rash enterprize as the deed of a hero, from which he augured the return of an auspicious and splendid æra: but a very different event soon blasted these florid

hopes. In the following year, whilst he was again in Italy, the fatal pestilence began to ravage Europe, of which Laura died.

"Petrarca was fond of retirement, from his fondness for study: but a certain restlessness, the effect of a peculiar temperament, which the urgency of his numerous friends to enjoy his society greatly augmented, did not permit him to fix his residence for any long time in one particular place. And hence, general literature was benefited. From this period he sometimes passed months, or years in the society of the Italian sovereigns; whilst books, and extensive correspondence, happily divided his hours. In 1351, he was, for the last time, at Avignon, which he quitted, after two years, little pleased with the new Pontiff Innocent VI. who is said to have feared that he discovered the busy agency of Satan in the energy of the poet's mind! Milan and its lords, the noble family of Visconti, now received him; among whom the contest was, who should shew him the most signal marks of favour. Here and at Mantua he had an interview with the Emperor Charles IV. with whom he corresponded, who was equally devoted to him; and from whose arrival in Italy, the poet had vainly anticipated the prospect of high glories to his country. Soon after this disappointment he withdrew to Linterno, a retired villa not far from Milan.

"Petrarca has himself described the life which he led in this spot; and the state of his mind at the time. 'Like a weary traveller,' he says, 'who discovers the end of his journey, I now redouble my steps. Day and night I read and write, and by these alternate changes relieve my labour. Such are my occupations: such my only pleasures.' He mentions the number of his friends; the estimation in which he is held by persons, who had never seen him; and the strong attachment which he feels for the houses, the soil, the walls, even for the air of Milan, between which city and his rural retirement he passed his days. Some years, dear to himself and to Galeazzo Visconti, thus flowed on in a gentle stream; when, in 1360, he was deputed by his patron to congratulate the French king, John, on his release from captivity in England. His reception at Paris was highly flattering; and no less flattering continued to be the repeated marks of attention which were manifested towards him by the Emperor Charles. He would willingly have attached the poet to his court.

"Padua, of which the Carraresi were lords, now became his principal place of residence, though his natural restlessness sometimes disposed him to rove; whilst, at other times, he yielded to the entreaties of his friends. We find him in Venice, honoured by the doge, and the principal citizens; and we behold him oftener in Pavia, which was subject to Galeazzo Visconti. It is thought that an eloquent and pathetic letter, which he wrote to the Pontiff Urban IV. in the warmth of his heart for the prosperity of Italy, had some effect in inducing the latter to return to Rome. He returned, at all events, in 1367. Urban was a lover of science: he admired Petrarca, and gave proofs of his munificence in the promotion of letters. The joy of the poet was unbounded: and, in obedience to the call of the pontiff, he had set out to visit him, when sickness compelled him to return to Padua. This was in 1370.

The

The four remaining years of his life he spent, without much interruption, in retirement near the city; and in the morning of the 13th of July, 1374, he was found dead in his library, with his head resting on a book.

"In this brief sketch of the life of Petrarca, the reader will remark his singular ardour in the prosecution of letters; as well as his endeavours to excite a similar feeling in the breasts of his contemporaries. It will at the same time be noticed that he had many and powerful protectors. Hence he will be prepared to contemplate, more at his leisure, some other effects, and the results of other measures, which are still wanting, to prove the truth of my general statement: that to Petrarca was due the restoration of letters to Italy, and through Italy to the other realms of Europe.

"It is asserted that the monks had for ages been assiduously engaged in the meritorious work of transcription; and yet the libraries of Italy, and therefore of Europe, had little to shew, besides some works of the fathers, of ancient and modern theologians, of ecclesiastical and civil jurisprudence, of medicine, astrology, and philosophy, and even these in no abundance. The names of the classical writers were barely retained; their productions and the times in which they lived were miserably confounded; and the authenticity of authors not unfrequently disregarded. Bitter complaints have reached us of the gross ignorance and extreme carelessness of transcribers. 'It would be well,' says Petrarca, speaking of those of his own times; 'would they, in any manner, write what is put into their hands: we should witness, indeed, their ignorance, but we should possess the substance of the work. But they, regardless of originals, and copies, and dictation, scribble any thing at random. Were Cicero, or Livy, or any ancient writer to rise from the grave, he would not recognize his own works. It is not so with carpenters and similar artificers. The fault, however, may be said to rest principally with those, who employ such men. When Constantine directed books to be transcribed, he ordered Eusebius of Cæsarea to employ able and experienced writers.'

In this dearth of accurate copies, and even of the valuable works of many ancient authors, Petrarca turned his mind to the most useful inquiries. He saw, that his own efforts would be useless without recalling into general notice the true models of taste: he owned that, on this subject, he was animated by a real passion, the force of which he had no desire to check; and, communicating his wishes to his friends, he entreated to join their researches to his own, and to ransack the archieves of libraries. 'Often,' says he, "I find myself disappointed; but I continue my labour, so pleasing are the prospects of hope. Waiting for further discoveries, let us be satisfied with what we have in our hands, and moderate the avidity of learning by the reflection, that ourselves are mortal.'

"His researches were not very successful. Three decades of Livy, the first, third and fourth, were, at that time, all which could be found. The second decade was sought in vain. A valuable work of Varro, and other productions which he had seen in his youth, were irrecoverably lost. With Quintilian he was more fortunate; though the copy which he discovered was mutilated, and

and imperfect. In his enthusiastic regard for the Roman name, and in order that he might seem to enjoy the intercourse of the great men whom he most admired, Petrarca addressed letters to some of the departed worthies of the republic, among whom Cicero may be considered as his idol. His collection of the works of this great master was very incomplete, though his inquiries respecting them were incessant; and he had the happiness to make some new discoveries, particularly of his familiar Epistles. 'On many occasions,' he enthusiastically observes, 'when I met strangers, and they asked, What I desired from their country? Nothing, I replied, but the works of Cicero. And frequently was this request repeated; when I sent money not into Italy only, where I was best known, but into France, and Germany, and Spain, and Britain, and as far as Greece. Thus I obtained some small volumes, but seldom such as I most anxiously sought ..... When travelling, if, at a distance, I descried some ancient monastery, to it I turned my steps. Haply, thought I, I may there find what I most want.' He was once possessed of Cicero's work *de Gloria*; but he lent it to a friend, and it was irreparably lost to himself and to the world. I ought also not to omit the mention of the strenuous assiduity, which he employed in making transcripts of ancient works, with his own hand, by which his eager thirst was allayed, and accurate copies multiplied.

"To this laudable species of research Petrarca was also diligent in his inquiries after medals, of which he formed a collection; and observations on ancient monuments. Whenever his good fortune conducted him to Rome, we may accompany him in his perambulations with singular delight, as he traces the vestiges of her former greatness, and expatiates on the names of her heroes, and the events of her history. In this history he appears to have been well-read. When he beheld the precious relics of Roman magnificence neglected by indolence, or dispersed by a sordid avarice, his indignation was inflamed. 'Do you not blush,' he says to a Roman citizen, 'to draw a vile gain from that, which escaped the rapacity of your barbarous ancestors? Your columns, the ornaments of your temples, your statues, even the sepulchres, under which the venerable ashes of the dead repose, serve to embellish other cities.' In another place he severely censures the ignorance of the Romans, with respect to their own sacred monuments. Nowhere, he observes, is Rome so little known, as within her own walls.

"But neither Rome, nor Roman greatness, nor the remains of Roman literature, were sufficient totally to absorb the attention of this active man. Greece also engaged his thoughts. The study of the Greek language had at no time been completely neglected; and when an occasion of learning it offered, Petrarca prosecuted it with his usual zeal. But he never wholly surmounted its difficulties; for, when a present of a Greek Homer was sent him from Constantinople, he lamented his inability to taste its beauties. His joy, however, to possess the works of this immortal bard was not less sincere. 'Your present of the original text of the divine poet,' he writes to his benefactor, 'is worthy of yourself and me. Yet your liberality is imperfect;

fect: with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to me the wonders of the Iliad and Odyssey. For, alas, Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the treasure which I possess. I have placed him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets, near the prince of philosophers; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom I had already acquired; but, if there be no profit there is some pleasure in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer: and as often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh—illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed.'—He sought anxiously the acquisition of other works in the same language; and we may read a letter addressed by him to the Grecian poet, in which he mentions who, in the cities of Italy, were at this period versed in the language. The number, it seems, was not considerable: and in Rome, he says, there was not one.

"Such was Petrarca, and such his pursuits. But it is on his Italian poetry, that his countrymen dwell in a strain of praise, which prodigality itself cannot exhaust, though the less enthusiastic among them are ready to admit its blemishes and defects. Notwithstanding the progress which Dante had made—of which, it has been said, Petrarca was sometimes jealous—the language was still in some respects so imperfect, and such was his unreserved admiration of the ancients, that it is probable he would have composed no verse except in the Latin tongue, if no Laura had interposed to divide his affections, and occasionally to be the sole occupant of his heart. In the language of Virgil he wrote his Africa and some other poems; but to the ear of Laura he was compelled to address lines which she herself could read. This gave rise to his songs and sonnets—of which, though he himself often speaks slightingly—it is evident, that they were polished with the utmost nicety. Of them he says:

'S'io avessi creduto, che si care
Fosser le voci de' sospir miei in rima,
Fatte l'aurei del sospirar mio prima
In numero piu spesse, in stil piu rare.

"These sonnets are allowed to form the most perfect model of Italian lyric poetry. Yet it is also admitted, that we often find in them thoughts which are ingenious rather than just; that we discover insipid allusions, and forced conceits; the defects of that vitiated taste, which the Provençal fables had contributed to propagate; and which Petrarca did not avoid in those moments, when he suffered fashion to take the precedence. It has been said, that he borrowed from that tribe of poetasters. The historian replies, that what he took from them does him the least honour, as it was from them that he borrowed his false refinements, metaphysical conceptions, and unnatural sentiments. This, moreover, is certain: that, after the Muse of Petrrarca had excited public attention, the Troubadours, with their language, their songs, and their poetry, were no more heard of, at least in Italy. When, then, the state of other languages and the circumstances of the times are duly considered, how surprising is the degree in which Petrarca contributed

tributed towards the revival of letters!

"Having observed, that it was from his free intercourse with the learned and polished men in the court of Avignon (and the cities of Italy), that the poet had formed his language; and warmly extolled the beautiful richness of his lyric compositions, which almost alone merit, he says, like those of Horace, to be committed to memory, Denina adds: 'That the style of Petrarca, after the lapse of four hundred years, is still followed as the most perfect model of writing; and that hardly a word in those compositions will be found, which is become obsolete or antiquated.

"It is generally agreed, that his Latin style is less perfect than his Italian, whether his poetry or his prose be considered. Yet it was for his Africa, principally a Latin poem, that he was solemnly crowned in the Roman capitol."

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

Shipwreck of the Porpoise and Cato on Reef-Wreck Bank, Australasia.

[From Captain Flinder's Voyage to Terra Australis.]

"ON July 20, lieutenant Fowler quitted the Investigator, with the crew selected for him, and took the command of his Majesty's armed vessel Porpoise; and on the following day I went on board with the rest of my officers and people, to go with him as passengers. Amongst other preparations for the voyage, a green house was set up on the quarter deck of that ship; and the plants collected in the Investigator from the south, the east, and north coasts of Terra Australis were deposited in it, to be conveyed to his Majesty's botanical garden at Kew; and as we had had the misfortune to lose the gardener of the expedition, and Mr. Brown, the naturalist, remained behind, a man from Port Jackson was engaged to take care of the plants during the passage.

"The examination of Torres' Strait was one of the most important articles of my instructions which had been executed only in part; and though I could not pretend to make any regular survey in the Porpoise, it was yet desirable to pass again through the strait, and lay down as many of its dangers as circumstances would admit; and this being represented to governor King, the following paragraph was made an article in lieutenant Fowler's orders. 'The objects which captain 'Flinders will have to finish in his 'rout through Torres' Strait, requires 'that he should be assisted with 'boats, people, and have the entire 'direction of the ship as to the 'courses she is to steer, making and 'shortening sail, anchoring, and 'every other prompt attention to his 'directions as connected with his 'survey. You are therefore further 'required to comply with every di- 'rection he may give you, to enable 'him to execute the orders of my 'Lords Commissioners of the Ad- 'miralty; and as it will be neces- 'sary that the most expeditious route 'should be followed, for the pur- 'pose of ascertaining the length of

'time

'time it will take to make the voy-
'age from hence to England, by
'Torres' Strait, and to enable cap-
'tain Flinders to be in England as
'early as possible, you will take
'especial care to lose no time in
'getting to England by the route
'captain Flinders may indicate.'

"In the beginning of August, the Porpoise was nearly ready to sail; and two ships then lying in Sydney Cove, bound to Batavia, desired leave to accompany us through the Strait. These were the Hon. East-India-Company's extra-ship Bridgewater, of about 750 tons, commanded by E. H. Palmer, Esq., and the ship Cato of London, of about 450 tons, commanded by Mr. John Park. The company of these ships gave me pleasure; for if we should be able to make a safe and expeditious passage through the strait with them, of which I had but little doubt, it would be a manifest proof of the advantage of the route discovered in the Investigator, and tend to bring it into general use. On the 10th I took leave of my respected friend the governor of New South Wales, and received his dispatches for England; and lieutenant Fowler having given a small code of signals to the Bridgewater and Cato, we sailed out of Port Jackson together, at eleven o'clock of the same morning, and steered north-eastward for Torres' Strait.

"Mr. Inman had re-delivered to me the two time-keepers, with a table of their rates deduced from equal altitudes, but the No. 543 had gone so very irregularly, as not to be entitled to any confidence; the error of No. 520 from mean Greenwich time at noon there on the 2d, and its rate of going during the twenty-five preceding days were as under;

"Earnshaw's No. 520, fast, 6h 49′ 54″, 85 and losing 33″, 38 per day.

"The winds were light, and mostly from the eastward during the first two days of our quitting Port Jackson; and not being able to get far enough from the land to avoid the southern current, it had retarded us 35′ on the 12th at noon, when the islands of Port Stephens were in sight. On the following day the wind became more steady in the the south-western quarter, and as our distance from the land increased, the current abated; and on the 15th, when the latitude was 27° 27′, longitude 156° 22′, and distance from the coast about fifty leagues, the set was something in our favour. The wind was then at south, and our course steered was north for twenty-four hours, then N. by W.; and on the 17th at noon we were in latitude 23° 22′, longitude 155° 34′, and had the wind at S. E. by S.

"Soon after two o'clock, the Cato being some distance on our larboard quarter made the signal for seeing land. This proved to be a dry sand bank, which bore S. S. W. about three leagues; and the Porpoise sailing faster than the other ships, they were directed to keep on their course whilst we hauled up to take a nearer view of the bank. At three o'clock, when it bore S. by E. five or six miles, we hove to and sounded, but had no bottom at 80 fathoms. The *Cato's Bank*, for so it was named, is small and seemed to be destitute of vegetation; there was an innumerable quantity of birds hovering about, and it was surrounded with breakers; but their extent seemed very little to exceed that of the bank, nor could any other reef near it be discovered. The situation was ascertained to be nearly 23° 6′ south, and 155°

155° 23′ east; and we then made sail after the Bridgewater and Cato, to take our station a-head of them as before.

"Some apprehensions were excited for the following night by meeting with this bank; but as it was more than two degrees to the eastward of the great Barrier Reefs, we thought it unconnected with any other, like the two discovered by captain Ball and Mr. Bampton, further towards the north end of New Caledonia. I had, besides, steered for Torres' Strait in the Investigator, from reefs several degrees to the westward, without meeting with any other danger than what lay near the Barrier or belonged to the Strait; and by the time we had rejoined the ships in the evening, the distance run from the bank was thirty-five miles, and no other danger had been descried. It did not therefore seem necessary to lose a good night's run by heaving to; and I agreed with lieutenant Fowler, that it would be sufficient to make the signal for the ships to run under easy, working sail during the night,—to take our usual station a-head,—and to charge one of the Investigator's warrant officer's with the look-out on the fore castle. These precautions being taken, and the top sails double reefed, our course was pursued to the N. by W., with a fresh breeze and cloudy weather; and at eight o'clock the lead was cast, but no bottom found at 35 fathoms. The Bridgewater was then about half a mile on the starbord, and the Cato a mile on the larbord quarter; and their distance seeming to increase at nine, when our rate of going was eight knots, the foresail was hauled up to keep them in sight: wind then at S. E. by E.

"In half an hour, and almost at the same instant by the Investigator's carpenter on the forecastle, and the master who had charge of the watch on the quarter deck,—breakers were seen a-head. The helm was immediately put down, with the intention of tacking from them; but the Porpoise having only three double-reefed top sails set, scarcely came up to the wind. Lieutenant Fowler sprang upon deck, on hearing the noise; but supposing it to be occasioned by carrying away the tiller rope, a circumstance which had often occurred in the Investigator, and having no orders to give, I remained some minutes longer, conversing with the gentlemen in the gun room. On going up, I found the sails shaking in the wind, and the ship in the act of paying off; at the same time there were very high breakers at not a quarter of a cable's length to leeward. In about a minute, the ship was carried amongst the breakers; and striking upon a coral reef, took a fearful heel over on her larbord beam ends, her head being north-eastward. A gun was attempted to be fired, to warn the other vessels of the danger; but owing to the violent motion and the heavy surfs flying over, this could not be done immediately; and before lights were brought up, the Bridgewater and Cato had hauled to the wind across each other.

"Our fore mast was carried away at the second or third shock; and the bottom was presently reported to be stove in, and the hold full of water. When the surf permitted us to look to windward, the Bridgewater and Cato were perceived at not more than a cable's length distance; and approaching each other so closely, that their running aboard seemed to us inevitable. This was an awful moment; the utmost silence prevailed;

vailed; and when the bows of the two ships went to meet, even respiration seemed to be suspended. The ships advanced, and we expected to hear the dreadful crash; but presently they opened off from each other, having passed side by side without touching; the Cato steering to the north-east, and the Bridgwater to the southward. Our own safety seemed to have no other dependence than upon the two ships, and the exultation we felt at seeing this most imminent danger passed, was great, but of short duration: the Cato struck upon the reef about two cables length from the Porpoise: we saw her fall over on her broad side, and the masts almost instantly disappeared; but the darkness of the night did not admit of distinguishing, at that distance, what further might have happened.

"Turning our eyes toward the Bridgewater, a light was perceived at her mast head, by which we knew she had cleared the reef; and our first sensations were, that the commander would certainly tack, and send boats to our assistance; but when a little reflexion had enabled us to put ourselves in his place, it became evident that he would not choose to come so near the reef in the night, blowing fresh as it did; and still less to send his boats and people into the breakers, to their certain destruction.

"The Porpoise had very fortunately heeled towards the reef; so that the surfs which struck against her turned-up side, flew over without washing off the decks; and the smooth appearance of the water under the lee, afforded a prospect of being able to get the boats out on that side. The experiment was tried with a small four-oared gig, and succeeded; but a six-oared cutter was jerked against the sheet anchor by the violence of the shocks, and being stove, was filled with water.

"It was by no means certain how long the ship, being slightly built, and not in a sound state, might hold together; it was therefore deemed expedient to lighten her, that she might drive further up the coral bank and lie more easily. On sounding, the depth was found to be 17 fathoms on the windward side, but no more than a few feet on the reef; and Mr. Fowler ordered the main and mizen masts, and the starbord anchor to be cut away; but on my suggesting to him the possibility of driving over the reef, with the rise of tide, and sinking in deep water as the Pandora had done, the lightening of the ship was not prosecuted further.

"Beyond the smooth water close under the lee, there was a line of breakers, and further on the sea appeared to be tranquil; it therefore seemed probable that boats might approach the ship on that side, and if this information could be conveyed to captain Palmer of the Bridgwater, that something might be speedily done towards saving the crew; and as it was likely that my influence with him might be greatest, and being a passenger in the Porpoise, no charge made my presence on board immediately necessary, I proposed to make the attempt in the gig, to which Mr. Fowler assented. The boat being obliged to lie at a little distance from the ship, to prevent being stove, I jumped overboard and swam to her; and we pushed through the breakers to the smooth water, receiving two or three surfs by the way, from which we hardly escaped sinking. On examining the condition of the boat, I found nothing to bale out the water,

and

and only two oars which did not belong to it; and instead of the proper crew of four men, there were only three; but under the thwarts were stowed away three others, the armourer, a cook, and a marine, who did not know how to handle an oar. These last were set to baling with their hats and shoes, and we rowed towards the Bridgewater's light, keeping under the lee of the breakers. That ship was standing from us, and I saw that any attempt to get nearer before she tacked would be fruitless; and even afterwards, it was much to be doubted whether, with two awkward oars and an overloaded boat, we could make any way against the sea on the windward side of the reef; I therefore determined to remain under the lee of the breakers until she should approach, and to lie near the Porpoise; that in case of her going in pieces before morning, we might save some of the people. In rowing back we met the cutter, which the men in her, having got the leak partly stopped, had pushed off without an officer, and were going they scarcely knew whither: they furnished us with a third oar, and I desired them to keep close to the gig, near the wreck, until morning. We found the bottom here to be coral rock, and the water so shallow, that a man might stand up in many places without being over head.

"I wished to have got on board the ship, to let them know of the boats being safe and what we had discovered of the reef; but the breakers between us, and the darkness of the night cut off all hope of communication before morning. They burned blue lights every half hour, as a guide to the Bridgewater; but her light was lost to us in the boats at eleven o'clock, and after two in the morning it was no longer seen from the Porpoise. At that time it appeared to be low water, and the ship lay so much more quiet than befor, that the apprehension of her going to pieces before day light had much subsided; to be prepared, however, for the next flood, Mr. Fowler employed his people during the night in making a raft of the spare top masts, yards, &c., with short ropes all round it, by which the people might hold on; and a cask of water, with a chest containing some provisions, a sextant, and the Investigator's log books, were secured upon the raft.

"In the small gig we were quite drenched, the south-east wind blew fresh and cold, and the reflexions excited by the great change so suddenly made in our situation, with the uncertainty of what had befallen the Cato and even the Bridgewater, did not tend to make this long night pass more agreeably. My thoughts were principally occupied in devising plans for saving ourselves, under the apprehension that we might see no more of the Bridgewater; but not to discourage the people, I spoke of every body getting on board that ship in the morning, and of continuing our voyage to England, as not at all doubtful.

"Of the poor Cato, we could neither see nor hear any thing. It appeared that captain Park, when meeting the Bridgewater on opposite tacks, stopped setting his main-sail and bore away to leeward; had he persevered, both ships must have come upon the reef together; but by his presence of mind on this occasion, the Bridgewater weathered the breakers and escaped the impending danger. When the Cato struck the reef, it was upon the point of a rock, under the larbord

chess tree; and she fell over to windward, with her decks exposed to the waves. In a short time the decks and holds were torn up, and every thing washed away; and the sole place left, where the unfortunate people could hope to avoid the fury of the sea, was in the larbord fore channel, where they all crowded together, the greater part with no other covering than their shirts. Every time the sea struck the Cato, it twisted her about upon the rock with such violent jerks, that they expected the stern, which was down in the water, would part every moment. In this situation, some lashing themselves to the timber heads, others clinging to the chain plates and dead eyes, and to each other, captain Park and his crew passed the night; their hope being, that the fore castle of the ship might hold upon the rock till morning, and that the Bridgewater would then send her boats to save them. From the Porpoise they entertained no hope; and until the signal lights were seen, they thought her gone to pieces.

"At the first dawning of day, I got on board the Porpoise by the help of the fallen masts. Every body was in good spirits at seeing the ship hold together so well, and finding the boats safe; for the gig, with all in her, had been given up for lost, some one having thought he saw her sink in the breakers. With the day-light appeared a dry sand bank, not more than half a mile distant, sufficiently large to receive us all with what provisions might be got out of the ship; and the satisfaction arising from this discovery was increased by the Bridgewater being perceived under sail, and though distant, that she was standing towards the reef. On the other side, the appearance of the poor Cato, with the people waving to us from the bowsprit and fore castle, the only parts above water, was truly distressing.

"The reef seemed to be a mile in breadth, and it extended in an east and west direction to a distance beyond what could be distinguished from the Porpoise's deck; but there were in it several wide, and apparently deep openings, by which the Bridgewater might run to leeward, and there anchor or lie to, whilst sending her boats to our assistance. Having made these remarks, I left Mr. Fowler and his people getting up water and provisions; and went to the bank for the purpose of being ready to go off in the gig so soon as that ship should be near enough, and pointing out to captain Palmer the means by which he might take on board the two crews and what else might be saved; but he went upon the other tack soon afterward, and no more was seen of him during the day.

"A number of sea-birds eggs scattered over the bank, showed that it was above high-water mark, and I sent the gig back with this intelligence to lieutenant Fowler. Seeing that the Bridgewater did not approach, he ordered the boat to lie opposite to the Cato; and captain Park and his men, throwing themselves into the water with any pieces of spar or plank they could find, swam to her through the breakers; and were then taken to the Porpoise, where they received food and some clothing. Several were bruised against the coral rocks, and three young lads were drowned. One of these poor boys, who, in the three or four voyages he had made to sea, had been each time shipwrecked, had bewailed himself through the night as the persecuted Jonas who carried misfortune wherever he went.

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He launched himself upon a broken spar with his captain; but having lost his hold in the breakers, was not seen afterwards.

"At low water, which happened about two o'clock, the reef was dry very near to the Porpoise, and both officers and men were assiduously employed in getting upon it provisions and their clothes; they were brought from thence by the boats, for the depth was several feet at a distance round the bank. Before dark, five half hogsheads of water, some flour, salt, meat, rice, and spirits were landed, with such of the pigs and sheep as had escaped drowning; and every man from both ships had got on shore. Some of the Cato's sailors appeared in officers uniforms, given to them in the Porpoise; and I was pleased to see that our situation was not thought so bad by the people, as to hinder all pleasantry upon these promotions. Those who had saved great coats or blankets shared with the less fortunate, and we laid down to sleep on the sand in tolerable tranquillity, being much oppressed with fatigue; and except from those of the Cato's men who had been bruised or cut by the rocks, there was not a complaining voice heard on the bank.

"The Porpoise's two cutters and the gig were hauled up to high-water mark; but the latter not having been well secured, and the night tide rising higher than was expected, it was carried away, to our great loss. In the morning, we had the satisfaction to see the ship still entire, and thrown higher up the reef; the Cato had gone to pieces, and all that remained was one of the quarters, which had floated over the front ledge of the reef, and lodged near our bank. Of the Bridgewater nothing could be seen; and many fears were entertained for her safety.

"For the better preservation of discipline, and of that union between the crews of the Porpoise and Cato, and passengers of the Investigator, so necessary in our circumstances, it was highly expedient that they should be put on the same footing and united under one head. The Porpoise was lost beyond a possibility of hope, and the situation of the commander and crew thereby rendered similar to that of their passengers; I therefore considered myself authorised and called upon, as the senior officer, to take the command of the whole; and my intention being communicated to lieutenant Fowler, he assented without hesitation to its expediency and propriety, and I owe to captain Park a similar acknowledgement. The people were then assembled upon the top of the bank; and I informed the seamen of the Cato, one or two of whom had shown signs of discontent at being ordered to work, that as they doubtless expected to be fed from our provisions, so they must exert themselves to save as much as possible; and although they were not in the king's pay, yet as a magistrate acting within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, I would punish all deviations from obedience and good conduct in them, the same as amongst our own seamen. I ordered the Cato's men, who had saved nothing, to be quartered in the messes of our people, in the proportion of one to three; and directed lieutenant Fowler, who had charge of the provisions, to victual all alike. The surgeon of the Porpoise was ordered to examine the wounded, and give in a list of those really incapable of duty; and a large party, consisting of as many men as the two cutters could contain, went off to the wreck under the command of Mr. Fowler, to disembark provisions and stores.

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"A top-sail yard was set up and secured as a flag staff on the highest part of the bank, and a large blue ensign hoisted to it with the union downward, as a signal to the Bridgewater. We expected, if no accident had happened, that she would come to relieve us from our critical situation so soon as the wind should be perfectly moderate; but I judged it most prudent to act as if we had no such resource, and this was justified by the event. Captain Palmer had even then abandoned us to our fate, and was, at the moment, steering away for Batavia, without having made any effort to give us assistance. He saw the wrecks, as also the sand bank, on the morning after our disaster, and must have known that the reef was not at all connected, since it is spoken of by him as lying in patches: but he did not seek to ascertain whether any of the openings were passable for the Bridgewater, and might enable him to take those on board who had escaped drowning. He bore away round all; and whilst the two hapless vessels were still visible from the mast head, passed the leeward extremity of the reef, and hove to for the night. The apprehension of danger to himself must then have ceased; but he neither attempted to work up in the smooth water, nor sent any of his boats to see whether some unfortunate individuals were not clinging to the wrecks, whom he might snatch from the sharks or save from a more lingering death; it was safer, in his estimation, to continue on his voyage, and publish that we were all lost, as he did not fail to do on his arrival in India.

"The wind blew fresh from the south-eastward on the 18th and 19th, but on the two following days it was moderate with fine weather. We worked hard on board the Porpoise, and by the 22nd had got most of the water and provisions secured in a large tent made with spars and sails; each mess of officers and men had also their private tent; and our manner of living and working had assumed the same regularity as before the shipwreck. One of the men whose liberty governor King had granted at my request, being guilty of disorderly conduct, the articles of war were publicly read, and the man punished at the flag staff. This example served to correct any evil disposition, if such existed; the men worked cordially together, and in all respects we preserved the same discipline and order as on board his Majesty's ships.

"Our prospects of receiving succour from the Bridgewater having become very feeble, after two days of moderate weather had elapsed, I called a council of all the officers, to deliberate upon the best means of relieving ourselves from the precarious situation in which our misfortune, and captain Palmer's want of energy and humanity had left us exposed; and it was finally determined, that an officer and crew in the largest of the two six-oared cutters, should endeavour to get to Sandy Cape, sixty-three leagues distant, and from thence along the coast to Port Jackson; and pray his Excellency, the governor, to send vessels to carry us either back to that port or on towards England. But as the safe arrival of the cutter at that season of the year, when strong winds usually prevail from the southward, was a subject of much apprehension; it was resolved that two decked boats, capable of transporting every person remaining on the bank, except one officer and boat's crew, should be immediately laid

laid down by the carpenters, to be built from what was already and might be still further saved from the wreck; and that, if the officer in the cutter did not return with assistance in two months, the boats should then, or as soon after as they could be ready to sail, proceed to Port Jackson. The first and principal means, however, through which our deliverance was to be expected, being the safe arrival of the cutter, the choice of an officer to conduct her was next considered. Lieutenant Fowler proposed, and it seemed to be the general wish, that I should undertake the execution of the task; and being satisfied that the preservation of order on the bank, and the saving of the stores would be left in good hands, the hope of being instrumental to the general safety induced me readily to comply. But to provide against sickness and the various accidents which might arise from the natives of the coast or otherwise, it was necessary that two officers should be in the boat; and captain Park of the Cato being desirous of returning to Port Jackson, to make the necessary statements relative to the loss of his ship, he was appointed my second with the general approbation.

"The smaller cutter with an officer, his second, and a boat's crew, I proposed should remain with the stores, and in charge of my charts and books for a few weeks longer than the two months; and then go to Port Jackson also, should no vessel arrive before that time. This precaution was necessary, lest any unforeseen occurrence should delay my return to the bank beyond two months, though not prevent it altogether; that the charts, journals, and papers might still be found there, to be taken on to England if wanted. I designed my brother, lieutenant Flinders, for this service; but Mr. Fowler claiming it as the post of honour, I too much respected the principle that influenced him not to accede to his request; and therefore ordered, that the former officer and Mr. John Aken, master of the Investigator, should take charge of the decked boats, with a master's mate in each capable of conducting them to Port Jackson, should illness or any accident happen to either of the officers.

"By the evening of the 23d, the Porpoise was well nigh emptied of all the most essential things; and on a survey being made, there was found sufficient water and provisions on the bank to serve ninety-four men, which was our number, for three months, even at full allowance; although many casks were stove in the hold by the bulging of the larbord side, and much dry provisions spoiled by the salt water. The principal contents of the warrant officers store rooms, as well as the sails, rigging, and spars, were also on shore. My books, charts, and papers had suffered much damage, from the top of the cabin being displaced when the mizen mast fell; all such papers as chanced to be loose on the night of the shipwreck were then washed away by the surfs, and amongst them a chart of the west side of the Gulph of Carpentaria and part of the North Coast, upon which I had been occupied in the afternoon. Part of my small library shared the same fate; but the rest of the charts, with my log and bearing books and astronomical observations were all saved, though some of them in a wet and shattered state. The rare plants collected on different parts of the south, the east, and north coasts of Terra Australis,

for his Majesty's botanic garden at Kew, and which were in a flourishing state before the shipwreck, were totally destroyed by the salt water; as were the dried specimens of plants. Fortunately, the naturalist and natural-history painter, who remained at Port Jackson, had put on board only a small part of their collection of specimens; the great mass, with the preserved birds, quadrupeds, and insects being kept for a future opportunity. Mr. Westall, the landscape painter, had his sketches and drawings wetted and partly destroyed in his cabin; and my little collection in mineralogy and conchology was much defaced, and one-half lost.

"The carpenters were employed until the evening of the 25th, in preparing the cutter for her intended expedition; and the rest of the people in adding to the stores on the bank. As the Porpoise became lighter, the sea threw her higher up on the reef, and she was much shaken; but we hoped the timber and beams would together, at least until the next spring tides, and that every thing would be got out. Of the Cato, nothing but a few scattered fragments had remained for several days before.

"Before leaving Wreck Reef, it will be proper to say something of the sand bank to which we were all indebted for our lives; and where the greater part of the officers and people were to remain in expectation of my return from Port Jackson. In the annexed view of it, Mr. Westall has represented the corals above water, to give a better notion of their forms and the way they are seen on the reefs; but in reality, the tide never leaves any considerable part of them uncovered. The length of the bank is about one hundred and fifty fathoms, by fifty in breadth; and the general elevation three or four feet above the common level of high water; it consists of sand and pieces of coral, thrown up by the waves and eddy tides on a patch of reef five or six miles in circuit; and being nearly in the middle of the patch, the sea does no more, even in a gale, than send a light spray over the bank, sufficient, however, to prevent the growth of any other than a few diminutive salt plants. On its north and north west sides, and at one or two cables length from the reef, there is from 18 to 25 fathoms on a bottom of coral sand; where the Bridgewater might have anchored in safety, so long as the wind remained between S. W. and E. S. E., and received every person from the wrecks, with provisions for their subsistence. The latitude of the bank was found to be 22° 11′ south, and longitude by the time keeper No. 520, reduced up from an observation on the afternoon preceding the shipwreck, 155° 3′; but this was afterwards found to require correction. This excellent time keeper did not seem to have been affected by the violent motion of the ship; but No. 543 stopped, and Arnold's watch No. 1736 was spoiled by the salt water.

"In searching for something wherewith to make a fire on the first night of our landing, a spar and a piece of timber, worm eaten and almost rotten, were found and burnt. The timber was seen by the master of the Porpoise, who judged it to have been part of the stern post of a ship of about four hundred tons; and I have thought it might, not improbably, have belonged to *La Boussole* or *L'Astrolabe*. Monsieur de la Pérouse, on quitting Botany Bay, intended to visit the south-west

west coast of New Caledonia; and he might have encountered in the night, as we did, some one of the several reefs which lie scattered in this sea. Less fortunate than we were, he probably had no friendly sand bank near him, upon which his people might be collected together, and the means of existence saved out of the ships; or perhaps his two vessels both took the unlucky direction of the Cato after striking, and the seas which broke into them carried away all his boats and provisions; nor would La Pérouse, his vessels, or crews be able, in such a case, to resist the impetuosity of the waves more than twenty-four hours. If such were the end of the regretted French navigator, as there is now but too much reason to fear, it is the counterpart of what would have befallen all on board the Porpoise and Cato, had the former ship, like the Cato, fallen over towards the sea instead of heeling to the reef."

"An opinion that La Pérouse had been lost in this neighbourhood, induced me when examining the main coast to seek carefully at every place, amongst the refuse thrown upon the shores, for indications of shipwreck to windward; and could the search have been then prosecuted to the 15th, or 12th degree of latitude, I am persuaded it would not have been in vain. Besides the extensive reefs which skirt the western side of New Caledonia, and the Barrier Reefs on the opposite coast of New South Wales, we are now acquainted with the six or eight following distinct banks of coral in the sea between them, exclusive of Wreck Reef and the Cato's Bank.

Two reefs discovered by Bougainville.

Bâture de Diane, by the same.

Two reefs further westward, by the Investigator.

Booby Shoal, towards New Caledonia, by captain H. L. Ball.

Bellona's Shoal, by the ship of that name.

Bampton's Shoal, an extensive reef with two small islands.

There are also the islets and shoals seen by the ship Sovereign, which are probably a part of those that extend so far from the north-west end of New Caledonia; and all these, with some others further northward, lie in the space comprehended between Louisiade and New Guinea on the north,—New Caledonia to the east,—New South Wales to the West,—and a line drawn from Sandy Cape to the Isle of Pines on the south. Few ships have passed through this sea without making the discovery of some new bank of coral; and it is probable that several other patches of reef, yet unknown, will be found in it, especially on the Caledonian side. This space might be very appropriately called the *Coralian Sea*."

Captain Flinders's Voyage in an open boat to Port Jackson, and return to Reef-Wreck Bank.

[From the same.]

"On August 26, the largest cutter being ready for her expedition, was launched and named the *Hope*. The morning was fine, and wind light from the southward; and notwithstanding the day, which in the seaman's calendar is the most unfortunate of the whole week, to commence a voyage, I embarked for Port Jackson with the commander of the Cato. We had a double set of rowers, making in all fourteen persons, with three weeks provisions and two half hogsheads of water; so that the Hope was loaded rather too deeply. At eight in the morning, we pushed off amidst the cheers and good wishes of those for whom we were going to seek relief; an ensign with the union downward, had hitherto been kept hoisted as a signal to captain Palmer of our distress; but in this moment of enthusiasm, a seaman quitted the crowd, and having obtained permission, ran to the flag staff, hauled down the ensign, and rehoisted it with the union in the upper canton. This symbolical expression of contempt for the Bridgewater and of confidence in the success of our voyage, I did not see without lively emotions.

"We made sail to the westward under the lee of the reef, and passed two openings in it of nearly a mile wide. The second league brought us abreast of a dry sand bank, smaller than that quitted; and at noon we came to a third, lying ten miles west of Wreck-Reef Bank. Having then lost the breeze, we stopped to cook our dinner on shore; and in the mean time I shot as many noddies as would give all the boat's crew a meal. On quitting this third bank, which is near the western extremity of Wreck-Reef, we crossed into the open sea; and a breeze springing up at south-east, made sail towards Sandy Cape. Many hump-backed whales were playing about the boat during the whole time we remained under the lee of the reef, but they did not follow us further.

"Nothing but clear water was visible at sunset, nevertheless we ran cautiously in the dark, looking out for breakers; the night was fine, and we made good progress by means of the oars, at which the twelve men took watch and watch, as Mr. Park and myself did at the helm; it was for this purpose, and to guard against accidents, that I had taken so many men in the boat.

"At day break, the wind was E. S. E. and no land in sight; the boat was going four knots, and at noon our latitude by log was 23° 6′ and the distance made from Wreck-Reef Bank, ninety miles. The wind freshened in the afternoon, and a cross sea rose which obliged us to reef the sails, and made the boat very wet. At four we close reefed and hauled to the wind, but this was not enough; the increased hollow-

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seas of the waves caused the boat to labour so much, that every plunge raised an apprehension that some of the planks would start from the timbers. Having no other resource, we emptied one of the two casks of water, threw over-board the stones of our fire place and wood for cooking, as also a bag of pease and whatever else could be best spared; the boat was then somewhat more easy; and before dark, the hollow swell had so far subsided that we kept two points from the wind, and again went along in tolerable tranquillity.

"The hollow sea was probably caused by a weather tide setting out of some passage between the reefs to the north-westward; and the succeeding smooth water by the tide having turned to leeward, or otherwise from the boat having passed across the stream; it is at least certain, that the southern part of the Barrier Reefs, seen by captain Swain of the ship Elita, was somewhere to the north-west of our situation at that time. To avoid all these reefs, and to counteract the effect of a north-western current, I kept a S. S. W. course all the following night.

"We had fine weather next morning, with a moderate breeze at north-east; and at noon, the distance run in the preceding twenty-four hours was ninety-one miles by the log, and the observed latitude 24° 53′ south: the lead was put over-board, but no bottom found at 50 fathoms. Our situation being to the south of Sandy Cape, we steered a point more west, in the hope of seeing the land before night; it being my intention to keep near the coast from thence to Port Jackson, that by landing, or running the boat on shore, we might escape foundering at sea should a gale of wind come on. At sunset, the land was visible to the westward at the distance of four or five leagues, and we then hauled up south, parallel to the coast; the night was fine, the wind light and fair, and at daylight the tops of the hills were seen in the west, at the same distance as before. Our latitude at noon was 26° 22′, and a high hummock upon the land, somewhere between Double-Island Point and Glass-house Bay, bore W. ¼ N.

"Our favourable breeze died away in the afternoon, and we took to the oars; it however sprung up again from the northward, and brought us within sight of Cape Moreton at sunset. Towards midnight the weather became squally with heavy rain, and gave us all a thorough drenching; but the wind not being very strong in these squalls, our course was still pursued to the southward. After the rain ceased the wind came at S. S. W.; and the weather remaining unsettled, we tacked at daylight to get close in with the land, and at noon anchored under Point Look-out. This was only the fourth day of our departure from Wreck Reef, and I considered the voyage to be half accomplished, since we had got firm hold of the main coast; for the probability of being lost is greater in making three hundred miles in an open boat at sea, than in running even six hundred along shore. It would have added much to our satisfaction, could we have conveyed the intelligence of this fortunate progress to our ship-mates on the bank.

"The necessity for a supply of fresh water was becoming urgent, for our remaining half hogshead was much reduced. There were about twenty Indians upon the side of a hill near the shore, who seemed

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to be peaceably disposed, amusing us with dances in imitation of the kanguroo; we made signs of wanting water, which they understood, and pointed to a small rill falling into the sea. Two of the sailors leaped over-board, with some trifles for the natives and one end of the lead line; with the other end we slung the empty cask, which they hauled on shore and filled without molestation. A shark had followed them to the beach; and fearing they might be attacked in returning, we got up the anchor and went to a place where the surf, though too much to allow of the boat landing, permitted us to lie closer. The cask of water, a bundle of wood, and the two men were received on board without accident; the natives keeping aloof during the whole time, and even retiring when our people approached, though they were without arms and naked. It is probable that the Indians were astonished at the comparison between the moderately white skin of the sailors and their own, and perhaps had heard of my expedition to Glass-house Bay in 1799, in which I had been provoked to make one of them feel the effect of our arms; and had they attempted any thing against my two men, we were prepared to have given them a volley from the boat which would probably have been a fearful confirmation of the truth of the report; but happily for both parties, we were not reduced to the necessity.

"On rowing to Point Look-out, to continue the voyage, I found the wind so fresh from the southward that the greatest fatigue at the oars could advance us little; we therefore ran to leeward of two rocks, lying a mile and a half north-west from the extremity of the point; and having anchored there, arranged the boat so as that every person might take a better night's rest than we had hitherto been able to enjoy.

"At daylight, the wind being light and variable, we proceeded along the coast by using both sails and oars. The weather was dull, and prevented an observation at noon for the latitude; but a sight of Mount Warning at dusk showed that our progress was equal to expectation. We then had a gentle breeze from the north-eastward; and at ten o'clock, passed close to a projection of land which I supposed to be Point Danger, without seeing any breakers; it is therefore probable, that the reef laid down by captain Cook does not join to the land, for we kept a good look out, and the night was tolerably fine.

"At five on the following morning we passed Cape Byron, with a breeze at north-west, and at noon had made a hundred miles by our reckoning from Point Look-out; the observed latitude was then 29° 16′, and the land near Shoal Bay was three leagues distant. We continued steering to the southward, in high spirits, at being so favoured by the northern winds, which there was so little reason to expect; and at eight in the evening reached abreast of the Solitary Isles. Smoky Cape was in sight next morning; but the wind coming round to south, and blowing fresh with thick weather, we tacked towards the shore; and at noon landed behind a small ledge of rocks, about three leagues short of the Cape. The distance run these twenty-four hours was eighty five miles, and the southwardly current had moreover given its assistance.

"This ledge of rocks lies on the north side of a point upon which there are some hummocks; and on ascending the highest, I saw a lagoon into

into which the tide flowed by a narrow passage on the inner side of the point. The *pandanus* grows here; and as it was a tree unknown to Bongaree, this latitude (about 30° 45′) is probably near its southern limit. We took in a supply of fuel and gathered some fine oysters, and the wind dying away to a calm in the afternoon, rowed out for Smoky Cape; but on reaching abreast of it the wind again rose a-head; and at one in the morning we anchored in a small bight at the extremity of the Cape, and remained until day-light.

"The wind was still contrary on the 3d, nevertheless we stood out and beat to the southward until four in the afternoon; when the sea having become too high for the boat, we anchored under the lee of a small projecting point, eight or ten leagues to the south of Smoky Cape; which distance had been gained in about ten hours, principally by means of the current.

"On the 4th, we again attempted to beat to the southward; but the wind being light as well as foul, and the sea running high, not much was gained; at noon the weather threatened so much, that it became necessary to look out for a place of shelter, and we steered into a bight with rocks in it, which I judge to have been on the north side of Tacking Point. At the head of the bight is a lagoon; but the entrance proving to be very shallow, and finding no security, we continued on our voyage; trusting that some place of shelter would present itself, if obliged to seek it by necessity. Towards evening the wind and weather became more favourable; in the mornings the Three Brothers were in sight; and at noon I observed the latitude 31° 57′, when the middle-most of these hills bore N. N. W. and our distance off shore was two or three leagues.

"At this time the wind blew a moderate sea breeze at E. S. E., Cape Hawke was seen soon after-ward, and at eight in the evening we steered between Sugar-loaf Point and the two rocks lying from it three or four miles to the south-east. At four next morning, passed the islands at the entrance of Port Stephens, and at noon the Coal Island in the mouth of Port Hunter bore N. W. by N.; the wind then shifted more to the southward, with squally weather, and both prevented the boat from lying along the coast and made it unsafe to be at sea. After struggling till four in the afternoon, with little advantage, we bore up to look for shelter behind some of the small projecting points; and almost immediately found it in a shallow cove, exposed only to the north-eastward. This was the eleventh day of our departure from Wreck-Reef, and the distance of Port Jackson did not now exceed fifty miles.

"At this place we slept on shore for the first time; but the weather being squally, rainy, and cold, and the boat's sails our best shelter, it was not with any great share of comfort; a good watch was kept during the night, but no molestation was received from the natives. Notwithstanding our cramped-up position in the boat, and exposure to all kinds of weather, we enjoyed excellent health, one man excepted, upon whom the dysentery, which had made such ravages in the Investigator, now returned with some violence.

"A cask of water was filled on the morning of the 7th, and our biscuit being all expended or spoiled, some cakes were baked in the ashes for

for our future subsistence. At eleven o'clock, the rain having cleared away, we stood out to the offing with light baffling winds, and towards evening were enabled to lie along the coast, but the breeze at south-east not giving much assistance, we took to the oars and laboured hard all the following night, being animated with the prospect of a speedy termination to our voyage. The north head of Broken Bay was in sight next morning, and at noon the south head was abreast of the boat; a sea breeze then setting in at E. N. E., we crowded all sail for Port Jackson, and soon after two o'clock had the happiness to enter between the heads.

"The reader has perhaps never gone 250 leagues at sea in an open boat, or along a strange coast inhabited by savages; but if he recollect the eighty officers and men upon Wreck-Reef Bank, and how important was our arrival to their safety, and to the saving of the charts, journals, and papers of the Investigator's voyage, he may have some idea of the pleasure we felt, but particularly myself, at entering our destined port.

"I proceeded immediately to the town of Sydney, and went with captain Park to wait upon His Excellency governor King, whom we found at dinner with his family. A razor had not passed over our faces from the time of the shipwreck, and the surprise of the governor was not little at seeing two persons thus appear whom he supposed to be many hundred leagues on their way to England; but so soon as he was convinced of the truth of the vision before him, and learned the melancholy cause, an involuntary tear started from the eye of friendship and compassion, and we were received in the most affectionate manner.

"His Excellency lost no time in engaging the ship Rolla, then lying in port, bound to China, to go to the rescue of the officers and crews of the Porpoise and Cato; I accompanied the governor on board the Rolla a day or two afterwards, and articles were signed by which the commander, Mr. Robert Cumming, engaged to call at Wreck Reef, take every person on board and carry them to Canton, upon terms which showed him to take the interest in our misfortune which might be expected from a British seaman. The governor ordered two colonial schooners to accompany the Rolla, to bring back those who preferred returning to Port Jackson, with such stores of the Porpoise as could be procured; and every thing was done that an anxious desire to forward his Majesty's service and alleviate misfortune could devise; even private individuals put wine, live stock, and vegetables, unasked, on board the Rolla for the officers upon the reef.

"My anxiety to get back to Wreck Reef, and from thence to England with the greatest dispatch, induced the governor to offer me one of the schooners to go through Torres' Strait and by the most expeditious passage to Europe; rather than take the long route by China in the Rolla. This schooner was something less than a Gravesend passage boat, being only of twenty-nine tons burthen; and therefore it required some consideration before acceding to the proposal. Her small size, when compared with the distance from Port Jackson to England, was not my greatest objection to the little Cumberland; it was the quickness of her motion and the want of convenience, which would prevent the charts.

charts and journal of my voyage from being prepared on the passage, and render the whole so much time lost to this important object. On the other hand, the advantage of again passing through, and collecting more information of Torres' Strait, and of arriving in England three or four months sooner to commence the outfit of another ship, were important considerations; and joined to some ambition of being the first to undertake so long a voyage in such a small vessel, and a desire to put an early stop to the account which captain Palmer would probably give of our total loss, they proved sufficient inducements to accept the governor's offer, on finding his vessel had the character of being a strong, good little sea boat.

"The Cumberland was at that time absent up the river Hawkesbury, and the Francis, the other schooner, was lying on shore and could not be got off before the following spring tides; on these accounts, and from the Rolla not being quite fitted, it was thirteen days after my arrival in the boat before the whole could be ready to sail. This delay caused me much uneasiness, under the apprehension that we might not arrive before our friends at the reef, despairing of assistance, should have made some unsuccessful attempt to save themselves; and this idea pursued me so much, that every day seemed to be a week until I got out of the harbour with the three vessels.

"Governor King's answer to my communication respecting the shipwreck of the Porpoise and Cato, and the orders under which I acted in embarking in the Cumberland, are contained in the following letter.

"'Sydney, New South Wales, Sept. 17, 1803.

"'Sir,

"'In acknowledging the receipt of yours with its enclosure of the 9th instant, whilst I lament the misfortune that has befallen the Porpoise and Cato, I am thankful that no more lives have been lost than the three you mention. I have every reason to be assured that no precaution was omitted by lieutenant Fowler and yourself to avoid the accident, and I am equally satisfied with your account of the exertions of the officers and men after the loss of the ships, both for the preservation of the stores and maintaining order in their present situation; nor can I sufficiently commend your voluntary services and those who came with you, in undertaking a voyage of 700 miles in an open boat, to procure relief for our friends now on the bank; and I hope, for the honour of humanity, that if the Bridgewater be safe, the commander may be able to give some possible reason for his not ascertaining whether any had survived the shipwreck, as there appears too much reason to believe he has persuaded himself all perished.

"'No time has been lost in prevailing upon the master of the Rolla, bound to China, to take on board the officers and seamen now on the reef belonging to the Porpoise and Investigator, and carrying them to Canton, whither he is bound; on the condition expressed in the agreement entered into with him by me, and which you have witnessed. For that purpose I have caused a proportion of all species of provisions to be put on board at full allowance, for seventy men for ten weeks from the reef; I shall also give to lieutenant Fowler the instructions

his

his conduct which I have communicated to you, and direct him to consult with you on the measures to be adopted by him for executing those instructions as far as situation and events may render them practicable.

"'And as you agree with me that the Cumberland, colonial schooner of twenty-nine tons, built here, is capable of performing the voyage to England by way of Torres' Strait, and it being essential to the furthering his Majesty's service that you should reach England by the most prompt conveyance with your charts and journals, I have directed the commissary to make that vessel over to you, with her present furniture, sails, &c.; and to complete her from the stores of the Investigator with such other articles as you may require, together with a proportion of provisions for six months, for ten officers and men. And on your arrival at Wreck Reef you will select such officers and men as you may judge necessary, lieutenant Fowler having my orders on that head.

"'After having given every assistance to get the people and as many stores as can be taken on board the Rolla, and given the commander of the Francis schooner such orders as circumstances may require, for bringing those who may choose to be discharged from the service and as many stores as she can bring, you will then proceed to England by the route you may think most advisable and beneficial for his Majesty's service. On your arrival in London you will deliver my letters to the Admiralty and the principal secretary of state for the colonies.

"'In case any unforeseen circumstances should prevent the accomplishment of the voyage in the Cumberland, you will take such measures as may appear most conducive to the interests of his Majesty's service, either by selling the vessel, or letting her for freight at the Cape or elsewhere, if any merchants choose to send proper officers or men to conduct her back; and in the event of your being obliged to dispose of her, you will account with his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonies for the proceeds.

"'I am, &c.

(Signed) "'Philip Gidley King.'

"The small size of the Cumberland made it necessary to stop at every convenient place on the way to England, for water and refreshment; and I proposed Coepang Bay in Timor, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and some one of the Western Isles; but governor King objected to Mauritius, from not wishing to encourage any communication between the French colonies and Port Jackson; and also because he had understood that hurricanes often prevailed in the neighbourhood of that island, about the time of year when I should be passing; he left this matter, however, to be decided by necessity and my judgment, and gave me two letters for the governor of Mauritius, to be forwarded from the Cape, or by the best opportunity. At those places in the Indian seas where I might stop, he requested me to make inquiries into the facility of obtaining cattle for his colony, with the price and the traffic with which they might be best procured; and to send this information by any ship bound to Port Jackson.

"Every thing being prepared for our departure, I sailed out of the harbour in the Cumberland on the 21st at daylight, with the Rolla and Francis in company. Mr. Inman, the astronomer, had taken a passage in the Rolla with his instruments;

of

of the thirteen persons who came with me in the boat, captain Park and his second mate were on board that ship, and the boatswain of the Investigator with the ten seamen composed my crew in the schooner. We had a fresh breeze at south-east, and the Cumberland appeared to sail as well as could be expected; but the wind becoming stronger towards night, she lay over so much upon the broad side that little sail could be carried; and instead of being tight, as had been represented, her upper works then admitted a great deal of water. Next morning, the wind having rather increased than diminished, I found we should soon be obliged to lie to altogether, and that if we passed Port Stephens there was no place of shelter for a long distance where the schooner could be saved from drifting on shore; the signal was therefore made to tack, and at dusk the Rolla and Francis ran into Port Stephens. Not being able to reach so far, I anchored in a small bight under Point Stephens, in very bad plight; the pumps proving to be so nearly useless, that we could not prevent the water from half filling the hold; and two hours longer would have reduced us to baling with buckets, and perhaps have been fatal. This essay did not lead me to think favourably of the vessel, in which I had undertaken a voyage half round the globe.

"Next morning I joined the Rolla and Francis; and it being then calm, we did not quit Port Stephens until the afternoon. At night the wind again blew strong from the south-east; but the desire to arrive at Wreck Reef overcoming my apprehensions, the schooner was made snug and we persevered. Our inability to carry sail was so much the more provoking, that this wind was as fair as could be wished; but whilst the Cumberland could scarcely bear a close-reefed main sail and jib without danger of oversetting, the Rolla went along under double-reefed top sails in great tranquillity; and to avoid parting company was obliged to keep her courses up, and to back a top sail from time to time.

"The wind moderated next day, and allowed us to make better progress. It afterwards veered round to the north-east, and prevented us from fetching more than ten miles to the east of the reef by Mr. Inman's time keeper, when we came into the proper latitude. We bore away for it, however, on October 1, and ran more than a degree to the west; when finding no reef or bank, it appeared that we must have been something to the west of Wreck-Reef when the time keeper showed ten miles to the eastward. This obliged us to work back again, and it was not till the 7th that we got sight of the ensign upon the top of the bank.

"It was six weeks on this day I had quitted the reef in the boat, for the purpose of seeking the means to relieve my officers and people. The bank was first seen from the Rolla's mast head, and soon afterward two boats were perceived under sail; and advancing nearer, we saw one boat make for the Rolla and the other returning to the bank. The Porpoise had not yet gone to pieces, but was still lying on her beam ends, high upon the reef, a frail, but impressive monument of our misfortune.

"In the afternoon I anchored under the lee of the bank, in 18 fathoms coral sand, and a salute of eleven guns from it was immediately fired,

fired, the carronades of the Porpoise having been transported from the wreck. On landing, I was greeted with three hearty cheers, and the utmost joy by my officers and people; and the pleasure of rejoining my companions so amply provided with the means of relieving their distress, made this one of the happiest moments of my life.

"The two boats we had seen, were the Porpoise's remaining cutter and a new boat constructed during my absence; it was just completed, and lieutenant Fowler had this morning gone out to try its sailing against the cutter. My safe arrival at Port Jackson became a subject of much doubt after the first month; and they had begun to reconcile their minds to making the best use of the means they possessed to reach some frequented port. The Rolla's top-gallant sail was first seen in the horizon by a man in the new boat, and was taken for a bird; but regarding it more steadfastly, he started up and exclaimed, d—n my bl—d what's that! It was soon recognised to be a sail, and caused a general acclamation of joy, for they doubted not it was a ship coming to their succour. Lieutenant Flinders, then commanding officer on the bank, was in his tent calculating some lunar distances, when one of the young gentlemen ran to him, calling, 'Sir, sir! a ship and two schooners in sight!' After a little consideration, Mr. Flinders said he supposed it was his brother come back, and asked if the vessels were near? He was answered, not yet; upon which he desired to be informed when they should reach the anchorage, and very calmly resumed his calculations: such are the varied effects produced by the same circumstance upon different minds. When the desired report was made, he ordered the salute to be fired, and took part in the general satisfaction.

"My plan of proceeding at the reef having been arranged on the passage, I immediately began to put it in execution. The people were assembled on the bank, and informed that such as chose to be discharged from the service might return to Port Jackson in the French schooner; and that the rest would be taken on board the Rolla and carried to China, with the exception of ten officers and men whom I named, to go to England with me in the Cumberland, if they would risk themselves in so small a vessel; for notwithstanding what had been discovered of the bad qualities of the schooner, I determined to proceed, at least so far as to reach some port where a passage might be procured in a better vessel without losing time. The determinations of all were required to be given on the following day; and in the mean time we began to take on board the few stores necessary to complete the Cumberland for our voyage, and especially to fill the holds with water, of which there was yet a good quantity remaining on the bank.

"On the 10th, three days after our arrival, the Rolla had received the people destined for her, with part of the provisions and stores; and the Cumberland was ready to sail. All those whom I had named, with the exception of my clerk, volunteered to go in the schooner; viz., Mr. John Aken, master, and Mr. Edward Charrington, boatswain of the Investigator, my servant, and seven chosen seamen. A cask containing what had been saved of my specimens of mineralogy and conchology was taken on board, as also the charts, books, and papers of every

every kind, with the instruments received from the Navy Board and the sole time keeper which had not stopped.

"Mr. Denis Lacy, master's mate of the Investigator, desiring to return to Port Jackson, he was charged with my letter to his Excellency governor King; and I gave him an order to command the new boat. It was about the size of the Cumberland, had a deck, and was called the *Resource*; and we manned her with a part of those people whose choice led them back to Port Jackson. I ordered Mr. James Aikin, commander of the Francis, and Mr. Lacy, to take on board for the colony as much of the stores as they should be able; and on their arrival, to make a statement to the governor of the condition in which they might leave the Porpoise, and what remained on the bank.

"The officers journals, which were to be sent to the Admiralty at the conclusion of the voyage, had not been demanded at the time of our shipwreck; lieutenant Fowler was therefore directed to take all that were saved belonging to the officers embarked with him in the Rolla; and lest any accident should happen to the Cumberland, I committed to his charge a copy of four charts, being all of the East and North Coasts which there had been time to get ready; with these he took a short letter to the secretary of the Admiralty, and one to the Victualling Board, inclosing such vouchers as had been saved from the wreck. To Mr. Inman I gave the remaining instruments belonging to the Board of Longitude, reserving only a time keeper and a telescope; the large and most valuable instruments had very fortunately been delivered to him before we had sailed from Port Jackson in the Porpoise.

"These matters being arranged, I pressed captain Cumming to depart, fearing that a change of wind might expose the Rolla to danger; but finding him desirous to take off more provisions and stores, I made sail for a bank or rather islet seven miles distant, at the eastern extremity of Wreck Reef, for the purpose of collecting sea-birds eggs, and if possible taking a turtle. The Rolla joined on the following day, and I went on board to take leave of Messrs. Fowler and Flinders and the other officers and gentlemen; at noon we parted company with three cheers, the Rolla steering north-eastward for China, whilst my course was directed for Torres' Strait."

Captivity of Captain Flinders at the Mauritius.

[From the same.]

"In the orders from governor King, the ports to be touched at on the way to England were left to my own choice; but when Mauritius had been mentioned amongst others in conversation, the governor had objected to it, both on account of the hurricanes in that neighbourhood, and from not wishing to encourage a communication between

between a French colony and a settlement composed as is that of Port Jackson. It was these considerations which had made me hesitate to take the step, though the necessity for it was pressing; and as, in the case of accident happening to the schooner, I might be called to answer before a court martial for going in opposition to the wish of a superior officer, it seemed proper to state in my journal all the reasons which had any influence on my decision. This journal is not in my possession; but notes of the statement were made whilst the recollection of it was strong, and the following was the substance and not far from the words.

"1. The necessity of caulking the schooner and refitting the pumps before attempting to double the Cape, were stated nearly as above; to which was added a hope of obtaining a passage in a ship where my defaced charts and journals, which remained untouched from the time of the shipwreck, might be put into a state to be laid before the admiralty on arriving in England. In the case of meeting with such a passage, I intended to let the Cumberland for freight back to Port Jackson, or to sell her, agreeably to the authority given me in governor King's orders.

"2. Considering the proximity of Mauritius to the western coasts of Terra Australis, which remained to be examined, I was desirous to see in what state it had been left by the revolution, and to gain a practical knowledge of the port and periodical winds; with a view to its being used in the future part of my voyage as a place of refitting and refreshment, for which Port Jackson was at an inconvenient distance. It was also desirable to know how far Mauritius, and its dependencies in Madagascar which I knew to abound in cattle, could be useful to Port Jackson in supplying it with breeding stock; an object concerning which the governor had expressed anxiety for information from any place on the east side of the Cape of Good Hope.

"3. The two letters from governor King to general Magallon, governor of Mauritius, instead of being forwarded from the Cape might be delivered in person.

"4. I was a stranger to what had passed in Europe for nearly twelve months, and there was consequently a possibility that war might again have broken out; my passport from the French government would be good at Mauritius, but in going to the Cape, it was uncertain what attention the Dutch governor might pay to the orders of the first consul of France; and as promoters and encouragers of science, the character of the nation was not so high as to give me great expectation on that head. Mauritius was therefore much more certain than the Cape, since the necessary succour would be there obtained even in case of war; whereas at the Cape there might be a risk of losing my charts and journals and of being made a prisoner.

"These reasons for stopping at Mauritius as we passed by it, in addition to the necessity arising from the state of the schooner, were written in my rough journal for reference, without any idea of their being criticised, or even seen by any other than myself; and I have been particular in detailing them, on account of the unexpected occurrences with which they became connected.

"On the evening of the 9th, a ship was seen to the northward, and we sought to speak her for information;

formation; but night coming on the sight of her was lost, and we resumed our western course. I had no chart of Mauritius, nor other description than what is contained in the third edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica; this informed me that Port Louis was on the north-west side of the island, but not of the route usually taken to reach it; and the prevailing wind being south east, it seemed to be a matter of indifference; I therefore steered to make the middle of the island, intending to go by the north or south sides as the wind might happen to favour most. On the 15th before daylight, the land was seen, and the wind being E. by S. we hauled to the northward. When the day broke the island was seven or eight miles off, and bore from S. 42° to N. 51° W.; but there was a distant round lump, whether connected with it did not appear, which bore N. by W.; and finding the schooner could not clear it, from the sea running high and current setting to leeward, we veered round and steered southward along the edge of a reef which extends four or five miles from this part of the island. Soon after eight o'clock we passed three flat rocks within the reef, lying, as I now suppose, at the entrance of Port Bourbon; the extremes of the island then bore N. 1° to S. 69° W., and a steep point N. 39° W. five or six miles.

"In steering westward along the shore, looking out for boats or vessels to gain information, a flag was seen upon one of the hills; our colours were then hoisted, and afterwards a French jack at the fore top-mast head, as a signal for a pilot. At noon, the observed latitude was 20° 34′ south, and the extremes of the island bore N. 54° E. to 61° W. There was a small town bearing N. by E. two or three miles, from whence a schooner had come out, and being a-head we made sail to speak her; but she hauled in towards the shore until we had passed, and then stood after us. On our heaving to, the schooner again steered for a place where some vessels were seen at anchor, and I began to take her movements as an intimation that we should go in there for a pilot; accordingly we followed her through a narrow pass in the reefs, and anchored in 2 ½ fathoms, in a small reef harbour which I afterwards understood was called the Baye du Cap.

"If the schooner's actions were strange before, those of the people were now more so; for no sooner was their anchor dropped, than without furling the sails they went hastily on shore in a canoe, and made the best of their way up a steep hill, one of them with a trunk on his shoulder. They were met by a person who, from the plume in his hat, appeared to be an officer, and presently we saw several men with muskets on the top of the hill; this gave another view of the schooner's movements, and caused me to apprehend that England and France were either at war or very near it. To induce some person to come on board, I held up the letters for general Magallon, the governor; but this being to no purpose, Mr. Aken went on shore in our little boat, taking with him the letters and French passport; in a short time he returned with the officer and two others, and I learned to my great regret that war was actually declared.

"The officer, whose name was Dunienville, spoke a little English; he asked if I were the captain Flinders mentioned in the passport, whether we had been shipwrecked, and

and to see my commission. Having perused it, he very politely offered his services, inquired what were our immediate wants, and invited me to go on shore and dine with him, it being then near three o'clock. I explained my wish to have a pilot for Port North West (the name at that time for Port Louis), since it appeared no reparations could be done in the little bay, and requested to have a cask or two of water. The pilot was promised for the next day, and Mons. Dunienville sent a canoe for our empty casks and the master of the French schooner to moor the Cumberland in a secure place.

"My passport was in French, and being a stranger to the language, I had had its general purport explained on first receiving it from the Admiralty; but from that time, and more especially after the preliminaries of peace had reached Port Jackson, the passport had scarcely been looked at, and my knowledge of its contents was very imperfect. When the officer was gone, I set myself to consider it attentively; and so far as I could make out, it seemed to be solely for the Investigator, and without provision for any other vessel in which the loss of the ship, or her incapacity to pursue the voyage might oblige me to embark. The intention, no doubt, was to protect the voyage generally, and not the Investigator in particular; but it appeared that if the governor of Mauritius should adhere to the letter of the passport and disregard the intention, he might seize the Cumberland as a prize; and the idea of being detained even a week more than necessary was intolerable. I inquired of the pilot whether the Cape of Good Hope belonged to the Dutch or English; almost determining, should it not have been given up before the war commenced, to attempt the passage at all risks, rather than incur the hazard of being stopped; but the Cape was in the hands of the Dutch.

"An hour after M. Dunienville had been gone, we saw him returning with another officer, who proved to be his superior in rank; and they had with them a gentleman who spoke English intelligibly. My passport and commission were demanded in a rough manner, and after the officer had examined them with the assistance of his interpreter, he observed that the passport was not for the Cumberland, and required an explanation; having received it, he said it was necessary that both commission and passport should be sent to the governor, and that I should remain with the vessel till an answer was returned. To this arrangement I objected, alleging that since war was declared, these papers were my sole protection and could not be given up; but if copies would do they might be taken. It was at length settled, that I should go overland to Port Louis with the passport and commission, and that Mr. Aken should be furnished with a pilot and bring the schooner round after me.

"I was conducted to the house of M. Dunienville, about a mile distant, to be ready to set off on horseback early next morning. The gentleman who interpreted informed me on the way, that general Magallon was at Bourbon, having been lately superseded by general De Caen, an officer of the French revolution. M. Dunienville had been a lieutenant of the navy and knight of St. Louis under the old government, and was then major of the district of La Savanne; but the other officer, M. Etienne Bolger, had

had lately been appointed commandant over his head, by the new governor.

"My reception at the major's house was polite and hospitable; and at dawn of day I rose to set off with my host for Port Louis, according to the plan settled over night. It appeared, however, that he first expected some orders from the commandant; and at ten o'clock, becoming impatient of the delay, I requested to know whether it were or were not intended to go overland? Major Dunienville seemed to be hurt that the agreement had not been kept; but the direction was taken out of his hands, and not having received final orders he could do nothing. I then returned to the Cumberland, with the intention of sailing either with or without a pilot; but a wind favourable for quitting the bay being not expected before four o'clock, it induced me to accept the major's pressing invitation to dine at his house, where four or five strangers were assembled. Before dinner was over an order came to him from the commandant to permit the departure of the schooner he had stopped; and at five o'clock, the pilot being on board, we stood out from the reefs in one of those squalls which come off the land at that hour in the summer season.

"This little Baye du Cap lies about four miles east from Cape Brabant, a headland at the south-west extremity of the island. The shelter is formed by coral reefs, through which a small river falling into the bay has kept open a passage of about a cable's length wide, with a depth of 3 fathoms close to the eastern breakers; within side there appeared to be anchorage for six or eight small vessels, in from 2 to 3 fathoms; but on account of the flurries of wind which come down the gullies and off the precipices, it is necessary to moor head and stern. Mr. Aken found the latitude from an indifferent observation to be 20° 29½′ south.

"At seven in the evening we passed round Cape Brabant, and the pilot then kept north-eastward, close along the reefs under the high land; although by so doing we were frequently becalmed, and sometimes had strong flurries which made it necessary to take in all sail; but it appeared that he was afraid of being driven off the island. At eight in the morning, the mast heads of the vessels in Port Louis were in sight, and there was a large ship lying without side which I hoped might be Le Géographe. Major Dunienville had informed me that this ship had been sometime at Mauritius, and so far as he knew, was still at the port, though upon the eve of sailing for Europe. Captain Baudin died soon after his arrival, and Mons. Melins, who had been first lieutenant of Le Naturaliste when at Port Jackson, then commanded.

"During this passage to Port Louis, my mind was occupied in turning over all the circumstances of my situation, and the mode of proceeding likely to be adopted by the new governor. The breaking out of the war, the neglect of providing in the passport for any such case as that in which I stood, and the ungracious conduct of the commandant at the Baye du Cap, gave me some apprehensions; but on the other hand, the intention of the passport to protect the persons employed in the expedition, with their charts and journals, must be evident; and the conduct of a governor appointed by the first consul Bonaparte, who was a professed patron of science, would hardly be less

liberal than that of two preceding French governments to captain Cook in the American, and captain Vancouver in the last war; for both of whom protection and assistance had been ordered, though neither carried passports or had suffered shipwreck. These circumstances, with the testimony which the commanders of the Géographe and Naturaliste had doubtless given of their treatment at Port Jackson, seemed to insure for me the kindest reception; and I determined to rest confident in this assurance, and to banish all apprehension as derogatory to the governor of Mauritius and to the character of the French nation.

"At four in the afternoon of Dec. 17, we got to an anchor at the entrance of Port Louis, near the ship which I had hoped might be Le Géographe; but captain Melius had sailed for France on the preceding day, and this proved to be L'Atalante frigate.

"The peculiarity of my situation arising from the renewal of war and neglect in the passport to provide for any accident happening to the Investigator, rendered great precaution necessary in my proceedings; and to remove as much as possible, any doubts or misconceptions, I determined to go immediately with my passport and commission to the French governor, and request his leave to get the necessary reparations made to the schooner; but learning from the pilot that it was a regulation of the port for no person to land before the vessel had been visited by the officer of health, it was complied with. At five the boat came along side; and having answered some general questions proposed in good English, I went into the boat in my frock uniform, and was conducted to the government house by an officer of the port and an interpreter. These gentlemen, after speaking with an aide-de-camp, told me that the captain-general was at dinner, and we must return in an hour or two; and they took me to a shady place which seemed to be the common lounge for the officers connected with the port. There were some who spoke English, and by way of passing the time, they asked if I had really come from Botany Bay in that little vessel; whether a corvette, sent out the night before to observe my motions, had been seen; and if I had not sent a boat on shore in the night? Others asked questions of monsieur Baudin's conduct at Port Jackson, and of the English colony there, and also concerning the voyage of monsieur Flindare, of which, to their surprise, I knew nothing, but afterwards found it to be my own name which they so pronounced.

"In two hours we reached the government house, and the officers entered to render their account, leaving me at the door for half an honour longer. At length the interpreter desired me to follow him, and I was shown into a room where two officers were standing at a table; the one a shortish thick man in a laced round jacket, the other a genteel looking man whose blood seemed to circulate more tranquilly. The first, which was the captain-general De Caen, fixed his eyes sternly upon me, and without salutation or preface demanded my passport, my commission! Having glanced over them, he asked in an impetuous manner, the reason for coming to the Isle of France in a small schooner with a passport for the Investigator? I answered in a few words, that the Investigator having become rotten, the governor of New South Wales

Wales had given me the schooner to return to England; and that I had stopped at the island to repair my vessel and procure water and refreshments. He then demanded the order for embarking in the schooner and coming to the Isle of France; to which my answer was, that for coming to the island I had no order, necessity had obliged me to stop in passing;—my order for embarking in the Cumberland was on board. At this answer, the general lost the small share of patience of which he seemed to be possessed, and said with much gesture and an elevated voice—"You are imposing on me, sir! *(Vous m'en imposez, monsieur)* It is not probable that the governor of New South Wales should send away the commander of an expedition on discovery in so small a vessel!"—He then gave back my passport and commission, and I made a motion to follow the interpreter out, but was desired to stop a little. In a few minutes the interpreter returned with a military officer, to whom some orders not explained to me were given, and I was desired to follow them; when going out the captain-general said in a softer tone something about my being well treated, which I could not comprehend.

"In the way to the wharf, I inquired of the interpreter where they were taking me? He said, on board the schooner, and that they had orders to bring my books and papers on shore; in effect, they took all the charts, papers, and journals relating to my voyage, as also the Port Jackson letters and packets, both public and private; and having put them into a trunk which was sealed by me at their desire, they made out a report *(procès verbal)* of their proceedings, and requested me to sign it with them. The preamble of this report set forth something upon the suspicions excited by my appearance at the Isle of France, with the captain-general's opinion thereon; I therefore refused to sign it, but certified at the bottom, that all the charts, journals, and papers of the voyage, together with all the letters on board the schooner had been taken.

"The conduct of these gentlemen being polite, I expressed to them my sentiments of general De Caen's manner of receiving me, and the injustice of taking away the papers of a voyage protected by a passport from the French government; and added, that the captain-general's conduct must alter very much before I should pay him a second visit, or even set my foot on shore again. The interpreter hoped I would go on shore with them, for the general had ordered a lodging to be provided for me, and that, in fact, they had orders to take me there. I looked at him and at the officer, who was one of the aides-de-camp,—What! I exclaimed in the first transports of surprise and indignation,—I am then a prisoner! They acknowledged it to be true; but said they hoped it would last only a few days, until my papers were examined; and that in the mean time, directions had been given that I should want for nothing.

"Mr. Aken was also to go on shore; and whilst we put a few clothes together in a trunk, several black men, under the direction of another pilot, were warping the schooner up into the port. At one in the morning the officers took us into their boat, leaving the Cumberland, with Mr. Charrington and the crew, under a guard of soldiers.

"We were conducted to a large house in the middle of the town,

and through a long dark entry, up a dirty stair case, into the room destined for us; the aide-de-camp and interpreter then wished us a good night, and we afterwards heard nothing save the measured steps of a sentinel, walking in the gallery before our door. The chamber contained two truckle beds, a small table and two rush-bottomed chairs; and from the dirty appearance of the room I judged the lodging provided for us by the general to be one of the better apartments of a common prison; there were, however, no iron bars behind the lattice windows, and the frame of a looking-glass in the room had formerly been gilt. It seemed to me a wiser plan to leave the circumstances to develope themselves, rather than to fatigue ourselves with uncertain conjectures; therefore, telling Mr. Aken we should probably know the truth soon enough, I stripped and got into bed; but between the musketoes above and bugs below, and the novelty of our situation, it was near daybreak before either of us dropped asleep.

"At six o'clock, I was awakened by two armed grenadiers entering the room. The one said some words to the other, pointing to us at the same time, and then went out; and he that remained began walking backward and forward between our beds, as a sentinel on his post, without seeming to pay great attention to us. Had there been curtains, I should have tried to regain my slumber; but not being able to sleep in such company, I rose and awoke my companion, who seeing the grenadier, and not at first recollecting our situation, answered in a manner that would have diverted me at any other time. The sentinel did not prevent us speaking together; and on looking out at the window, we found that it was in reality a tavern where they had placed us, though a very dirty one; it bore the name of *Café Marengo*. A breakfast was brought at eight, and dinner at twelve, and we eat heartily; good bread, fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables being great rarities.

"At one o'clock, the aide-de-camp, whom I learned to be lieut. colonel Monistrol, came to the tavern and desired me to accompany him to the general: and being shown into an office, a German secretary, who spoke some English, put various questions to me from a paper in substance nearly as follows: How it was that I appeared at the Isle of France in so small a vessel, when my passport was for the Investigator? What was become of the officers and men of science who made part of the expedition? Whether I had any knowledge of the war before arriving? Why cartel colours had been hoisted, and a vessel chased in sight of the island? What were my objects for putting into Port North-West, and by what authority? The orders from governor King, relating to the Cumberland, were also demanded, and carried to the captain-general with my answers to the above questions; and soon afterward to my surprise, an invitation was brought me to go to the general's table, his dinner being then served up. This invitation was so contrary to all that had hitherto passed, and being unaccompanied with any explanation, that I at first thought it could not be serious, and answered that I had already dined; but on being pressed to go at least to the table, my reply was, that "under my present situation and treatment it was impossible; when they should be changed,

changed,—when I should be set at liberty, if His Excellency thought proper to invite me, I should be flattered by it, and accept his invitation with pleasure." It had indeed the air of an experiment, to ascertain whether I were really a commander in the British navy; and had the invitation been accepted without explanation or a change of treatment, an inference might have been drawn that the charge of imposture was well founded; but in any case, having been grossly insulted both in my public and private character, I could not debase the situation I had the honour to hold by a tacit submission. When the aide-de-camp returned from carrying the above reply, he said that the general would invite me when set at liberty; but nothing was offered in the way of explanation.

"A paper containing the questions of the German secretary with my answers, was required to be signed, but this being in French, I objected as not understanding it: a translation was therefore to be made, and the letter of governor King respecting the Cumberland was to be put into French for the captain-general. Extracts from my journal, showing the necessity of quitting the Investigator, were moreover desired, and also my reasons at full length for stopping at the Isle of France, instead of going to the Cape of Good Hope; it being necessary, they said, for the general to transmit these to the French government, to justify himself for granting that assistance to the Cumberland which had been ordered for the Investigator. It was already night, and the excessive heat, with being kept six hours answering questions, was very fatiguing; I therefore took the third volume of my rough log book, which contained the whole of what they desired to know, and pointing out the parts in question to the secretary, told him to make such extracts as should be thought requisite. I then requested to be shown back to the tavern, also that the sentinel might be taken out of our room, and Mr. Aken be permitted to return on board the schooner to keep order; to which the aide-de-camp brought for answer, that it was then too late to make new arrangements, but His Excellency would see me in the morning. All the books and papers, the third volume of my rough log book excepted, were then returned into the trunk and sealed as before; and I was reconducted to my confinement between eight and nine o'clock.

"Next morning, the sentinel in our chamber was ordered to take his station without side; and in the afternoon M. Bonnefoy, the interpreter, came to say that business prevented the captain-general from seeing me before the following day. Mr. Aken had permission to go on board the schooner under the conduct of an officer; but not being allowed to remain, he brought away the time keeper, with my sextant and artificial horizon; and we commenced a series of observations for a new error and rate, ready against the day of our departure.

"Mr. Charrington came from the schooner on the 20th to inform me, that the seamen were committing many irregularities, taking spirits out of my cabin, and going on shore as they pleased; the French guard seeming to take little or no cognizance of their actions. At one o'clock, the interpreter and a military officer took me to the government house, and I expected to have an interview with the general,

ral and a termination put to our confinement. They shewed me into the secretary's office, and requested a copy of my passport and commission; and having made out one myself and signed them both, the interpreter then said the general was busy and could not see me that day; and I was taken back without learning when he would be at liberty, or what was intended to be done.

"As yet I was unable to comprehend any thing of the captain-general's conduct; but however great my indignation at seeing my liberty and time thus trifled with, it was to be feared that in writing to him for an explanation, before seeing what turn the affair would take, might be productive of more harm than good. The disorders on board the schooner, however, requiring immediate correction, I wrote a note to inform him of them; requesting at the same time, that Mr. Aken might remain in the Cumberland, and that the caulking of the vessel's upper works and fresh boring of the pumps might be commenced, these being the principal objects for which I had stopped at the island. In the evening the interpreter called to say, that the corporal of the guard on board the schooner had been punished for neglecting his orders; that one of the sailors, a Prussian, being found on shore had been put into the guard house, and that an answer would be given to my note in the morning. In effect, the interpreter then came with lieutenant-colonel Monistrol, and explained to me a paper to the following purport.

"That the captain-general being convinced from the examination of my journal, that I had absolutely changed the nature of the mission for which the First Consul had granted a passport, wherein I was certainly not authorised to stop at the Isle of France to make myself acquainted with the periodical winds, the port, present state of the colony, &c. That such conduct being a violation of neutrality, he ordered colonel Monistrol to go on board the Cumberland, and in my presence to collect into one or more trunks all other papers which might add to the proofs already acquired; and after sealing the trunks, I was to be taken back to the house where my suspicious conduct had made it necessary to confine me from the instant of arriving in the port. It was further ordered, that the crew of the schooner should be kept on board the prison ship; and that an inventory should be taken of every thing in the Cumberland, and the stores put under seal and guarded conformably to the regulations.

"Such was the answer given to my request for the repairs of the schooner to be commenced. In compliance with their order the officers took me on board, and the remaining books and papers, whether relating in any way to the Investigator's voyage or not, even to letters received from my family and friends during several years, were all taken away, locked up in a trunk, and sealed. Mr. Aken and myself were allowed to take our clothes, but the officers dared not venture to let me have any printed books; I must however do colonel Monistrol and M. Bonnefoy the justice to say, that they acted throughout with much politeness, apologizing for what they were obliged by their orders to execute; and the colonel said he would make a representation to the captain-general, who doubtless lay under some mistake.

"This turn to my affairs surprised,

prised, and at first stunned me. The single circumstance about which I had entertained the least apprehension, was the neglect in my passport of providing for any other vessel than the Investigator; but from this order of the captain-general, I found myself considered in the light of a spy; my desire to know how far Mauritius could be useful as a place of refitment in the future part of my voyage,—a desire formed and expressed in the belief of its being a time of peace, was made a plea for depriving me of liberty and the result of more than two years of risk and labour. The sensations raised by this violation of justice, of humanity, and of the faith of his own government, need not be described; they will be readily felt by every Englishman who has been subjected, were it only for a day, to French revolutionary power. On returning to my place of confinement, I immediately wrote and sent the following letter, addressed to His Excellency the captain-general De Caen, governor in chief, &c. &c. &c. Isle of France.

SIR,

From your order, which was explained to me this morning, I find that the plea for detaining me is not now that I do not appear with the Investigator, according to the letter of my passport from the first consul of France; but that I have violated the neutrality therein required by having given in my journal, as an additional reason for putting into this port, that "it would enable me to acquire a knowledge of the periodical winds, and of the present state of the French colony; how far it or its dependencies in Madagascar might be useful to Port Jackon, and how far it would be a convenient place for me to touch at in my future expected voyage:" I quote from memory only, my journal being in your possession. How this remark, made upon the supposition of our two nations being at peace, can be a breach of neutrality, I acknowledge myself unable to discover. Nothing can, in my opinion, add to the propriety of the intentions with which I put into this port, but I shall justify it by the example of your own nation; and to do so, it is only necessary for me to refer to the instructions which preface the published voyage of the unfortunate La Pérous, by the judicious Fleurieu. Your Excellency will there see, that the much lamented navigator was ordered to make particular observations upon the trade, manufactures, strength, situation, &c. of every port where he might touch; so that, if the example of your own nation be taken as a standard of propriety, the plea for making me a prisoner is altogether untenable. Upon the supposition even of its being war, and that I knew it and still intended to make the observations expressed in my journal; upon this incorrect and worst supposition I have, I think, an example of similar conduct in your own nation; unless you can assure me that the captains Baudin and Hamelin made no such remarks upon Port Jackson, for it was a declared war at the time they lay in that port. But were they forbidden to make such remarks and notes upon the state of that English colony? Upon its progress, its strength, the possibility of its being attacked with advantage, and the utility it might afford to the French nation? I tell you, general De Caen, No. The governor in chief at Port Jackson knew too well the dignity of his own nation, either

either to lay any prohibition upon these commanders, or to demand to see what their journals might contain.

"I shall next appeal to you as being the representative in this place of a great nation, which has hitherto shown itself forward to protect and encourage those sciences by which the knowledge of mankind is extended or their condition ameliorated. Understand then, Sir, that I was chosen by that patron of science Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society of London, and one well known by all the literati throughout the world, to retrace part of the track of the immortal captain Cook,—to complete what in New Holland and its neighbourhood he had left unfinished,—and to perfect the discovery of that extensive country. This employment, Sir, as it was congenial to my own inclinations, so I pursued it with avidity; upon it, as from a convex lens, all the rays of knowledge and science which my opportunities have enabled me to collect, were thrown. I was unfortunate in that my ship decayed before the voyage was compleated; but the captain-general at Port Jackson, who is also the senior naval officer there, was so sensible of the importance of the voyage and of the zeal with which I had pursued it (for the truth of which I appeal to his letters now in your possession), that he gave me a colonial ship of war to transport me with my officers, charts, &c. to England, that I might obtain another ship in which the voyage might be completed. In this second ship I was a passenger; and in her, shipwreck and the loss of charts which had cost me much labour and many risks to make perfect, were added to my first misfortune; but my zeal suffered no abatement. I returned to Port Jackson (734 miles) in an open boat, and got a merchant ship which was bound to china, hired to carry my officers and people to England by that circuitous route; but desirous of losing no time I took a small schooner of twenty-nine tons, a mere boat, in order to reach England by a nearer passage, and thus gained two or three months of time in the outfit of my future expected ship; making my own ease and safety to stand in no competition with the great object of forwarding my voyage. Necessity, and not inclination, obliged me to put in at the Isle of France in my route.

"Now, Sir, I would beg to ask you whether it becomes the French nation, independently of all passport, to stop the progress of such a voyage, and of which the whole maritime world are to receive the benefit? How contrary to this was her conduct some years since towards captain Cook! But the world highly applauded her conduct then; and possibly we may sometime see what the general sentiment will be in the present case.

"I sought protection and assistance in your port, and I have found a prison; Judge for me as a man, Sir, —judge for me as a British officer employed in a neutral occupation, —judge for me as a zealous philanthropist, what I must feel at being thus treated.

"At present I quit the subject with the following requests: that I may be permitted to have my printed books on shore; and that my servant may be allowed to attend me in my apartment.

"With all the respect due from my situation to the captain-general,

I am

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

MATTHEW FLINDERS.

From my confinement,

Dec. 21, 1803.

"The

"The lapse of several years has enabled me to consider the transactions of this period under different views, to regard them with almost the coolness of an uninterested observer; and I see the possibility that a dispassionate reader may accuse me of taking too high a position, and using too warm a style,—in rather giving way to the dictates of feeling than dwelling upon the proofs of my innocence; perhaps also, he may accuse me of vanity, in seeking to enhance my own zeal and claims. Without attempting to controvert these censures, I beg him to consider all the circumstances of my situation: my voyage, shipwreck, and anxiety to pursue the steps of our celebrated navigators. Let him suppose himself to have executed so much of the same task, escaped the same dangers; and under the influence of powerful motives to reach England with expedition, to be arrested on the way, his misfortunes either not heeded or converted into proofs of delinquency, and himself treated as a spy; and this is done by the representative of a government which had promised assistance and protection, and moreover owed him a return for the kind treatment recently experienced by Frenchmen in the port from whence he came. Let him suppose himself writing to his oppressor with these various recollections crowding on his imagination; and the allowances he would then desire for himself, I request of him to make for me.

"On the day following the transmission of the letter, my servant was brought on shore from the prison ship, where he left Mr. Charrington and the seamen closely confined; but no answer was returned either on the 22nd or 23rd, nor did we hear any thing that could give an insight into what further was intended to be done. We suffered much from the heat of the weather and want of fresh air; for the town of Port Louis is wholly exposed to the rays of the sun, whilst the mountains which form a semicircle round it to the east and south, not only prevent the trade wind from reaching it, but reflect the heat in such a manner, that from November to April it is almost insupportable. During this season, the inhabitants whose affairs do not oblige them to remain, fly to the higher and windward parts of the island; and the others take the air and their exercise very early in the morning and late in the evening. We who were shut up in the middle of the town, and from having been three months confined to a vessel of twenty-nine tons were much in need of exercise, could not but feel the personal inconveniences of such a situation in their full rigour; and the perturbation of mind, excited by such unworthy treatment, did not tend to alleviate their effects on our health. But the heat and want of fresh air were not the worst evils. Our undefended pallet beds were besieged by swarms of bugs and musketoes, and the bites of these noxious insects upon bodies ready to break out with scurvy, produced effects more than unually painful and disagreeable. Being almost covered with inflamed spots some of which had become ulcers on my legs and feet, I wrote to the captain general, requesting the assistance of a surgeon; and also to know under what limitations he would allow me to write to the Admiralty of Great Britain, and to my family and friends; but the main subject was left untouched, in expectation of an answer to the former letter.

"In the afternoon, one of the aides-de-camp

aides-de-camp said that His Excellency did not prevent me from writing to whom I pleased; but that my letters must be sent open to the town major, who would forward them to their address. The same evening a surgeon, who did not speak English, came to our room; next morning he returned with the interpreter, and finding the ulcers to be scorbutic, ordered me, in addition to his dressings, to drink plentifully of lemonade and live upon fruit and vegetables. Their visit was repeated on the following day: but nothing transpired relative to the general's intentions, nor to any answer proposed to be given to my letter of the 21st; and I therefore wrote another in the following terms.

SIR,

From whatever cause it may be that I have received no answer to my letter of the 21st last, I shall yet continue to do my duty to my government and the cause of discovery, by pointing out every circumstance that may have a probability of inducing you to liberate my people, my vessel, and myself.

"A former letter showed, that upon the principles adopted in voyages of discovery by your own nation, the plea for detaining me a prisoner was untenable; and also that independently of any passport, it ill became the French nation to stop the prosecution of a voyage of discovery, especially one carried on with the zeal that mine has hitherto been. In this letter I shall endeavour to point out another circumstance, at least as important as the former, so far as regards the injustice of my detainer. In this point of view then, Sir, I shall admit, that to make any remarks upon a port which might enable either myself or others to come into it again with more facility, or which might give information concerning the refreshment and articles of commerce to be procured as it, is, although made in the time of peace, a crime; and consequently, that if La Pérous executed his instructions, he was no better than a spy at the different ports where he put in. Let this, Sir, for the moment be admitted; and I ask what proofs you have that I have made such remarks? You will probably say, I intended to make them. True, but intention is not action. I might have altered my intentions on coming into the port, and finding our two nations to be at war: you cannot know what alterations such a knowledge might have made in my sentiments. We do indeed judge much of the merit or demerit of an action by the intention with which it is performed; but in all cases there must be an action performed to constitute any certain merit or demerit amongst men. Now in my case there appears to have been intention only; and even this intention I have before shown to be consistent with the practice of your own nation, and I believe of all nations.

"As it appears that Your Excellency had formed a determination to stop the Cumberland, previously even to seeing me, if a specious pretext were wanting for it, it would have been more like wisdom to have let me alone until the eve of sailing, and then to have seized my journal; where it is possible something better than intention might have been fixed upon as a cause for making me a prisoner. This would have been a mean action, and altogether unworthy of you or your nation; but it might have answered your purpose better than the step now taken. I say there appears to have been

been a previous determination to stop the Cumberland, and from this cause; that on the first evening of my arrival, and before any examination was made into my papers (my commission and passport excepted), you told me impetuously that I was imposing upon you. Now I cannot think that an officer of your rank and judgment could act either so ungentlemanlike, or so unguardedly, as to make such a declaration without proof; unless his reason had been blinded by passion or a previous determination that it should be so, *nolens volens*. In your order of the 21st last it is indeed said, that the captain-general has acquired conviction that I am the person I pretend to be, and the same for whom a passport was obtained by the English government from the First Consul; it follows then, as I am willing to explain it, that I am not and was not an impostor. This plea was given up when a more plausible one was thought to be found; but I cannot compliment Your Excellency upon this alteration in your position, for the first, although false, is the most tenable post of the two.

"Trusting that upon a due consideration of all the circumstances, you will be pleased to fulfil the intention for which the passport was given, I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

MATTHEW FLINDERS.

From my confinement,
Dec. 25, 1803.

"In the evening, a letter was brought me by a soldier from general De Caen, and the haste with which it had been sent inspired favourable hopes; I did not expect the visit of the interpreter until the following day, and therefore attempted to decipher the letter by the help of a French dictionary, with a degree of anxiety which its contents were but little calculated to satisfy: it was as follows.

"I did not answer your letter of the 21st December, Sir, because it was useless to commence a debate here between you and me, upon the motives well or ill founded from which I took upon myself to stop the Cumberland until further orders. On the other hand, I should have had too much advantage in refuting your assertions, notwithstanding the reasonings and quotations with which you have adorned them.

"I was still willing to attribute the unreserved tone you had used in that letter, to the ill humour produced by your present situation. I was far from thinking that after having seriously reflected upon the causes and circumstances, you should take occasion from a silence so delicate to go still further; but your last letter no longer leaves me an alternative.

"Your undertaking, as extraordinary as it was inconsiderate, to depart from Port Jackson in the Cumberland, more to give proof of an officious zeal, more for the private interests of Great Britain than for what had induced the French government to give you a passport, which I shall unfold at a proper opportunity, had already given me an idea of your character; but this letter overstepping all the bounds of civility, obliges me to tell you, until the general opinion judges of your faults or of mine, to cease all correspondence tending to demonstrate the justice of your cause; since you know so little how to preserve the rules of decorum.

"The accusation of not preserving

ing the rules of decorum, seemed, not a little extraordinary from one who had kept me above two hours in the street when I had gone to wait upon him, and who had qualified me with the title of impostor without examination; but it seemed that any act of aggression on the part of the general was to meet only with submission and respect. Embarrassment sheltering itself under despotic power, was evident in this letter; but it gave no further insight into the reasons for making me a prisoner, and consequently no opportunity of vindicating my innocence. It therefore seemed wisest, seeing the kind of man with whom I had to deal, to follow his directions and leave the main subject to the operation of time; but to take off my mind from dwelling too intensely upon the circumstance of being arrested at such a conjuncture I determined to employ it in forwarding my voyage, if an application for the necessary papers should be attended with success.

"Having obtained a translation of the general's letter from the interpreter, who came next morning in company with the surgeon, I wrote to request,

"1st. My printed books from the schooner.

"2d. My private letters and papers out of the secretary's office.

"3rd. To have two or three charts and three or four manuscript books, for the purpose of finishing the chart of the Gulph of Carpentaria: adding in explanation, that the parts wanting were mostly lost in the shipwreck, and I wished to replace them from my memory and remaining materials before it were too late. For these a receipt was offered, and my word that nothing in the books should be erased or destroyed; but I wished to make additions to one or two of the books as well as to the charts, and would afterwards be ready to give up the whole.

"4th. I represented a complaint from my seamen, of being shut up at night in a place where not a breath of air could come to them; which, in a climate like this, must be not only uncomfortable in the last degree, but very destructive to European constitutions. Also, that the people with whom they were placed were affected with that disagreeable and contagious disorder the itch; and that their provisions were too scanty, except in the article of bread, the proportion of which was large, but of a bad quality.

"An answer was given on the same day by one of the general's aides-de-camp, who said that orders had been given for the delivery of the books and papers; that the place where the seamen were kept was very wholesome; and as to the provisions, that orders had been given on my arrival for the people of the Cumberland to be treated as French seamen in actual service; that he would inquire whether any thing contrary had been done, which he did not think, but in that case it should be set right.

"At noon next day, colonel Monistrol and M. Bonnefoy called, and a trunk was brought from on board the schooner, containing a part of of my printed books. The colonel seemed to be sorry that my letters to the general had been couched in a style so far from humble, and to think that they might rather tend to protract than terminate my confinement; on which I observed, believing him to be in the general's confidence, that as my demand was to obtain common justice, an adulatory style did not seem proper,

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more especially when addressed to a republican who must despise it: my rights had been invaded, and I used the language natural to a man so circumstanced. Had favours been wanted, or there had been any thing to conceal, my language would probably have been different: but of all things I desired that the strictest scrutiny should be made into my papers, and that it should be confronted with any examination they might choose to make of myself or people. The colonel and interpreter, either from politeness or conviction, did not disagree with these sentiments, but repeated that a different mode of writing might have answered better; it appeared, indeed, from their conversation, that French republicanism involved any thing rather than liberty, justice, and equality, of which it had so much boasted.

"So soon as the two gentlemen were gone, I took out my naval signal book from the trunk and tore it to pieces; the private signals had been lost in the shipwreck, so that my mind was now freed from apprehensions which had given me much inquietude.

"On the 28th, M. Chapotin, the surgeon, called as usual with the interpreter. He said that air and exercise were necessary to the re establishment of my health, and that so soon as I should be able to walk out, it would be proper to apply to the general for a permission; and on my objecting to ask any thing like a personal favour, he promised with some degree of feeling to take the application on himself.

"No mention was made this day of the books and papers, to be delivered from the sealed trunks; but next morning I was conducted to the government house, and took out all my private letters and papers, the journals of bearings and astronomical observations, two log books, and such charts as were necessary to completing the Gulph of Carpentaria; for which a receipt was required, without any obligation to return them. The third log book, containing transactions and remarks in different vessels during the preceding six months, was important to me on many accounts, and especially for the observations it contained upon Torres' Strait and the Gulph; but it was said to be in the hands of the general, who could not be disturbed, and two boxes of dispatches from governor King and colonel Paterson had been taken away. All the other books, and papers, including my passport, commission, &c. with some accounts from the commissary of New South Wales, and many private letters from individuals in that colony, were locked up in a trunk and sealed as before.

"On the 31st I sent to the town-major's office an open letter addressed to the secretary of the Admiralty, giving a short account of my embarkation and shipwreck in the Porpoise, voyage in the Cumberland, and situation in Mauritius; with two private letters, and a request that they might be forwarded by the first opportunity. Next day the receipt of them was acknowledged, and a promise given to inform me of the means by which they should be sent, and it was done accordingly; but not one of the letters, or of their duplicates, was ever received.

"Having calculated with Mr. Aken the observations previously taken for the rate of the time keeper, I now worked earnestly upon the chart

chart of the Gulph of Carpentaria; and this employment served to divert my chagrin, and the indignation which, however useless it might be, I could not but feel at the author of our imprisonment. The want of my log book, however, was a great obstacle to laying down the parts seen in the Cumberland; and nothing more having been said of it, a short letter was written to general De Caen on the 5th, reminding him that the log was necessary to the construction of my charts, and that only a small part of the printed books had yet been delivered. A verbal answer was brought by the interpreter, and two days afterward the books came from the schooner; but respecting the log no answer was made.

"The sentinel placed at the doors of our chambers (for we had a few days before obtained a second, with musketo curtains to our beds), became unusually strict at this time, scarcely allowing the master of the tavern, or even the interpreter or surgeon to see us; and one day, hearing me inquire the name of some dish in French from the slave who waited at dinner, the sentinel burst into the room and drove away the poor affrighted black, saying that we were not to speak to any person. Previously to this a Dutch, a Swiss, a Norwegian, and two American gentlemen had called; but except the Swiss, who found means to bid us good day occasionally without being noticed, not one came a second time, for fear of being held in a suspicious light by the government; and now, the surgeon and interpreter were not admitted without a written order. Two applications had been made by the surgeon in my behalf, to walk in the fields near the town; the last was personally to the captain-general, but although he might have caused a sentinel to follow, or a whole guard if thought necessary, an unqualified refusal was given to M. Chapotin's humane request.

"We were lodged and supplied with meals in the tavern at the public expense; but having lost part of our clothes in the shipwreck, and distributed some to those of our companions who had saved nothing, both Mr. Aken and myself were much in want of linen and other necessaries; and after the few dollars I chanced to have about me were gone, we knew not how to pay for our washing. All strangers being refused admittance took away the chance of negotiating bills, for the surgeon spoke no English, and the interpreter always avoided the subject; one morning, however, having previously ascertained that it would not give umbrage, the interpreter offered to attempt the negotiation of a bill drawn upon the commissioners of the navy; but the sentinel, seeing him take a paper, gave information, and M. Bonnefoy was scarcely out of the room when a file of soldiers made him prisoner; nor, although a public officer, was he liberated until it was ascertained that he acted with permission, and had received no other paper than the bill. In the evening he brought the full sum, at a time when bills upon England could obtain cash with difficulty at a discount of 30 per cent. It was the chevalier Pelgrom, who filled the offices of Danish and Imperial consul, that had acted thus liberally; and he caused me to be informed, that the fear of incurring the general's displeasure had alone prevented him from offering his assistance sooner.

"Although Mr. Aken and myself

self were strictly confined and closely watched, my servant was left at liberty to go upon my commissions; and once a week I sent him on board the prison ship, to take Mr. Charrington and the seamen a basket of fruit and vegetables from the market. They had always been permitted to walk upon deck in the day time, and latterly been sometimes allowed to go into the town, accompanied by a soldier; and since from all we could learn, the final decision of the captain-general was yet in suspense, I augured favourably of the result from this relaxation towards the men. My hopes became strengthened on the 14th by learning from M. Bonnefoy that it was believed we should be permitted to walk out, and perhaps depart altogether, so soon as three Dutch ships commanded by rear-admiral Dekker should have sailed. These ships were loaded with pepper for Batavia, and bound to Europe; and it seemed possible that one reason of our detention might be to prevent English ships gaining intelligence of them by our means; but this could be no excuse for close imprisonment and taking away my charts and journals, whatever it might be made for delaying our departure.

"Finding it impossible to obtain the third volume of my log book, the charts of Torres' Strait and the Gulph of Carpentaria were finished without it; fortunately the journal kept by Mr. Aken in the Cumberland had not been taken away, and it proved of great assistance. Our time passed on in this manner, hoping that the Dutch ships would sail, and that general De Caen would then suffer us to depart, either in the Cumberland or some other way; the surgeon came almost daily, on account of my scorbutic sores, and the interpreter called frequently. I was careful not to send out my servant often, for it appeared that he was dogged by spies, and that people were afraid of speaking to him; the surgeon and interpreter were almost equally cautious with me, so that although in the midst of a town where news arrived continually from some part of the world, every thing to us was wrapped in mystery; and M. Bonnefoy afterwards acknowledged, in answer to a direct question put to him, that an order had been given to prevent us receiving any intelligence.

"On the 29th, admiral Dekker sailed with his three ships; and whilst anxiously expecting some communication, the interpreter called to inform me that an order had been given for the schooner to be moved up the harbour, and the stores to be taken out; and he wished to know if Mr. Aken should be present at making the inventory. I asked what was to be done with us,—with my books and papers? To which he answered by a shrug of the shoulders: he had come only for the purpose of executing his order. On each of the two following days Mr. Aken was taken down to the schooner; for he accepted the proposition to accompany the officers for the sake of the walk, and in the hope of obtaining some intelligence. He found the poor Cumberland covered with blue mold within side, and many of the stores in a decaying state, no precautions having been taken to preserve her from the heat or the rains; the French inventory was afterwards brought to him to be signed,

signed, but he refused it with my approbation.

"This new proceeding seemed to bespeak the captain-general to have finally taken his resolution to keep us prisoners; and my disappointment at seeing it, instead of receiving back my books and papers and permission to depart, was extreme. In the hope to obtain some information I wrote a note on the 3d, to solicit of His Excellency the honour of an audience; and five days having elapsed without an answer, the interpreter was requested to deliver a message to the same effect. He presently returned with the concise answer, No; but afterwards told me in conversation that the general had said, 'captain Flinders might have known that I did not wish to see him, by not giving an answer to his note. It is needless for me to see him, for the conversation will probably be such as to oblige me to send him to the tower.'

"My intention in requesting the audience was to have offered certain proposals to the general's consideration, and if possible to obtain some explanation of the reasons for a detention so extraordinary, and now protracted beyond six weeks: and being disappointed in this, a letter was written on the 12th, containing the following propositions.

"1st. If your Excellency will permit me to depart with my vessel, papers, &c. I will pledge my honour not to give any information of the Isle of France or any thing belonging to it, for a limited time, if it be thought that I can have gained any information; or if judged necessary, any other restrictions can be laid upon me. If this will not be complied with, I request,

"2d, to be sent to France.

"3rd. But if it be indispensable to detain me here, I request that my officers and people may be permitted to depart in the schooner; as well for the purpose of informing the British Admiralty where I am, as to relieve our families and friends from the report which will be spread of the total loss of the Porpoise and Cato, with all on board. Mr. Aken can be laid under what restrictions may be deemed requisite; and my honour shall be a security that nothing shall be transmitted by me, but what passes under the inspection of the officer who may be appointed for that purpose.

"In case of refusing to adopt any of these modes, by which my voyage might proceed without possibility of injury to the Isle of France, I then reminded his Excellency that since the shipwreck of the Porpoise, six months before, my people as well as myself had been mostly confined either upon a small sand bank in the open sea, or in a boat, or otherwise on board the Cumberland, where there was no room to walk, or been kept prisoners as at that time; and that I had not previously recovered from a scorbutic and very debilitated state, arising from eleven months' exposure to great fatigue, bad climate, and salt provisions. After noticing my scorbutic sores, and his refusal of the surgeon's application for me to walk out, it was added—The captain-general best knows, whether my conduct has deserved, or the exigencies of his government require, that I should continue to be closely confined in

this

this sickly town and cut off from society; but of no part of this letter was any notice taken.

"Two days before, I had been favoured with a visit from captain Bergeret of the French navy, who had commanded La Virginie frigate when taken by Sir Edward Pellew, and of whose honourable conduct in the affair of Sir W. Sydney Smith's imprisonment, public mention had been made in England. This gentleman sat some time conversing upon my situation, which he seemed desirous to ameliorate; he said that 'the general did not consider me to be a prisoner of war, and that my confinement did not arise from any thing I had done.' From what then did it arise? At this question he was silent. He regretted not to have been in town on my arrival, believing it would have been in his power to have turned the tide of consequences; and obligingly offered to supply me with money, if in want.

"During a fortnight from this time, no incident occurred worth notice. My scorbutic sores being much better, the surgeon came but seldom; and the visits of the interpreter being less frequent than before, our solitude was rarely interrupted. The Gulph of Carpentaria and Torres' Strait being finished, my time had since been employed in writing an explanatory memoir upon the latter chart; Mr. Aken was occupied in copying the journal of bearings for the Admiralty, and my servant in transcribing the two first volumes of the log, which had been torn and defaced in the shipwreck; so that our time did not pass wholly in vain. It was the completion of the charts, however, that I had most at heart; and although the success of an application for more materials were very doubtful, an essay to obtain them was made on the 27th, in the following letter to the captain-general.

"SIR,

"The term of my imprisonment being lengthened out much beyond my expectation, puts me under the necessity of making another application to Your Excellency for more books and charts, that I may still proceed in completing the account of my observations and discoveries. If the whole were put into my possession it would be of much service to my labour, and save Your Excellency from being troubled with any further application on this head; but if this will not be complied with, I beg to make a small selection from them, which will principally consist of a roll of charts. I am not however to deceive your Excellency; — this roll contains the greater part of my original fair charts, and I am desirous to have them principally for the purpose of making an abridgment of my discoveries upon a single sheet. With all due consideration, I am

Your Excellency's prisoner,
MATTHEW FLINDERS.

"This letter was no more fortunate than the last, and it seemed that general De Caen had determined upon giving me no answer to any thing.

"The Admiral Aplin, an extra Indiaman outward bound, on board of which were several officers of the army and four ladies, had been brought in as a prize; the ladies with their husbands were suffered to remain at a tavern in the town, at the instance of captain Bergeret,

by whose privateer, La Psyché, they had been taken; the others were sent to a house at a little distance in the country, where all the English officers had been a short time confined. I ventured to send my servant to the tavern, to inquire after my countrymen and women; and they obligingly furnished me with magazines, newspapers, and a Steele's List of the Navy, up to August 1803, which in such a place, and after so long an ignorance of what was passing in England, were highly acceptable.

"On March 1, the interpreter made a personal application to general De Caen concerning the books and charts mentioned in my last letter: to which he received for answer, that so soon as the governor was a little freed from business he would attend to this request. I asked M. Bonnefoy to give me his opinion of what was likely to be done with us? He replied that we should probably be kept prisoners so long as the war lasted, but might perhaps have permission to live in some interior part of the island, and liberty to take exercise within certain limits. This opinion surprised me; but I considered it to be that of a man unacquainted with the nature of a voyage of discovery, and the interest it excites in every nation of the civilised world, and not the least in France. To be liberated in an honourable manner by an order of the French government, so soon as it should be informed of my detention, appeared to be certain; for whatever colour general De Caen might give to his proceedings, it could not be disguised that he had arrested the commander of a voyage bearing a French passport, and had taken from him his charts, journals, and vessel; but as yet I could not be persuaded that the general would risk the displeasure of his government, and particularly of the first consul Bonaparte, by whose order my passport had been given, and who had professed himself to be a patron of science. A voyage of discovery undertaken upon liberal principles, and carried on with zeal, tempered with humanity towards the inhabitants of the countries visited, seemed to me an object to interest every person, of whatever nation or profession. The philosopher, or man of general science, would see his knowledge of the globe, and of man, its principal inhabitant, so much the object of such a voyage, that he might consider it as undertaken for his gratification; and he who professed a particular branch, whether of natural philosophy or natural history, would expect so many new observations and discoveries in his favourite pursuit, that the voyagers could not fail to have his best wishes for their success. A professor of the fine arts might expect new and striking subjects to be brought to light, upon which to exercise his genius and display his powers; the merchant and manufacturer would anticipate fresh aids to their industry, and new markets for its produce; and the seaman, from such a voyage, would expect the discovery of new passages and harbours, to which he might have recourse either for convenience or safety; and he would also see in it the adoption of the best means for advancing his art to perfection. The philanthropist and zealous Christian would have delight in observing the blessings of civilization thus continually extending themselves, and in seeing new fields opened

opened in which to sow the seeds of righteousness; and even the man without profession, science, or zeal, —the perfectly idle, could not be without interest in a voyage of discovery, since the gratification of curiosty is an object of at least as much concern with them as with any other class of men. Considering, thus, a voyage for the investigation of new countries as of extensive interest and importance, it was with difficulty I could be convinced that there were people who thought it of none; or of so little, that the putting a stop to it, imprisoning the commander and seizing his charts and papers, required no more consideration than if it were a common voyage. To be kept a prisoner so long as the war should last, did not therefore enter into my conception as within the bounds of probability; but it is the failing of men of all professions to overrate the importance of that which they have themselves adopted, and into this error it will probably be thought I had fallen with respect to voyages of discovery.

" We had a second visit on the 6th from captain Bergeret, to whom the passengers of the Aplin, and particularly the married gentlemen, were indebted for much attention and indulgence. He seemed to think that nothing could at this time be able to procure our release, but that we might perhaps be permitted to live in the country; and he promised to interest himself in it, so soon as a proper time and opportunity could be found for speaking to the captain-general.

" The season was arrived in which, should we be set at liberty, it would be too late to attempt a passage round the Cape of Good Hope in the schooner, and before the return of another year, the stores, and perhaps the vessel itself, might be rotten; and having no hope to obtain an answer to a letter, I requested Mr. Bonnefoy to make an application to the general for permission to sell the Cumberland. Ten days afterward the interpreter informed me, that general De Caen had spoken to him of my wish to live in the country, which had been made known to him by captain Bergeret; and he desired him to tell me, ' to have a little patience, he should soon come to some determination upon my affair;' being spoken to upon the sale of the Cumberland, his reply was, ' a little patience, it is time enough yet; and when the charts and books for which I had applied on Feb. 27, were mentioned, he still gave the same answer.

" My people were brought on shore on the 23d, with other British subjects from the prison ship, in order to be sent to a district called Flacq, on the east side of the island; and this circumstance confirmed my suspicion that it was not intended to liberate us until orders were received from France. Mr. Charrington, the boatswain, was permitted to speak to me in the presence of an officer before their departure; and after learning the condition of the poor prisoners, I recommended him to keep our people as clean in their persons and regular in their conduct as circumstances would permit; and not to attempt any escape, since we must be liberated in six or eight months by order of the French government. One of them, the Prussian who had behaved so ill, had gone away in the Spanish frigate Fama,

by permission of the French; the others had been kept strictly on board the prison ship after the departure of the three Dutch men of war. Although several prizes had been brought in, the number of English prisoners was inconsiderable; owing to some of the vessels being manned with lascars who were not confined, and in part to the sailors having been induced to enter on board the French privateers, for the sake of obtaining more provisions and to avoid being kept in irons.

"I had hitherto forborne to write any letters to England, whether public or private, but what passed open through the office of the town major, that no plea, even what arbitrary power could construe into such, might be taken for continuing our imprisonment; but the arrival of letters thus sent being exceedingly problematical, and my hope of liberation from general De Caen having disappeared, the motive for this forbearance had ceased to exist. An account was therefore written to the secretary of the Admiralty of my arrival, reception, and treatment in Mauritius, inclosing copies of all the letters written or received; that my lords commissioners might be enabled to take proper measures for obtaining our liberty and the restitution of my charts and journals; especial care was taken at the same time, to avoid the mention of any thing which could be thought to infringe on the passport, as much as if it had remained inviolate on the part of general De Caen. This letter was inclosed to a friend in London, and sent by the way of America; and I afterwards learned from the public papers that it was received in the August following.

"The end of March had arrived, and nothing more was said of our permission to reside in the country; and being most heartily weary of close confinement, I requested to be removed to the same place with the British officers, prisoners of war; the house where they were kept being described to be large, and surrounded with a wall inclosing about two acres of ground, within which the prisoners were allowed to take exercise. On the 30th Colonel Monistrol came to confer on the subject, and next day conducted me to the house for the purpose of choosing two rooms. He said on the way that the house was originally built by a surgeon named Despeaux, and now hired by the government at twenty-five dollars per month to accommodate the English gentlemen; that it was very spacious, and had formerly lodged the ambassadors sent by Tippoo Sultaun to this island; I found it to be situate about a mile north-east from our tavern in the middle of the town, and enjoying a fresh air which, in comparison with our place of confinement, made me think it a paradise. After the unpleasant task of selecting two rooms, which colonel Monistrol ordered to be vacated by the officers who were in possession, he returned with me to the town; and promised at parting to speak again to the captain-general concerning my charts and books.

"This little walk of a mile shewed how debilitating is the want of exercise and fresh air; for it was not without the assistance of colonel Monistrol's arm, that I was able to get through it. Conveyances

ances were sent in the evening for our trunks, and we took possession of our new prison with a considerable degree of pleasure; this change of situation and surrounding objects producing an exhilaration of spirits to which we had long been strangers.

An Account of the Inhabitants of Westrobothnia.

[From Schioldebrand's Tour to the North Cape.]

"THE Westrobothnians are, in general, tall and well-made. Their figure is noble, their countenance proud and confident; but this haughtiness is tempered by a marked expression of benevolence, and their manners perfectly correspond to their physiognomy. The men have more mildness in their character than their neighbours the Ostrobothnians, and the beauty of their women is much superior. This honest, sober, and frugal, people are alike distinguished for their courage in war, the hunting of the bear, and in ascending or descending the falls, &c. Whilst more polished nations content themselves by defining the various gradations of virtue, the Westrobothnians practise them all, in a happy ignorance of their opposite vices.

The Finnish language prevails from the frontiers of Ostrobothnia, which separate Finland from Sweden properly so called, to within two or three miles to the west of Tornea, where the Swedish is used, and thence northward about twenty miles; after which the colonists only speak Finnish, and the natives in the Lapland tongue. This is the country through which we had passed and are now describing.

The dress of the men consists of a bonnet of deep blue, in the shape of a cap, with the seams of another colour; a kind of tunic, or shirt, of strong white serge, which comes down to the calf of the leg; a leather belt; long breeches; boots, or buskins, without heels, the soles being of the same piece, and the seams above the foot, uniting near the toe, which terminates in a returning peak. These boots are so well prepared as to resist moisture a long time, and nothing can be better adapted for walking in the marches, which are so frequent in these countries.

The principal objects of industry are agriculture, the preparation of tar, breeding of cattle, the chase, and fishing. The soil is fertile, and the same fields are sown every year. The corn ripens in seven or eight weeks; but such is the rigour of the climate that, during this short period, the frosts frequently destroy the hopes of the cultivator. Fortunately, the inhabitants are accustomed, during the most abundant harvests, to mix with their bread chopped straw, the roots of certain plants, or the bark of the pine-tree; and this practice enables them to support those famines which are but too frequent.

The salmon fishery, of which we have already spoken, is extensive. Another species of salmon, called Taimen, the flavour of which is delicious, is found here; but not in sufficient plenty to be an article of commerce. This fish, which is also found

found in Ostrobothnia, is rather smaller and more spotted than the common salmon. Pike and trout, dried in the sun, form part of the food of the inhabitants. The birds found in this country have been enumerated when describing the game in the neighbourhood of Uleaborg, but there are some others which will be noticed hereafter. The most remarkable wild beasts are bears, wolves, common, black, white, or blue, foxes, (the last are very rare,) gluttons, beavers, seals, otters, hares, squirrels, martins, ermines, wild rein-deer, which are in every respect like the tame, except in being of deeper colour.

As to the birds and vegetable kingdom, I shall speak of them as they occur. In Lapland and on the high mountains, plants unknown in other climates are more particularly to be found.

On quitting Kirkomäki, near the church of Hietaniemi, and the inundated plain I have mentioned, we continued to coast the river of Tornea, until we got to Niemis, where the road turns from it. The country, which is rather hilly, almost continually presented pleasing views.

It was the season of flowers. In some places the soil of the forests, covered with anemonies, *(nemorosa)* appeared white as snow; in others different anemonies *(hepatica)* gave it an enamel of the deepest blue. The marshy spots were gilded with the *calla palustris*, or silvered by the *rubus chamæmorus*. The first of these plants, called in Swedish missne, is of great service to the inhabitants; in case of scarcity they make bread of its roots, which are taken up in the spring, before the leaves begin to bud, and cut into small pieces, and dried by the fire previously to being ground. If the meal is boiled before it is used, and then a little common flour added to it, the bread is very good and nourishing. The other plant, called *hjortron*, has a yellowish fruit, of a faint taste, but it is a good preserve, and is said to refresh and purify the blood. It is administered to persons ill of fevers, scurvy, or consumption. Geraniums *(myosotis scorpoides)* flourished on the banks of the rivulets, and the lively verdure of the meadows was relieved by numbers of other flowers, as the *cornus suecica*, with white petals and black stamens; the *trientalis Europæa*, a small star-like flower, which is found no where but in the forests; the *rubus arcticus*, a plant of the size of the strawberry, and the flower of which, of a deep rose-colour, is as beautiful as its fruit is delicious, &c.: red and black gooseberries, as also raspberries, grow in the woods.

The heavy clouds which had obscured the sky, after the sudden storm of the preceding evening, dispersed by degrees; and an agreeable warmth made us forget that we were near the polar circle. On the road to Niemis, the last post-house, about a mile from Kirkomäki, we crossed the last bridge over the little river of Armasjoki, which discharges itself into that of Tornea at no great distance. On the left bank of this river, the rock of Luppio, rising like the ruins of a vast castle, is composed of horizontal layers of granite and slate, which are rarely found together.

The church of Öfver-Tornea is a mile and a quarter from Niemis, and six and a half from the town of Tornea. Here the road gradually disappears, and at length becomes nothing more than a foot-path leading to the curate's house. It is practicable to go from Tornea in a boat,

a boat, but the rapidity of the stream which must be ascended makes the voyage tedious.

There are many considerable falls, as Gyllhäkoski, Matkakoski, Vuojenakoski, &c. On arriving at Ofver-Tornea, I advised taking up our quarters at the village of Mattarengi, which is very near, that we might proceed from thence to visit Dean Landberg, the curate of the parish; but we were told that this worthy old man would be highly offended by such a proceeding, and would consider it as doubting his hospitality. It was in vain I represented that we were eleven persons. I was obliged to conform to the custom, and the frank and cordial reception we received from the curate and all his family made me ashamed of my proposal.

Their dwelling is situated most delightfully on the banks of the river, in a well-cultivated plain at the foot of a little hill, from which during the solstice, a part of the sun may be seen at midnight. But we resolved to see it from the summit of the Avasaxa, a mountain celebrated by the observations of Maupertuis.—We had to go about a quarter of a mile upon the river, which is at first very broad, and whose limpid waters flow with so gentle a course, that the rowers alone can perceive it; afterwards it branches into several streams, forming little islands, and finally reuniting amongst the mountains. The little river of Tengeli, after washing the base of Avasaxa, which it almost surrounds, joins its waters with those of the Tornea.

The sky was clear and serene, and the profound calm inspired a tender melancholy. A painter designing to represent the happy fields of Arcadia would here find the original of his picture. The river, swoln by the mountain torrents to the level of its banks, stole through the turf of meadows, interspersed with coppices and covered with flowers. The Avasaxa bounds the scene on one side. Its perpendicular height above the sea is one hundred and eight Swedish toises, but there is nothing striking in its form.

Having landed on the banks of the Tengeli, we began to ascend, or rather to climb, Avasaxa; we had fortunately taken a guide, for there are few practicable roads to its summit.—After traversing a copse of alders which adjoins the river, we entered a thick forest of pines and firs; we then found a mass of rocks which had fallen from the loftier parts of the mountain, and amongst which were scattered several birch trees; a little higher the soil is covered with a greenish moss, intermixed with rein-deer moss, but which is inferior to that of Lapland. The trees were puny and few in number on the ascent, but the summit is covered with firs, pines, and most beautiful birches; proving the elevation of this mountain (which I had climbed in thirty-five minutes) to be much below that of the mountains called Fjäll, where trees are not found above one third of the height.

From the summit of Avasaxa are seen, to the southward, the confluence of the rivers of Tornea and Tengeli, with their meadows and islets, the church of Ofver-Tornea, the residence of the priest, and beyond these a range of distant mountains. This view is extensive, and of a cheerful cast, forming a contrast to the others.

Advancing to the N.E. we suddenly came to a frightful precipice. We had much pleasure in discovering the falcon's nest, observed by Maupertuis in 1736. The birds, frightened

frightened by the fall of some pieces of rock which we threw from the top of the mountain, flew around the nest, and filled the air with their cries. At the foot of the precipice is a sandy plain, watered by the Tengeli, which issues at a distance from a lake surrounded by mountains. At a place called Christinestrom, the river forms a cataract, and some sawing-mills are erected.

"On the north side of the Avasaxa, we also saw the Tengeli, whose peaceful waters were disturbed only by the light passage of a fisherman's boat.

"Beyond the river is a small hill, from whence arose a cloud of smoke from the fires lighted to drive away the flies from the cattle. This hill is overtopped by a chain of mountains, rising one above the other, like Ossa upon Pelion. Westward, the view is terminated by the river Tornea, tranquil, majestic, and bounded by rocky cliffs.

"It was now midnight, and the sun seemed to touch the summit of a lofty mountain which partly concealed it. Nature, in suspense, appeared to wait the decision of this luminary, whether he would abandon the earth to the shades of night, or, resuming his beneficent course, he should continue to illuminate it.

"We remarked the shadow of one rock upon another, in order to watch the sun's motion, and in a few minutes we observed that the shadow had vanished, and consequently that the sun was rising. Presently the united choir of birds proclaimed a morning which no night had preceded. The man who could be but slightly moved by such a sight must be wretched and unfeeling! For myself, I shall ever preserve its delicious recollection."

Journey over the Alps of Lapland.

[From the Same.]

"HERE we began to mount those Northern Alps, now called Fjällen, formerly Köln, their base is (as usual) overgrown with clumps of birch. A very soft moss, in which we sunk up to the knees, makes walking troublesome, and the ascent is so steep that we were often obliged to lay hold of the trees and bushes. After marching in this way more than half an hour, we saw, on the right of a small plain, a frightful chasm, closely shut up on three sides by rocks of four or five hundred feet in height, formed of a species of slate, entirely black. The rivulet of which I have just spoken flows there from the top of the mountains, and after passing through a kind of arch in the side of a rock, precipitates itself into the abyss, where the eye can scarcely follow it. Another rivulet, not so beautiful, forms a fall of equal height, and joins its waters in the valley. Beyond this chasm the summits of the rocks are clothed with an underwood of birch trees, so thick, that it resembles a well-dressed peruke. The scene is terminated by other rocks of still greater height, whose peaks tower in

in the clouds. It is essential to mark well the shape of the highest rock, in order to find the road again on returning from Alten. Proceeding farther we saw new mountains separated by plains, lakes, and marshes, the turf of which shook under us. The cloudy weather and the rain threw a dreary aspect over these landscapes, the horrid abodes of bears and wolves.

"Continuing our march for some hours, always ascending, we at length found the snow hard as a rock, but not entirely covering the mountains, as we had expected would have been the case. What is singular, and for which we could not account, is, that the snow is preserved, during the summer, on the south and west sides of the mountains.—At this height the trees became less numerous and of smaller growth.

"At the foot of a perpendicular rock is a spacious grotto of frozen snow, composed of several vaults, diminishing to the last. The entrance is sufficiently high to admit a person standing; the water of a delicious spring flows over some broken rocks.—Probably, the exhalations arising from the humidity of the stone, have caused these excavations in a vast mass of snow, driven by the winds against the rock; and the exterior form has been rounded by the sun's warmth. In this grotto we found refuge from the flies, which still pursued us, notwithstanding the rain that had fallen on our elevated station; but, being heated by our walk, we durst not remain there long, on account of the damp.

"At some distance from the grotto is a very deep ravine, beyond which we saw several caverns, which the Laplanders said were the dens of bears, yet, notwithstanding there are such numbers in this country, we had not the pleasure of seeing any of them; the season of their amours being over, they had given themselves up to repose; and the Laplanders are such great talkers, that even at a distance they alarm these animals. We shot as many plover as served us for supper; and they were the only kind of birds we met with in our route; there were ducks on the lakes, but in very small numbers.—The only trees were some very meagre birch, and the shrubs were osiers, dwarf-birch, and juniper.

"As we ascended, we saw only the feet of other mountains; beyond which all was concealed in clouds. We vainly flattered ourselves that on attaining their summits we should find the sky clear and serene. During the remainder of this day we could not see farther than one hundred paces around us. Some little hills, a tranquil lake, an immoveable mass of black clouds suspended over our heads, from which a thick mist descends, characterize these alpine scenes.

"As the rain increased continually we could not rest on the moss which was saturated by the water: we were, therefore, embarrassed how we should spend the night, and though we should have wished to continue our march, the Laplanders would not have consented; fortunately one of them recollected having heard of a kind of hut, called gam in the language of the country, and which some travelling traders had caused to be built by way of shelter in going to the winter fairs; but it was difficult to find the place in the midst of a desert, and at a season when no trace could denote its situation.—In this uncertainty we walked until an hour after midnight, and the Laplanders, overcome

come with fatigue, began to be discouraged, when suddenly they cried out "there's the gam!" In fact it was that asylum, amongst some trees on the declivity of a gentle eminence; we eagerly entered it; and, having kindled a fire in a circle of stones, intended to serve as a hearth, confined the smoke by covering the vent-hole with a board, and, having well filled the cabin, on opening it again the gnats, which had taken shelter there from the rain, issued forth with the smoke. After roasting and eating our plover we laid down on the straw which some travellers had left there the preceding winter.

This day was the first on which we felt fatigued, though we had travelled only two miles in a straight line, yet the long turns and the labour of mounting had harassed us extremely; of eleven persons in the hut all were soon asleep but myself: the roaring of the wind, which rose in the night, the funereal cry of the owls which surrounded us, and, above all, the snoring of the Laplanders, prevented my closing my eyes. Sometimes I wrote, to bring forward my journal; sometimes I went out to see if the weather was better, and to shoot some owls, but, forced by the violence of the rain and the cold to return, I was patiently obliged to listen to this horrid music. At length, from sheer fatigue I fell asleep, but in a short time the Laplanders awoke, and recommenced their eternal clack, which forced me to get up, in spite of the real need I had for rest. It is thus that destiny sometimes sports with the weary traveller. The sight of this asylum had rejoiced me more than that of a magnificent castle, open to receive us in an inhabited country, could have done; and yet in it I passed the most distressing night I experienced in the journey.

"The clouds were heavier than on the preceding evening, and enveloped us on all sides; the Laplanders despaired of finding the road, and wished to wait for fair weather, as the passage of these mountains is considered to be very dangerous when the sky is obscured. But, keeping the river on the right, the way cannot be long lost; the great difficulty is to discover practicable tracks for descending. At length the Laplanders, tired as well as ourselves with remaining in the hut, yielded to our entreaties, and we proceeded about two o'clock in the afternoon.

"We had five miles to go, in a strait line, to Alten; at first, we were very little disposed to exertion, but by perseverance we gained strength even from fatigue. The clouds prevented our seeing any objects at fifty paces distance, and the view seemed extremely monotonous. I found a little flower of the pansy species, but shaded in yellow only, without any violet; this flower, called *viola biflora*, grows on the Northern Alps and in Scotland: a small piece of ground which was overspread by it appeared as if covered with gold.

"The frequent halts of the Laplanders made the march very tiresome, but as they carried burthens we could not urge them.—We advanced in this way at the rate of a mile in three hours; I myself carried a gun, with a pouch containing some pounds of shot, two or three pounds of powder, a compass, a book for preserving plants, a goblet, a large knife, &c. so that I was not much at liberty in my motions, and Mr. A. was not less laden; our Finnish boots, *pjex-stiflor*, which I described

I described when speaking of the costume of the Westrobothnians, not having been greased for some days, afforded no resistance to the wet, so that we walked as if on well steeped sponges; yet, after climbing the three miles, perpetually sinking into the moss up to the calf of the leg, we found ourselves less fatigued than we were at setting off: I attribute this vigour to the habit of exercise, to the frugal regimen we were compelled to use, to the cold baths we took every day in the lakes or rivers, to the bracing air of these climates, and, perhaps, also to the humidity which refreshed our feet.

"Having attained the summit of the mountains we found the descent very rugged, but the striking objects which arrested our attention indemnified us for our pains, though the fog still hindered us from seeing to any distance.

"It has been observed that the whole of this vast chain of mountains, which extends from the lower part of Dalecarlia to the White Sea, following nearly the same direction with the coasts, in general rises with a gentle acclivity on the south side, and descends almost precipitously towards the sea: the length is about one hundred and fifty miles, and the breadth from twelve to fifteen.

"After descending almost perpendicularly for half a mile we left the region of the clouds, and then, on turning towards the heights we had left, we beheld a wall of slate-rocks, whose tops, yet wrapped in clouds, were almost entirely covered with snow, and from them dashed innumerable cascades. Two of these issuing from the hollows of the rock appeared frozen and fixed, but looking at them attentively I could discern the motion of the water: their appearance was rather remarkable than beautiful. A little lower, where the declivity was less steep, the ground was arid and without verdure, excepting some birch-trees which vegetated here and there. In the bottom of the valleys were several lakes where the waters of these cataracts collected together to form new ones. Each step that we advanced an infinity of scenes of this description presented themselves. Immense rocks of slate, graduating to a peak, contrasted their dark colour with the vast masses of snow and the cascades of equally dazzling whiteness. The sky cleared up, and verdure began to appear by degrees at the foot of the rocks. Amongst many of these views I sketched but one, which appeared to me the most picturesque, otherwise choice would be difficult; for, in less than a mile I could have found sufficient to fill a cabinet.

"The base of the mountains forms, perhaps, one of the most agreeable, and of, at the same time, the most impressive, views in the world; a vast declivity covered with the most beautiful turf, and trees, of a vegetation most surprising in these places, inclines towards a plain extending to the sea, which is about a mile distant; many little rivulets, formed by the cascades noticed above, roll their chrystal floods under the shade of these copses, and, now stealing through the grass and flowers, now expanding into glassy-lakes, bear the tribute of their waters to the river of Alten or to the Aiby, which falls into the former.

"No flocks browse on the rich and flowery herbage which covers the soil, and never scythe approaches it.

it. We saw again with pleasure many of the trees we had observed in the heart of Sweden;—the birch, the pine, the aspin, the willow, the services, yield not to those of any country, and the flowers of our meadows grow there in even greater luxuriance; add to these, the finest sky, illuminated by the sun at midnight, after two days of rain, and, (excepting the presence of human beings,) all that the fancy can conceive most beautiful, yet, a faint idea only of the charms of these scenes will be obtained. A few birds alone disturbed the profound silence of nature, and hailed by their songs the delightful season. Inhabitants only are wanted in these enchanting regions to render them an earthly paradise; but, alas! this paradise exists but for two or three months in the year; during the remainder of which the beauties of nature are surrendered to the severity of frost, or buried under snows of immense thickness.

"The contemplation of these objects made us forget the fatigues of a march of four miles. But the schoolmaster of Kautokeino, who had undertaken an enterprise beyond his powers, with the prospect of gain, could not so console himself. At the beginning of the march he had, with the cunning of an experienced man, chosen a load which looked heavy enough, yet, in fact, weighed almost nothing; but having imprudently walked too nimbly, and exhibiting no marks of fatigue at the end of three miles, one of his companions, who knew him, suspected his deceit, and immediately resolved upon trying his burthen; all being then discovered, the other Laplanders unanimously insisted that he should take something to carry from each; the poor fellow, perceiving they were not joking, submitted, and proceeded with so sad an air that we could not but pity him; but, as he had been the means of increasing the price, that that he might receive the advantage without partaking in the labour of the others, we did not chuse to interfere in the business.

"During the passage over the mountains we had not seen a single quadruped, although there are plenty of bears, wolves, foxes of many kinds, wild rein-deer, &c. a a sort of fatality seemed to be opposed to our curiosity, or, rather the incessant din of our Laplanders drove these animals from us. The only remarkable thing of the kind which we met with was a skin of the species of rat, *mus lemmus*, which forming, as we were told, innumerable armies, advance from north to south in a straight line, without ever deviating, to avoid any impediment they may meet with, and at last drown themselves in the Gulf of Bothnia; this at least is the unvaried account of the inhabitants. This phenomenon, which does not happen every year, nor at any certain time, may furnish ample matter of discussion to naturalists; but it will be requisite to begin by ascertaining facts: what is certain is, that numerous troops of these animals have been observed proceeding from north to south; the rest of the story calls for a more detailed investigation.

"After traversing the delightful thickets which cover the foot of the mountains, we entered a forest of large and superb pines; but a fire caused by the lightning, had destroyed the greater part: this forest conducted us to the river of Alten, which we recognized as an old friend, and whose banks, tufted with

with elms, willows, and services, we now followed until, after crossing the chain of mountains and forming dreadful cataracts, it gently rolls its limpid waters over a pure sandy bottom, to lose them in the Frozen Sea."

Picturesque Scenery of the North Cape.

[From the same.]

"WE made immediate inquiry as to the means of getting to the North Cape, and were informed, that the most safe was to hire a small boat, that, in case of a storm, we might easily get on shore, but that it would be some days before good rowers could be procured. An intelligent man was despatched to seek them. This sea abounds in delicious fish, such as the *pleuronectes hippoglossus*, in Swedish *helgeslundra*, (some of them are of monstrous size, but those of from thirty to forty pounds in weight are the best,) *gadus collarius*, whitings, herrings, &c. But we were disappointed in our hopes of finding oysters and lobsters, which are so common on the southern coasts of Norway.

"Cows and sheep are fed here; the meat, milk, and butter, are excellent. The vessels which come to export fish and skins bring flour, liquors, wines, and all sorts of spices. One advantage, of which we feelingly estimated the value, was that of being relieved from the gnats, which the sea-wind drove from the coasts.

"Alten, a sea port and commercial depôt, is situate on the shore of a bay called Kaafiord, which is a part of Altenfiord, or the Gulf of Alten. The elevation of the pole at this place is 69° 55′ latitude. A Danish vessel was riding in the harbour, waiting for her cargo of dried and salted fish, of which there is a considerable exportation; near the shore were several warehouses, or stores, full of it, beside which there were several piles in the open air. A promontory, composed of a white and reddish rock, pushes into the sea and forms the interior of the bay. On the opposite side, the gulph is bounded by a range of lofty mountains, whose tops, crowned with snow, rise to the clouds. The air of Alten is pure and very salubrious. The soil is sandy, but tolerably fertile. In the small kitchen-gardens are potatoes and brown cabbages, but little else is sown excepting barley. The prevailing trees are pines and birch.

"The part of the Frozen Ocean which washes these coasts is never frozen except in the interior of the bays, where the water, otherwise extremely salt, is tempered with the soft water of some river or stream, which empties itself into it. It is reckoned seventeen miles only from hence to the North Cape, and, with a glass, the floating masses which are detached from the eternal ice of the poles, may be discerned.

"On

"On the 15th of July we obtained a suitable boat, and four good Norwegian rowers, one of whom was an old and experienced pilot; taking, therefore, provisions sufficient to last us for some days, if necessity obliged us to land on the coasts, we hoisted our sail, at two in the afternoon, with a moderately fair wind, and in the finest weather possible. Our course was always northward, amongst tongues of land which stretched into the sea, forming a number of deep retiring inlets. The coasts, bounded by vast mountains, generally terminating in peaks. On their west and south sides, as we had observed to be the case on our passage over the Fjällen mountains, there were almost invariably some drifts of snow, and the huts of the fishermen were generally on the eastern shore of the bays. The wind from the main sea sometimes rushed through the deep valleys in gusts which would have overset our boat if we had not taken care to haul down the sail as soon as we perceived them, and, after those alarms, we suddenly found ourselves becalmed under the shelter of the mountains. The aspect of the sea changed every instant; sometimes like a polished mirror, it reflected the hideous rocks on its shores; sometimes its surface, ruffled by a gentle wind, assumed a deep azure colour; and then, agitated by the hurricane, its waves became entirely dark or whitened with foam. The wind was equally changeable, owing to the sinuous defiles through which it passed, so that there was no relaxation for those who directed the helm or managed the sail. The tide rises considerably for six hours, and goes down in the same period, producing a great swell in the water, especially if the wind is contrary to the current; in the streights we had frequently almost cataracts to mount and descend. But the skill of the rowers soon gave us so much confidence that we could indulge in the contemplation of the stupendous scenes, which succeeded to each other with the rapidity of a dream.

"The rocks of these coasts are composed of a very friable schistus, and their bases are almost covered with their ruins. The wind having abated and our rowers being tired, we went on shore at the mouth of a little river, which falls in a cascade into the sea. After climbing the rocks from which it descended we saw one of more considerable magnitude, upon the same river, which between the two falls meanders through a plain shaded with cheerful groves, clad in rich verdure and surrounded by towering rocks; at this place we found the dwelling of a Lapland fisherman, consisting of five cells, built of wood and covered with turf and the bark of trees. The centre one is the dwelling of the inhabitants, having in the midst a small circle of stones for a hearth, and an opening in the roof to emit the smoke; at the distance of an ell and an half from the fire was another circle, of boards; between which and the wall some straw or birch leaves covered with rein-deer skins or coarse woollen stuffs forms the common bed of the family; against the wall, or partition, jars of milk are usually arranged. The other apartments surround this and communicate with it. That through which we entered serves as a vestibule, or hall, and the tools, nets, &c. are kept there. Another is for the cows, one for the sheep, and one for a pantry. Without, there was a small hovel of the common form, used as a store-house. We were told

told that the bears frequently visit these magazines.

"Such of the Laplanders, as live by fishing and the breeding of cattle are less savage than might be supposed; by selling their fish and purchasing flour and brandy, the only articles for which they have occasion, they have frequent intercourse with the inhabitants of Alten, and other mercantile establishments which will be mentioned; nevertheless, it is dangerous to come near their huts unawares, without knowing how to address them; for they are armed with guns, and the dread of being plundered makes them ferocious. It has been remarked that the majority of these fishers perish in the waves: the Frozen Sea is extremely perfidious, especially in the autumn and winter, and the priests assured us that very few of these people are brought to be buried.

"The boatmen being refreshed, we went on board about midnight, but the western mountains hid the sun from us, though it was reflected on those of the opposite side. There was but little wind for the remainder of the night and the next day, so that we made a very tardy progress, and almost entirely by means of the oars. During this course we observed the hut of some Lapland fishermen situated on a small hill between two enormous rocks, whose summits strike the skies. The striking contrast between the rich verdure of the hill and the rugged forms of the rock; the beauty of the sea, unruffled by the slightest breeze; the melancholy and isolated situation of this hut, which had no possible communication with society but by a sea oftener angry than placid; altogether contributed to render the scene highly interesting.

"As the wind gradually abated, the heat increased, and a suffocating vapour arose from the sea, which was the more extraordinary, because the water grew colder, as we advanced northward. In the evening we landed near the huts of some fishermen, and staid there some hours.

"In one of these huts, enlightened by the feeble beams of a never-extinguished fire, there was an old woman who was sick, and appeared to be ninety years of age. Her daughter-in-law, a very pretty young woman, and of an uncommonly sweet countenance, shewed her the tenderest attention. On seeing the pilot, the old lady burst into tears, whilst her daughter-in-law strove to console her. When she ceased weeping she fixed her looks on the earth with the most marked expression of excessive grief, and the pilot and sailors wept in their turn. After many inquiries, as to the occasion of such extreme sorrow, we learned that, the last time these men had visited this place, this good woman enjoyed a perfect state of health, but on the very day of their departure she had an apoplectic fit, which deprived her of speech, and from that time she had continued in the same condition. This scene, the relation of which may appear ridiculous, greatly affected us at the time. The tears of these brave Norwegians, who would have met with smiles the most dreadful dangers, prove that insensibility does not constitute true courage, and that human nature in all its primitive strength of character is susceptible of the gentlest emotions, which to a feeling heart affords an interesting fact.

"When the violence of their grief was a little appeased, the old woman motioned us to sit down,

or

or rather squat ourselves on the reindeer skins which they had spread over the straw; her daughter-in-law presented us some milk with all the grace of an Arcadian shepherdess. We wished to have remained still longer; but one of the boat-men announced that the wind was favourable, and we were obliged seize the opportunity.

"The next morning we came to a place where also were several of these huts, and near which our boatmen gave us reason to hope that we should find the tents of some wandering Laplanders, and their herds of reindeer. We had almost reached the end of our journey, and we had not once seen a habitation of this kind. It was a dead calm, and we profited by the delay to gratify our curiosity. The inhabitants of the first huts assuring us that we should find the wandering Laplanders on the other side of the nearest mountain, we went forwards; but the great height of the mountains deceives the eye and diminishes distances in a surprising manner. After passing the first mountain, we had a second and a third to surmount under a most oppressive heat, and, having walked too quickly on setting out, we could scarcely proceed; but the beauty of the country overpaid our pains. In every valley a lovely brook, rivalling the freshness and purity of our most celebrated springs, poured its serpentine course under the shade of thickets, whose foliage was cherished by its stream.

"At length, amongst some rugged mountains, we found a tent of Laplanders, on the banks of a cascade which watered a verdant hill. The tents were of coarse linen, stretched round by stakes driven into the earth, in the form of a truncated cone, at the top of which is an outlet for the smoke. In winter, the tents of the rich Laplanders are covered with thick woollen stuff or rein-deer skins; and, in order to retain the heat, are surrounded by turf without, and hung with old clothes or skins within. A woman and her child were the only persons we saw; she told us the rein-deer were at pasture, and probably at a great distance; we almost despaired of finding them, but fortune favoured us. We presently heard a gentle snorting, like that of stags, and a moment after saw a herd of upwards of sixty rein-deer coming out of a defile. A young Laplander with some dogs guided them; and, when a rein-deer straggled from the line, one of the dogs, excited by the herdsman's voice, brought it back to its place. They were driven into an inclosure formed by a fence and milked. We tasted the milk, which is as thick as cream, with an aromatic, but not unpleasant, flavour. It is so rich that more than a glass cannot be drunk at once, which is nearly the quantity given by the females at a time; so that, to sustain a moderate sized family, a great number of rein-deer must be kept. It has been before stated that a hundred and fifty are necessary to maintain such a family well. Formerly there were Laplanders who possessed three or four thousand, but at present that is rare, on account of the ravages made amongst the herds both by the wolves and by contagious disorders.

"Whilst the rein-deer were confined in the inclosure, we observed how much they were tormented by an insect, called in the Lapland language Kurbma, or Korma, *(Œstrus tarandi)*, which deposit their eggs in their skins, where chrysalis are

are formed almost as large as pigeons eggs, black and smooth as leather. It may be truly said that these poor creatures nourish their most inveterate enemies in their bosoms; but we learned that these insects are less harassing to the well-fed deer, whose fur is thicker and less penetrable. Those that we saw were very poor, and it was the season when the hair comes off. The Œstrus attacks the rein-deer even in their inward parts, and in spring it frequently happens that they cough up several. On opening the rein-deer, numbers have been found under the root of the tongue. There are eleven other diseases to which the rein-deer are subject, which are differently denominated.

"We paid for our milk in brandy and regained the coast, when we pursued our voyage among mountains whose heads reached the clouds, and some of which were almost covered with snow. Towards evening the wind blew so strong that the pilot advised us to pass the night on the first shore where we could effect a landing, in order to avoid being in the streight of Qvalesund at the turn of the tide, where, if a storm should arise, our destruction would be inevitable.

"We acquiesced with regret; for it was important to us that no time should be lost. We soon found a bay retiring into a small plain, where there were some fishermen's huts. We went on shore and pitched our tent upon the bank, ready to embark the first favourable moment; but, the wind increasing and becoming more and more adverse, we were obliged to pass the night and all the next day there. I spent the time in finishing some drawings, and walking on the shore to shoot snipes or gather shells. There was great plenty of the *Venus islandica*, a shell which is considered rare, the *mya truncata*, *patella granularis*, *mytilus edulis*, and a species of *ost.ea*, of which we were not able to find one perfect; this shell has never been found but in a fossil state. Mr. A. looked for plants and insects. As to the latter particularly, I am obliged to confess my ignorance; the principal cause for which is, perhaps, that, having begun a collection at that early age when all impressions are the most deep and lively, I caught a very large moth, which I thought a treasure. After an absence of eight days, my first care was to visit my collection, and, opening the drawer where the moth had been deposited, I saw it was still alive, moving its tail and fluttering its wings. The effect of that sight will never be effaced from my memory, though so many others might have sufficed to make me forget it.—I ended the tortures of the insect by the speediest death I could devise, but passed several nights in remorse; and from that time I have felt the utmost repugnance to torment any living creature. Indeed, what right has man to inflict, at his pleasure, the most excruciating pains on beings, whose sensitive faculty he certainly cannot estimate? And is not the remorse of childhood the cry of nature, to which, from the unhappy practice of suppressing it, one becomes insensible in more mature age?

"The violence of the wind being somewhat lessened, our boatmen resolved to proceed at all hazards. The passage of the Qvalesund or Hvalessund (the Streight of Whales) is in fact extremely dangerous; and that of Qvalefiord still more so, in which we found ourselves precisely at the ebbing of the tide, which we had endeavoured to avoid. The

waves, coming from the main sea, collected in heaps to enter the streight, and meeting the current, caused a violent and confused motion. The oars touched the water only on one side at once, we made no progress, and durst not use the sail, whilst the storm threatened destruction to our boat, which already began to crack. In fine, the pilot declared he could no longer resist the agitation, and that at all risks the sails must be hoisted, which was instantly done by one of our brave rowers. The mast, bending under the force of the wind, almost touched the water, which came in on that side; but we advanced with incredible rapidity, and were soon out of danger under the protection of a lofty mountain. But for this bold manœuvre we might perhaps have seen the other world instead of the North Cape

"In these latitudes there are great numbers of whales, but fate had determined that we should not see any. To make up for this loss, the boatmen told us many marvellous tales respecting them.—A fisherman, pursued by a whale, and seeing that his escape was impossible, fired at the monster, who, frightened by the explosion, stopped and changed his course. Had he not adopted this lucky expedient, like another Jonah, he would inevitably have been swallowed, without the hope of a release so fortunate as that of the prophet. Whilst another was fishing with a line in very fine and calm weather, a whale suddenly rose from the bosom of the waters, took the boat on his back and broke it: the man perished in the waves. If all the accidents they related to us had really happened, our enterprise would have been somewhat rash, and few fishers would have dared to approach these places.

"As for ourselves, having sailed all night without mishap, we reached Havösund in the morning. This is the habitation of a merchant, who was then from home, but his wife and mother received us with kindness, and gave us an excellent breakfast, after which we departed, hoping to arrive before midnight at the North Cape, which was still at the distance of two good Norwegian miles. We soon saw the three islands called Stapperne, or Stappenöer, also called the mother and her two daughters. These are nothing but three isolated rocks; that in the middle being larger than the others. Some caverns at their feet re-echoed the cries of the *eyder, anas mollissima*, the bird which furnishes down. On the west was a promontory of the Isle of Magerö, which belongs to the North Cape. The calm was profound, but the sea broke in a surf, and immense clouds arose in the horizon, like Alps covered with snow. We learned afterwards, when at Masö, that there was the carcase of a whale on the top of the largest of the Stapperne Isles, which seemed to us almost incredible, for it is impossible that the waves should have cast it so high, and the rock is so steep that a man without a burthen cannot ascend but with infinite difficulty.

"Previously to passing the Stapperne Isles, we had for some time coasted the Isle of Masö, after which no object either to the north or west bounded the view of that magnificent expanse, which, from the eternal ice of the pole, laves the extremities of Europe, Asia, and America. The little wind that blew was often contrary as well as the current, so that we advanced but slowly,

slowly, sometimes by dint of rowing, sometimes by aid of the sail; and the first mile took us seven hours, during which our rowers, overcame by fatigue, often went on shore to rest themselves On one of these occasions we found, on a rock, about ten or fifteen toises in height, some eggs, shells, and sponges, as white as snow, and more brittle than common sponges. The rocks on a level with the water were covered with the *buccinum glaciale*, a shell rather larger than a nut, and the water was full of plants of a prodigious vegetation. I think the most prevalent were the *fucus vesiculosus inflatus aculatus*.

"The fair weather and the calm were favourable for us; for the least wind in these latitudes occasions a heavy swell; and the coasts of Magerö which were on our right, were for the greatest part inaccessible. Yet the sea was rough, and we rocked continually; so that, having watched the whole of the preceding night, in order to observe the remarkable objects that presented themselves to our sight, we were unable to withstand the stealing approaches of sleep. A wave suddenly breaking against the boat, flew over our heads and awoke us in surprise. The boatmen then told us, in a confused manner, that during a long nap, we had passed several promontories, and latterly a small gulf, on the shores of which were some huts, and before them a rocky point nearly resembling the North Cape, but which we still saw to the south-west. It was between five and six o'clock in the evening, and the wind had changed in our favour. The coast seemed to retire towards the east, and to leave on that side a more open view of the ocean. At last, a little after midnight, we perceived this formidable cape, whose rocks appeared to be of equal height, with an abrupt and perpendicular termination. At first we steered for this point, but find it perfectly inaccessible, and the sea becoming more and more agitated, we were compelled to turn to the right, to get into a creek on the south.

"On this tack the North Cape was seen in all its grandeur. The nearest rocks appeared much higher than those of the point; and the tout-ensemble was more picturesque than from any other station. The sea, dashing against this immoveable wall, which had braved its fury from the creation of the world, roared whilst forming an animated fringe of the whitest foam. A midnight sun illuminated this spectacle not less beautiful than sublime; the shadows which enveloped the western side of the rocks deepened the effects of their rude outlines. It is difficult to judge of the height of the rocks; here every thing is on the grandest scale, and no familiar object affords a point of comparison. I took many sketches of the Cape, notwithstanding the motion of the boat, but we were compelled to enter the creek, the only refuge left to us in this dreadful situation.

"On landing and turning our steps to the west, we accidentally discovered a grotto formed in the rocks, whose surface was polished by the waves. Some inequalities of the rock within served us for benches, a detached stone as a table, and a spring of pure water flowed at our feet; except that there was an outlet at the bottom, through which the sea might be seen; it was precisely the grotto of the Eneid—

———Scopulis pendentibus antrum,
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo.

"We had kindled a fire with some pieces of wood cast up by the waves; there was not a single tree on the coast, and no trace indicated the abode of man; a knoll of some hundred paces in circuit, and surrounded by vast hills, was the only accessible place.

"From the top of an eminence, towards the sea, we saw to the right an enormous mountain, which formed part of the cape, raising its barren mass to the skies; on the left, a tongue of land, surmounted by less towering rocks and beaten by the waves, shuts up the bay and does not admit even a glimpse of the ocean. One of the boatmen told us that formerly there was a church here; but I was subsequently informed that the last fishermen's huts were at this place.

"In order to see as much as we could of the interior of the isle, we ascended to the summit of the great mountain, and thence beheld the most fantastic scene that can be conceived. A lake on the foreground is fifteen toises above the level of the sea, and there was another on the top of one of the mountains which bordered on the first. The view is terminated by some rocky eminences covered with snow.

"At length, perceiving that the sea swelled exceedingly beyond the cape, we hastened our departure, that, in the event of a storm, we might find a more comfortable asylum. At this instant, the remembrance of the long labours we had undergone to see some hideous rocks almost excited our laughter; but, when we considered the immense space by which we were divided from the civilized world, the fatigues and still more the ennui we must experience before we could again arrive there, were our much more serious reflections."

Description of Owhyhee, the Principal of the Sandwich Islands.

[From Capt. *Lisiansky's* Voyage Round the World.]

"THE Sandwich Islands serve at present as a resort for all ships going to the north-west coast of America, as they can refit there and take in provisions. The islands are divided into two dominions, of which one, consisting of the islands of Otooway, Origoa, and Tagoore, is governed by Tamoory: and the other, including all the islands to the southward, by Hamamea. Hamamea is said to be a prince of ability and courage. He is so much attached to Europeans, that their ships enter his ports, not only without the least fear, but with a certainty of obtaining, on the best terms, every thing the place they may anchor at is capable of furnishing. By this conduct, he has not only obtained various articles of necessity for his subjects, but has even formed an army, that may be styled, compared with others among the South-Sea islands, invincible. Add to this, that he has upwards of fifty Europeans in his service; and so great a quantity of small guns, swivels, muskets, and ammunition, supplied by the ships of the United States, that

these

these articles in the island of Owyhee have greatly sunk in value.

The power of the kings is unlimited. The succession to the throne is hereditary, though it is often disputed by the most opulent grandees of the island. Hamamea himself obtained his elevation by violence. On the death of the late king Tyreboo, he contrived first to divide the dominions with the son of the deceased, and afterwards to seize upon the whole himself. Next to the king, the greatest power on the islands vests in the chiefs, or grandees, who are called Nooy Nooy Eiry.

The military force of the country consists of all who are capable of bearing arms. Every man is brought up to war from his infancy, and is obliged, if called upon, to follow his chief wherever he may go on. Besides the general army, Hamamea has a body-guard, composed of the best warriors on the island, which is always near his person. He has also several schooners, from ten to twenty tons, built by Europeans, after the plan of captain Vancouver's, and armed with swivels. We saw, however, none of these vessels, as they were all in the expedition with the king.

Here, as in the Marquesas, force reigns instead of laws. The king may take the life of any of his subjects at his pleasure, and the chiefs may do the same with those who are subordinate to them. The grandees generally decide their own quarrels by the strength of their respective adherents; but if one of them should disobey the king, the body-guards are immediately dispatched to put him to death, or to bring him alive to the royal presence. Should it happen, that the chief or grandee on this occasion conceives himself sufficiently powerful, he disputes this despotic mandate, and a war generally ensues between the sovereign and his rebellious subject.

"To give the reader some idea of the jurisprudence of this people, I shall furnish him with two incidents that were related to me by Mr. Young, and which had taken place in the island of Owyhee since the period of his arrival there. An islander was condemned to death for eating a cocoa-nut during the taboo One of the Europeans on the island hearing this, went to the king, and interceded for the life of this man, representing that the crime was of too insignificant a nature to deserve so severe a punishment. The king heard the representation of the stranger without interrupting him; and when he had done, replied, with all imaginable coolness, that, as there was a great difference between the inhabitants of the two countries of Owyhee and Europe, there must of necessity be a difference also as to crimes and punishments: and, without further delay, the poor culprit was deprived of his life.—The other anecdote is of a still more sanguinary nature. The king had given to Mr. Young a piece of land, with several people on it. Of these, one happened to have a quarrel with his wife; and, on their separating, rather than resign to her his child, a beautiful boy, he put him to death. Mr. Young, hearing of this cruelty, immediately went to the king to demand justice on the offender. But how great was his astonishment, when told by his majesty, that the man was not an offender liable to punishment, since by killing his child, he had injured no one but himself! The king however added, that Mr. Young, as master

master of his own people, might act respecting them in what manner he pleased. From these two instances we may form some judgment of the morals of a country where the most trivial fault is often punished with death, while the blackest crime is left unnoticed.

The word taboo signifies here, as in the Marquesas, a sacred prohibition. The king may lay a taboo on any thing he pleases; and there are instances in which he is obliged to observe it himself: these are established by religion, and are held by him in the highest veneration. The principal taboo is that called Macahity, which answers to the twelfth month of the year. Besides this, there are four taboos in every month, the eleventh excepted, which has no established taboo. Of these four the first is called Ohiro, and takes place on the 1st day of the month; the second, Mooharoo, on the 12th; the third, Orepaoo, on the 23d; and the fourth, Ocané, on the 27th. Taboo Ohiro continues three nights and two days, and the other three only two nights and a day. The taboo Macahity is not unlike to our festival of Christmas. It continues a whole month, during which the people amuse themselves with dances, plays, and sham-fights of every kind. The king must open this festival wherever he is. On this occasion, his majesty dresses himself in his richest cloak and helmet, and is paddled in a canoe along the shore, followed sometimes by many of his subjects. He embarks early, and must finish his excursion at sun-rise. The strongest and most expert of the warriors is chosen to receive him on his landing. This warrior watches the royal canoe along the beach; and as soon as the king lands, and has thrown off his cloak, he darts his spear at him, from a distance of about thirty paces, and the king must either catch the spear in his hand, or suffer from it: there is no jesting in the business. Having caught it, he carries it under his arm, with the sharp end downwards, into the temple or heavoo. On his entrance, the assembled multitude begin their sham-fights, and immediately the air is obscured by clouds of spears, made for the occasion with blunted ends. Hamamea has been frequently advised to abolish *this* ridiculous ceremony, in which he risks his life every year; but to no effect. His answer always is, that he is as able to catch a spear, as any one on the island is to throw it at him. During the Macahity, all punishments are remitted throughout the country; and no person can leave the place in which he commences these holidays, let the affair requiring his absence be ever so important.

The division of time on the Sandwich Islands is this. A year is divided into twelve months, a month into thirty days, and a day into five parts, sun-rise, noon, sun-set, the time between sun-rise and noon, and the time between noon and sun-set. The year begins with our November. The first month of it is called Macaree; the second, Caero; the third, Ocaooroca; the fourth Onapa; the fifth, Oero; the sixth Oykeekee; the seventh, Caona; the eighth, Hoyneré; the ninth, Oherenahoo; the tenth, Oherenima; the eleventh, Oytooa; the twelfth, Macahity. The days of the month have all different names, which are these: the first, Oheero; the second, Hoaca; the third, Coohahi; the fourth Tooroos; the fifth, Toocoroo; the sixth, Coopaoo; the seventh, Oricoocahe

the eighth, Oricoorooha; the ninth, Oricoocoroo; the tenth, Oripaoo; the eleventh, Hoona: the twelfth, Mooharoo; the thirteenth, Hooa; the fourteenth, Oatooa; the fifteenth, Hotoo; the sixteenth, Mahearona; the seventeenth, Tooroo; the eighteenth, Roacoocahé; the nineteenth, Roacoorooha; the twentieth, Roaopaoo; the twenty-first, Orecoocahe; the twenty second, Orecoorooha; the twenty-third, Orepaoo; the twenty-fourth, Carocoocahé; the twenty-fifth, Carocoorooha; the twenty-sixth, Caropaoo; the twenty-seventh, Ocané; the twenty-eighth, Rooo; the twenty-ninth, Mowry; the thirtieth, Omoocoo.

"The people of the Sandwich Islands believe in good and in evil spirits, in the resurrection of the dead, and a better life in another world. Their heavoos are crowded with idols, representing, as I have before described, the gods of war, peace, joy, &c., to some of whom sacrifices are offered of fruits, pigs, and dogs. The human sacrifice is only practised on prisoners and rebellious subjects, and is therefore more a political than a religious institution. The priests are brought up to the offices of religion from their infancy, and early learn by heart what they have to speak on the days of taboo. A particular sect of these priests pretend to have the power of killing, by means of prayer, any person they choose. They call themselves Coohanaanana, and are the greatest scoundrels imaginable. As soon as their vile praying against any individual is in agitation, the unfortunate being is sure to hear of it, in some way or other; and so great is the superstition which reigns here, that, believing himself the sure victim of malice, he puts an end to his existence, or loses his senses, or withers away till he dies. It is true, the religion of the country permits the relations of the chosen victim to hire some one belonging to this wicked fraternity, to pray against the murderer; but it never happened that these counter prayers had the effect of depriving any individual of the sect, of either his senses or his life.

"The ceremony of sacrifice to the gods, of prisoners of war and rebels, was differently related to me by different persons; but in the main points of this horrid business, there was but little variation in the accounts. The mode of death is strangling. If the victim to be sacrificed is a person of note, a certain number of his adherents, from six to twenty, according to his rank, must be strangled with him. On such occasions a particular platform or place of sacrifice is erected in the great heavoo, and is almost entirely covered with cocoa-nuts, plantains, and yams. When prisoners are sacrificed, after being strangled, they are singed, and then laid on the platform, parallel to each other, with spaces between, their feet directed towards the idols representing the gods of war, before whom these sacrifices are performed. The chief victim is always placed in the middle, and the vacancies, between him and his fellow-victims, are filled up with dogs and pigs, well roasted or baked. In this state every thing is left till time shall have wasted away the flesh, when the heads of the sacrificed are stuck upon the rails that enclose the heavoos, and the bones deposited in a place constructed for the purpose.

"This account I had from the chief priest of Caracacao Bay. Mr. Young, however, to whom I communicated

municated it, assured me, that no particular platform was erected for the sacrifice; that the victims were simply laid on the ground, with the face downward, their heads towards the idols, and their arms stretched out on the back of one another. He told me also, that no singeing took place, nor where there any dogs in this ceremony. He confirmed the circumstance of the heads of the sacrificed being cut off, and fixed on the wooden rails enclosing the heavoo; but said that it commenced immediately after the expiration of ten days, during which the taboo, called Canaca, prevailed. He added that only the bones of the arms and legs were taken away, to be deposited in a place appointed for the purpose, and that the other parts of the body were reduced to ashes. The reader must judge for himself respecting the contrarieties in these two accounts. I can only surmise, that they might be in some degree owing to the imperfect knowledge my interpreter had of the language of the natives; and it was by him that my conversation with the priest was carried on.

"The funerals here vary according to the rank and wealth of the parties. The poor are buried any where along the beach, after being wrapt in a piece of coarse cloth, manufactured in the islands. The rich are dressed in their best apparel, and put into coffins, which are placed in small buildings or cemeteries, where they are permitted to rot in state. When the flesh is gone, the bones are taken away, and deposited elsewhere. If the deceased be a person of great consequence, six of his favourite servants must be put to death, and buried with him. On the death of the king, a scene of horror takes place that is hardly credible. Twelve men are sacrificed; and shortly after the whole island abandons itself for a month to the utmost disorder and licentiousness. During this period, both sexes go entirely naked, and men cohabit with women without any distinction: the woman who should dare to make resistance would be considered as violating the laws of the country. The same licentiousness is observed on the death of a noble; but it does not extend beyond the domains of the deceased, and is of a much shorter duration, not continuing, as Mr. Young informed me, more than a few days, though attempts are made by the youth of the party to prolong the period. Those who are put to death on the demise of the king, or any great personage, are such as have offered themselves for the purpose during the life of their master; and they are in consequence considered and treated by him as his best friends, since they have sworn to live and die with him. When I reflect upon the horrid nature of this ceremony, I hardly know how to credit its existence amongst a race of men so mild and good as these islanders in general appear to be; but Mr. Young, whose veracity I had no reason to doubt, assured me of the fact.

"Their modes of expressing mourning are by scratching the body, cutting off the hair, and pulling out the teeth. On the death of the king every one in his dominions must pull out a tooth; and if a great man die, those who were subject to him must do the same; so that, if an individual should have lost many masters, he may at last not have a tooth left in his head.

"The inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles are of a middle stature, and

and of a dark complexion. In the men, the form of the countenance varies; some have even a perfect European face. The women, on the contrary, nearly resemble each other; the face in all being round, the nose small and flattish, and the eyes black. The hair of both sexes is black and strong. The men cut theirs in different forms; but the prevailing fashion at present, is that of a Roman helmet. The women crop theirs close, leaving a ridge, about an inch and-a-half long, sticking up, and extending from side to side on the forehead. This ridge of hair they daub over, every afternoon with a sort of pomatum (if I may use the word), made of shells and corals, to give it a yellowish appearance. The men do the same with theirs, colouring only the hair which forms the crest of the helmet. From this practice, we were at first led to suppose the hair of the head to be of two natural colours, for the ridge and the crest retain a portion of the hue they acquire by the frequent daubings. Contrary to the usage of their neighbours (the other islanders of the South Sea), these people neither paint the body nor wear ornaments in the ears. They have, however, bracelets on their arms, made of bone.

"The women ornament their heads with wreaths of flowers, or worsted threads, of different colours, raveled out of European stuffs. They commonly wrap themselves in a long piece of cloth of the manufacture of the country; and in cold weather cover the body with broader pieces of it, several times doubled. The rich and poor are in common dressed alike; but, on particular occasions, the rich put on their feather cloaks, which with their helmets and fans, form a dress that must be admired every where.

"These people are extremely fond of the European dress, and receive with pleasure, old shirts, jackets and trowsers. We parted here with all our rags, in exchange for provisions and other articles, of which we were in want.

"They have been described by former navigators as thieves and swindlers; I have, however, nothing of the kind to allege against them. During our stay in Caracoa Bay, we were surrounded by them every day, and did not lose a single thing. They are certainly very difficult in bargaining, and know how to keep up the price of whatever they have to sell; and, if it happened that we purchased any thing at a dear rate, it was immediately known to the whole throng, and the article could not be obtained afterwards cheaper. They would even let a day or two pass, in the hopes of bringing us to their terms: but aware of this, and unbending as themselves, we generally obtained what was wanted reasonably. Iron, which was considered formerly as of the greatest value here, is now little regarded, unless in bars. Our rusty hoops, which were deemed so precious on the island of Noocahiva, availed us nothing.

"The island of Owyhee has undergone, within the last ten years, a very considerable change. Every thing at present is dear, on account of the many American ships, which, in navigating these seas, always touch at the Sandwich islands for refreshments. In the course of a twelvemonth, the bay of Caracacooa has been visited by no less than eighteen different vessels.

"The provisions I obtained for my ship

ship were at the following rates:— For four large hogs, I gave a piece of thin canvass; for three others, a bar and a half of iron; for a middling-sized one, two iron axes: for a small one, a single iron axe; for a sucking-pig, a piece of printed linen, measuring nearly three yards, but cut in two, lengthwise. The same for six or eight bunches of sweet potatoes, or a hundred weight of yams; and, lastly, a small knife for a fowl.

"I cannot say that the houses of Owyhee pleased me so much as those of Noocahiva. They resemble our wooden barns, with this difference, that the sides are lower, and the roofs higher, in proportion. The furniture of these dwellings consists of mats, which are spread on the floor, and some domestic utensils, made of the calabash, or of wood, which are hung out of the reach of the different animals, which are here the constant companions of their masters. The rich have separate huts, for the several purposes of sleeping, cooking, eating, &c., as I have mentioned before. They are rather larger than the huts of the poor, and have stone foundations; they are also railed round; but the railing is so bad, that dogs and swine can get in with ease.

"The food of the islanders consists of pork, dog's flesh, fish, fowls, cocoa-nuts, sweet potatoes, bananas, tarro root, yams, &c. They sometimes eat their fish raw; but they bake almost every thing else, their fruits excepted. I was told that the women were forbidden to eat pork, cocoa-nuts, and bananas.

"Animals are not slaughtered here, but stifled, by tying a strong cord tight over the muzzle. The flesh is afterwards barbecued or baked, in holes made in the earth. This method of cooking is too well known to require explanation. I must observe, however, that the meat so dressed was excellent, even preferable, I thought, to ours by roasting.

"The nobility here are not permitted to borrow, or take any fire from one of the commonalty; but must provide it themselves, or obtain it from their equals. I am not sure, whether commoners may make use of the fire of the nobles; but I was given to understand that this sometimes happened. I was puzzling myself to discover the cause of this curious custom, when an old priest told me, that the nobility were considered as too great, to use any thing not belonging particularly to themselves; which, if true, is surely ridiculous enough.

"The women are forbidden, when in their houses, to eat in company with men, and even to enter the eating-room during meals. The men, on the contrary, may enter the rooms in which the women dine, but must not partake of any thing. When in the fields, or at sea, both sexes may eat together, and may use the same vessels, the calabash excepted, in which each sex has its own tarro dainty.

"The inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles take salt with their food, and are excessively fond of salted meat. Among their articles of provision, is one made of tarro-flour into small balls, which, by being put into fresh or salt water, is converted into a pudding. It is very nourishing, and will keep for a long time.

"The marriage tie is here, as in other islands of the Pacific Ocean, very lax: a man and woman live together

together as long as they please, and may, at any time, separate, and make choice of other partners. A man may, in reality, have as many wives as he is able to maintain: in general, however, the king has three, and the nobles two, while the common people content themselves with one. It might be supposed that jealousy would be a feeling scarcely known to these islanders; whereas, in fact, it is extremely prevalent; though with regard to their wives they allow to Europeans great freedom, which, as I have before stated, proceeds from interest.

"The Sandwich Islands are inhabited by a race of men who are not deficient in talents. They are extremely attached to European customs. Some speak English tolerably well, and almost all attempt to pronounce a few words of the language, however indifferently they may succeed; as, for instance, *nypo* for a knife, *how, lo, lo,* for how do you do? and *cabeca,* for a cabbage. They are fond of travelling; many offered me their services, and would have given all they had, to have been taken on board as sailors. Ships of the United States often take them to sea, and find them in a short time very useful.

"I am of opinion that these islands will not long remain in their present barbarous state. They have made great advances towards civilization since the period of their discovery, and especially during the reign of the present king. They are so situated, that with a little systematic industry they might soon enrich themselves. They produce an abundance of timber, some of which is fit for the construction of small vessels. The sugar-cane also thrives here; the cultivation of which would alone yield a tolerable revenue, if sugar and rum were made of it, and the more so, as the use of these articles is already known to the savages of the north-west coast of America, and becomes daily of more importance there. The principal inconvenience is the want of a good harbour. There are, however, a number of bays, which are in no respect worse than the bay of Teneriffe, or that of the island of Madeira.

"The inhabitants are very ingenious in fabricating their cloth, as well as in colouring it. I was astonished at their skill, when I saw the instruments by which it was effected. Their cloth greatly surpasses that made by the inhabitants of Noocahiva; who, I am persuaded, would part with their most costly things in exchange for this, as it would be deemed by them excellent article.

"I shall here introduce a brief history of the reign of the present king, Hamamea.

"On the death of the late king, Tyreboo, great troubles ensued in the island of Owyhee, the consequence of which was, that his dominions were divided between Kiauva, his son, and an ambitious relation, of the name of Hamamea. As war still raged between Owyhee and the islands to the northward of it, Vahoo, Moreky, Renay, and Movè, which had Haykery for their king; Hamamea, after settling affairs at home, proceeded, in the year 1791, against these islands. Having an army of eight thousand men, and two thousand canoes, he soon subdued his enemy, so far as to take from him all his possessions, except Vahoo. In the year following, when this conqueror was about to terminate, as he supposed, a war so successfully begun, he received information,

information, that his own dominions were in danger from Kiauva. This unexpected news enraged him so much, that, in his fury, he knocked out several of his own teeth. He returned immediately to Owyhee; while Haykery, who had retained only the island of Vahoo, on hearing that Movè was abandoned by his enemy, took possession again of that, and all the other islands he had lost.

" Hamamea, landing in the bay of Towyhy, found Kiauva there, who, not expecting the rencounter, retired into the interior. Hamamea followed him. Many battles were fought, with various success; when, at last, the conqueror of Movè completely defeated his adversary by a stratagem. He gave out that he was going to construct a new heavoo, or temple, to his gods; and, on that account, ordered hostilities to be suspended. The enemy, believing him sincere, relaxed in his operations, which Hamamea observing, attacked him suddenly with all his forces, and completely routed him. Kiauva, however, saved himself by flight; but many of his chiefs were taken prisoners and sacrificed.

" During the taboo of Macahity, no war could be carried on; but as soon as it ceased, Hamamea, forming his army into two divisions, gave the command of one to his chief captain, Tyana, and put himself at the head of the other. Kiauva, in the mean time, had been by no means dilatory. He collected what forces he could, and was determined to defend himself to the last. Nothing, however, could withstand the courage and resolution of his adversary. Tyana on one side, and Hamamea on the other, carried death and destruction every where. This unfortunate war continued till the year 1793, when Kiauva, dejected by his frequent misfortunes, and deserted by almost all his chiefs, delivered himself up to the mercy of his enemy. His life, after that, was of short duration. Hamamea ordered him to be brought to Towyhy, where he was massacred, with nearly all his principal followers. On the death of this last branch of the Tyreboo family, Hamamea became sovereign master of the whole island of Owyhee.

" Such was the situation of affairs when captain Vancouver arrived. Hearing of the implacability of the islanders, he did all he could to soften their ferocity, and render them less savage; and he thought he had, in some degree, succeeded; but, on his departure, as soon as his ships were out of sight, the monster Discord began again to rear her head. A report was spread, that the inhabitants of the island of Movè had stolen some people from Owyhee, and had sacrificed them on a certain occasion; and the wrath of Hamamea was again kindled, and he resolved on vengeance. It is probable, that, finding himself strong and in condition for war, he was himself the author of this report, meaning to take advantage of it to conquer his neighbours.

" Haykery was, it seems, now dead, and his son and successor, Tryshepoor, was quarrelling with the king of Otooway, his uncle, who had advanced pretensions to the dominions of his deceased brother. Hamamea, hearing of these dissensions, ordered his warriors to get ready, and, with a reinforcement of three brass cannons, and eight Europeans with muskets, he set out against his enemy, in the schooner presented to him by captain Vancouver, which was armed with swivels.

" The three cannon belonged formerly to a schooner of the United States,

States, called the Fair American, which had been seized upon, in the year 1791, by the islanders, and all her crew murdered, except one, a Mr. Davis, who still resides here, and shares the king's favour with Mr. Young. The war, thus renewed, was first directed against Mové; but, as neither that island nor the others had the same means of defending themselves, they were in a short time all taken, as before, except Vahoo, where king Tryshepoor himself resided. In the next year, 1795, Vahoo was also taken; and in this affair, Hamamea's chief captain, Tyana, ignominiously lost his life, fighting against his sovereign. The circumstances were these. When Hamamea set out on his expedition against Vahoo, Tyana was to proceed by sea, to join him with the rest of the army; instead, however, of joining the king, he went over to the enemy. Hamamea had waited a long time for the forces under Tyana, believing them to be still afloat; when he received information of the treachery of his favourite. An unexpected circumstance like this, might have overwhelmed a common mind, but it produced upon Hamamea a very different effect. This brave warrior attacked both his enemies without delay, and, by his courage and the rapidity of his motions, vanquished them both. Mr. Young told me, that he was himself in this expedition, and saw Tyana fall, pierced by a spear. The body of this rebel, and those of many of his associates, were sacrificed in the usual manner, and their heads stuck on the palings of the heavoo.

" In 1796 Hamamea was called home by the rebellion of Tyana's brother, Namotahy, and he remained a whole year at Owyhee; but his ambitition would not let him rest, and he again returned to Vahoo, where he is at present, to forward the necessary preparations for a war he had planned against the island of Otooway.

" By Mr. Young's account, the forces of Hamamea consist now of about seven thousand natives and fifty Europeans. He has six hundred muskets, eight guns, carrying a ball of four pounds, one, carrying a ball of six, and five, carrying a ball of three pounds; forty swivels, and six small mortars, with a sufficiency of powder, shot, and ball.

" His navy is as formidable as his army. Exclusive of a great number of war-canoes, it consists of twenty-one schooners, from ten to twenty tons, some of which are armed with swivels, and commanded by Europeans.

" With such an armament, he certainly would have reduced Otooway last spring, if a disease, as I have mentioned in my narrative, had not spread amongst his troops, and destroyed the flower of his army. When we left the bay of Caracacoa, it was the general opinion there, that he would postpone the expedition against the island of Otooway, and return home; where his presence was very much required, as his long absence, with the whole of the chiefs, had occasioned such languor and inactivity amongst the common people, that the produce of Owyhee was not half what it used to be, when the king and his nobles resided in it. I am confident, that in taking his chiefs with him to the war, and leaving Mr. Young to preside over the island in his absence, Hamamea

mea was governed more by policy than necessity.

"This Mr. Young was formerly boatswain of a merchant-vessel belonging to the United States. He says of himself, that happening to be on shore when his ship sailed out of the bay, he was detained on some false pretext by the inhabitants, and that he has continued with them from that time, which was in the year 1791. He has recommended himself successfully both to the people and the king. The latter he has accompanied in several of his wars, and appears to enjoy his full confidence. He has also acquired a handsome landed property, and some hundreds of Spanish dollars, the value of which is very well known in this island.

"Owyhee is the largest of the Sandwich Islands, and is remarkable for containing one of the highest mountains in the world, Mount Roi. Considering the quantity of lava, and other volcanic substances, that are found every where in this island, it would seem as if it had formerly been subject to eruptions in more places than one; though there is only one mountain, at present, called Tavoorapery, where they occasionally happen. I was told, indeed, that three years ago Mount Macaoora, by a sudden burst, did much mischief, but had since that time been perfectly quiet.

"Though the coast of Owyhee does not give to the eye much promise of abundance, except in some few scattered spots, and is inhabited chiefly on account of its fishery, and the trade with European ships, the interior is very fertile, and furnishes a variety of excellent fruits and vegetables. What is of still greater importance, the island abounds also with swine, the flesh of which is delicious, and with goats and fowls, which are both delicate and cheap.

"Some cattle, which captain Vancouver left in this island, have very much multiplied. It is a pity they have been permitted to run wild; though this has probably been the cause of their increasing so fast. It is said, that some time ago a herd came down from the mountains, and committed great ravages in the plantations in the valleys. A body of armed men was sent to drive them away; and in effecting it, four lives were lost. This determined the king to breed some of these animals in a domesticated state; and I saw a very handsome cow and calf, in an enclosure set apart for the purpose.

"Before the introduction of different animals by Europeans, there were swine only on this island, and a small species of rat. This last animal is so numerous, that the inhabitants are obliged to hang up every thing, that it might not be destroyed by them. The king has lately received a couple of horses, that were brought out to him by a ship of the United States, and I understand that he has been promised a stallion and a mare from Spanish America.

"There are but few species of birds in the island, and of those the fowl is the only domestic one. The wild tribe consists of a small gray goose; woodcocks; hawks; little grey birds, with a bill like that of our parrot, and red feathers under the belly, of which the most beautiful cloaks and helmets are made; two other species, that resemble our linnet, and some small birds, of no rarity.

"The

"The coast of Owyhee abounds in fish, many of which are proper for salting. Amongst the rest is a flying-fish, which is caught in considerable quantities, and is sometimes more than a foot long.

"I am told, that the island is perfectly free from all sorts of venomous reptiles. There is but one species of lizard, which is the hairy one; it lives about the houses, and, though very ugly, is highly revered by the natives.

"Owyhee is divided into six provinces, the first of which is called Cona; the second, Cohola; the third, Hamacooa; the fourth, Aidoos; the fifth, Poona; and the sixth, Kau. They are governed by the Nooy Nooy Eiry, or grandees, of the island. These provinces are again divided into hopooas, or districts which are in the disposition of the second sort of nobility, called Pekynery Eiry. The hopooas, or districts, are subdivided into farms, which are let to different families of the commonalty. These divisions are very useful, in collecting the revenues, which are paid by the farmers to the king and the nobility, in animals of different sorts, in cloth, and in red and yellow feathers.

History and Present State of Mozambique.

[From Travels by H. Salt, Esq.]

PREVIOUSLY to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the arrival of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, the knowledge possessed in Europe respecting this coast was extremely unsatisfactory, being almost entirely drawn from the vague accounts of Ptolemy, and the obscure notice of it in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, a fact that appears evident from a curious map, now before me, which is entirely built on those authorities, and retains all their errors. The Arabs, it is certain, had for centuries before been intimately conversant with both their ports and its value, having established settlements on several points of the continent, and some of the islands adjacent, that gave them the complete command of its resources and its commerce; but their accounts of it were at that time unknown in Europe, and even those, with which we have since become acquainted, are most of them, like the general mass of Arabian geography, short, confused and written with a very inaccurate knowledge of the actual, as well as relative, positions of the countries described.

The following early description by one of their most celebrated writers, Zannedin Omar ibn l' Wardi, is the most interesting I am acquainted with, and as it has never before (to my knowledge) been translated, may be acceptable to the reader. I am enabled to give it through the kind assistance of a friend, who made it out from three copies of the "Kheridat al ajaieb wa feridat al goraieb," written by the above author, which I brought over from Arabia.

"The land of the Zinjii lies opposite to that of Sind; between the two intervenes the breadth of the Sea of Persia. The inhabitants are the blackest of the negro race; they worship idols, are brave, hardy and

high

fight in battle riding on oxen, as their country supplies neither horses, mules, nor camels. Massoudi says, 'I have seen their oxen kneel like camels to be laden, and they travel as fast with their burthens.' Their habitations extend from the extremity of the gulph (supposed Gardafui) to the low land of gold (Sofala 't il Dhab.) This country is extensive, and abounds in gold, grain, and the treasures of nature, and their towns are populous; each town lying adjacent to the branch of a river. Snow is not known among them, nor rain, which is commonly the case with the greater part of the country of the blacks. They have no ships, but traders come in vessels from Ummaun, to buy their children, whom they sell in different countries. The Zinji are extremely numerous, though deficient in the means of carrying on war. It is said that their king goes forth to battle with three thousand followers riding on oxen. The Nile is divided above their country at the mountain of Muksim. Most of the natives sharpen their teeth, and polish them to a point. They traffic in elephants' teeth, panthers' skins and silk. They have islands in the sea, from which they collect cowries to adorn their persons, and they use them in traffic one with another at an established rate. Adjoining to these lies the land of the Dum-a-dum." (Here we certainly have a description of the Galla.) "It is situated on the Nile, bordering on the Zinji. The inhabitants are infidels, and the Tartars among the blacks, consisting of savage tribes of freebooters, who continually take captive and plunder ever thing that falls in their way. In their country the river divides; one branch going towards Egypt, and the other to the country of the Zinji. Sofala 't il Dhab adjoins the eastern borders of the Zinji; it is an extensive district, and mines of iron are found in it, which the people of the country work and sell to the traders from Ind, who give a high price for it, on account of its being harder and of better temper than that which they obtain in their own country, and they purify it, and make it into steel, which admits of a durable edge; the natives themselves also make swords of it, and other offensive weapons. The most remarkable produce of this country is its quantity of native gold that is found, in pieces of two or three Meskalla weight; in spite of which, the natives generally adorn their persons with ornaments of brass."

From this extract, it appears that a direct trade from India to this coast was very early established, and that the former country was supplied with iron from Sofala, a circumstance somewhat strange, but by no means incredible, as plenty of iron is still to be met with in the interior; and several of the northern tribes of the Kaffers are at the present day known to have considerable skill in working this metal.

When the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century examined the coast, they found the whole of it in the undisturbed possession of the Arabs; but the fame of the gold mines, and the convenience of the ports, as resting places for the Indian trade, shortly induced them to drive out, or reduce to subjection, these original settlers. Their superiority in arms enabled them speedily to accomplish this object. In 1505-6, they gained by treachery, permission to establish the Fort of Sofala; about the same time they conquered Quiloa, and there

there erected a fort; and in 1508 (Vide Marmol, p. 129, ch. xxxvi.) established the one I have described on the Island of Mosambique. They also proceeded to encroach gradually on the Mahomedan possessions in the river Zambezi, which led to the gold marts in the interior; and in 1569 or thereabouts, they completely cleared that river of the Arabs, by putting to death, or, in plainer terms, murdering all those that remained, on an unproved charge of having attempted to poison some Portuguese horses; though the real cause appears to have been, that, as they were proceeding on an incursion into the interior, they did not dare to leave them behind.

To follow any European settlers through the scenes of bloodshed and injustice by which they have established their foreign possessions is an ungrateful and disgusting task. It will here be sufficient to observe, that, in the atrocity of the means which the Portuguese used to attain their purposes in the East, they were not behind-hand with the Spaniards in the west. Their success, however, was by no means parallel; the natives of Africa were not tame enough, like the feeble inhabitants of South America, to crouch at the feet of an invader, or to yield their country without a struggle. On the contrary, they from the first undertook, and maintained a kind of warfare, which, if not always successful, at least deserves to be so; they fought, and they retired; they left their towns and their plantations a prey to the devastations of the foe, but, the instant he relaxed from pursuit or rested on his arms, they returned with redoubled vigour to the attack, and made him pay dearly for his ravages. This prudent system of defence saved their country from being overwhelmed; and the Portuguese in repeated expeditions to get at the mines, which formed the main object of their pursuit, were invariably foiled.

"The most daring of these attempts was undertaken at the immediate command of Sebastian the First, in 1570, by Francis Baretto, who for this express purpose was made Governor-General of Mosambique. In the first instance he fitted out from Sofala a formidable armament, with the design of penetrating into the country of Chicanga, and getting possession of the mines of Manica, in order to reach which it was necessary for him to pass through the dominions, and close to the capital, of the Quitéve, or chief ruler of the intervening districts, whose power extended in a line across from Sofala to the angle made by the turn of the river Zambezi.

"This country is commonly called Monomotapa, in the accounts of which a perplexing obscurity has been introduced, by different authors having confounded the names of the districts with the titles of the sovereigns, indiscriminately styling them 'Quitéve,' 'Monomotapa,' 'Benemotapa,' 'Benemotasha,' 'Chikanga,' 'Manika,' 'Bokaranga,' and 'Mokoranga,' &c. The fact appears to be, that the sovereign's title was Quitéve, and the name of the country Motapa, to which Mono has been prefixed, as in Monoemugi and many other names on the coast—that beyond this lay a district called Chikanga, which contained the mines of Manica, and that the other names were applicable solely to petty districts at that time under the rule of the Quitéve.

"This monarch immediately collected a force to oppose Baretto's progress and to prevent his reaching Chicanga, lest the king of that district, who was his declared enemy, should join with the Portuguese. Having, however, in two or three skirmishes found the decided inferiority of his troops, he adopted the wiser resolution of retreating before the enemy, annoying him in his march, and destroying the plantations to prevent their affording sustenance to his pursuers; and at last, when the Portuguese approached his capital, the Quitéve retired into a neighbouring forest, "abandoning instead of defending," as the Portuguese insist he ought to have done, "the dwellings of his people;" at the same time his subjects, who knew the country intimately, cut off a great number of the straggling soldiers.

"Baretto, greatly annoyed by this conduct, and the total evacuation of Zimbaoa, burnt it, and continued his march to Chicanga, the king of which was at that time a Mahomedan. He received the Portuguese with apparent attention, as they abstained from all acts of hostility and professed themselves friends; yet, though he promised them access to his dominions for the purposes of trade, he at the same time gave them little satisfaction respecting the mines, as is evident from the attempt to cover their disappointment by the assertion, "that the risk and labour attending the procuring and cleansing the gold rendered it unworthy of their notice." Thus baffled in their main pursuit, and having lost a great number of men, it was time to make their way back, which they were fortunate enough to effect by patching up a treaty with the Quitéve, *in which they agreed for the future to pay a tribute of two hundred pieces of cloth annually for a passage through his dominions.* Such was the end of what J. Dos Santos calls "the glorious expedition of the great Baretto, whose actions so much excite the envy of nations."

"The second expedition was of a similar description, but still more disastrous in its termination.

"It was undertaken from the settlement at Senà on the river Zambezi against the Mongas, whom I conceive to be tribes of the same people I have described under the name of Monjou. I am led to this conclusion, not only from the similarity of the names, but from the resemblance of the native language given by J. Dos Santos to that of the Monjou in my vocabulary, a circumstance that also makes me incline to believe it not improbable that the same language may be spoken throughout all the dominions of the Quitéve. The Mongas, after a severe conflict, were in the first instance defeated, owing to their reliance on the incantations of an old woman, pretending to the character of a sorceress, who led them on to the combat, and who unluckily was killed by a cannon ball in the first onset, a circumstance so agreeable to the views of the Portuguese general, that he rewarded the gunner with a gold chain from his own neck. The result of this hard-gained battle was a truce, by which the Portuguese were to be allowed free admittance into the country. This enabled them in some degree to examine the interior, and for the first time they passed the forest of Lupata, which they foolishly named "the spine of the world," on account of "the high and terrible rocks by which it is environed, that appear,

appear, as well as the trees, to stretch their heads into the clouds." From this probably exaggerated description sprung that formidable chain of mountains which has ever since ornamented the maps of Eastern Africa, furnishing a remarkable instance of the ill effects that may arise from a name originally being misapplied.

"From Lupata the Portuguese advanced eastward, in hopes of reaching the silver mines of Chicova, and, as they confined themselves during this march to the line of the river Zambezi, they met with little opposition, the natives having, as before, retired to the woods: still all their search after the valuable commodity they looked for proved fruitless, and their leader was at last, as it is said, ingeniously outwitted by one of the natives, who hid some silver in the ground, and persuaded the Portuguese it was a mine. Soon afterwards, being unable to maintain a large force in the country, they retired to Senà, leaving two hundred men in a new fort constructed at Tête, with positive orders not to give up the enterprise until the party had discovered the object of their research. All trouble, however, on this head was unavailing; for the whole detachment, together with its unfortunate leader Antony Cardosa d'Almeyda, was drawn into an ambuscade by the natives, and cut off to a man.

"Since this period the Portuguese have been compelled to act chiefly on the defensive, and to content themselves, like their predecessors the Arabs, with carrying on the trade in a more quiet way, keeping up their influence in the country by setting the native powers in opposition to each other, and confining themselves solely to the coast, and the line of the river Zambezi.

To maintain even these they have had several severe struggles, particularly in the years 1589 and 1592 (Purchas, Part II. p. 1554, and Hist. de l'Ethiopie, p. 141), when they were attacked on the northern bank of the Zambezi by an inroad of a wandering and ferocious tribe of Muzimbas, who appear at this time to have been passing by on their progress from the south-west. The description which is given of this people and of many of their customs, of their activity, roving disposition, mode of warfare, and particularly the direction which they subsequently took, lead to the conclusion that they were tribes of Galla; for the last account we have of the Muzimbas states, that they reached Quiloa in 1593, and thence passed on to Melinda, where they were stopped by a tribe of natives called Mossequeios, and the first we hear of the Galla is at Patta, where they were seen by Jerome Lobo in 1625; and it was about the same time that they made from that point their first inroad into Abyssinia.

"The endeavours of the Portuguese to introduce the Catholic religion into the country proved as abortive as their schemes of conquest; for, though, by the daring enthusiasm of a fanatic named Peter Gonsalvo de Sylva, they gained in 1571 (Vide Pory's Africa, p. 414) access to the court of the Quitéve, and made an impression on the mind of that sovereign, yet shortly afterwards the Mahomedan traders gained the ascendancy, and De Sylva himself fell a martyr to the cause he had espoused. As to the numbers stated to have been baptized, it will be found, I fear, that the Portuguese

priests too often made nominal instead of real converts; and that their motives proceeded rather from an idle vanity of extending the list of their proselytes, than from any actual desire to benefit the individuals whom they pretended to convert.

"The above short account contains a summary of all that I conceive material to be known respecting the establishment and progress of these settlements; the following description of the present state of the Zambezi, and the Portuguese possessions on its banks, may not unaptly conclude this portion of my narrative. Great part of it is taken from a paper drawn up by a learned Portuguese, who within a few years visited the country, and the remainder is derived from information given me by the merchants at Mosambique, which, from its general agreement with the geographical information contained in a valuable map composed from the best authorities by Mons. D'Anville, may I think, in a great degree, be depended upon for its accuracy.

"From the island of Mosambique a vessel in favourable weather may sail along the coast to the port of Quilimanci, at the mouth of the Zambezi, in three or four days. This port is dangerous to approach without a pilot, as it can be entered only at high tide, during the setting in of the sea-breeze, on account of two sand banks in front of the anchorage, which form a double bar and render the navigation extremely hazardous. The anchorage lies in front of the small town of Quilimanci, which is situated on the main land a few miles up the northern bank of the river, where there is a dépot for merchandize and a small Portuguese garrison stationed. Here the vessels transfer their cargoes to pinnaces, and boats called pangayes, on account of the river being navigable only for vessels of a light draught.

"After sailing up the river about five leagues, the water becomes fresh, and the current rapid; alligators of a large size are frequently met with, and the sea-horse is found within the limits of the salt water. At the distance of thirty leagues from its mouth, the river widens considerably, and another branch strikes off more to the southward called Luabo, which is at present little frequented on account of the difficulties of its navigation. This branch is said to have been formerly more frequented than the Cuama, (Vide Purchas, Part II. 1544,) but such changes constantly occur in rivers subject to tropical rains.

"From the branching off of the Luabo to Senà is about thirty leagues, making the distance of that place from Quilimanci about two hundred and forty-seven English miles, which in the most favourable season may be accomplished in ten or twelve days. The whole course of this part of the river is much intersected with islands, some of which are inhabited, and some occasionally overflowed in the rainy season, by which their positions become changed, as in the Ganges, forming new channels for the direction of the stream. The left bank is in possession of the Portuguese, and the right is inhabited by independent native tribes.

"Senà is a considerable town on the southern bank of the river, containing altogether about two thousand inhabitants. It is protected by a strong fort, and is governed by a commandant, who at present receives his appointment direct from the

the Portuguese government. He commands all the minor establishments on the river, but is himself subordinate to the Governor of Mosambique.

"The chief mart for gold in the interior is at Manica, about twenty days journey south-west from Senà, where an annual fair is held to which the traders resort with their merchandize. The first part of their journey lies through a country under the influence of the Portuguese, and the remaining part of it comprises districts in the hands of native tribes, which the traders are obliged to conciliate by frequent presents: a tribute also still continues to be paid to the Quitéve for his permission to carry on the trade; for which purpose an annual deputation is sent from Senà to his capital, Zimbaoa, where the tribute is laid in great form at the feet of the Prince sitting in full state

"Two different methods of procuring the gold are practised by the natives; the first consists in digging for the ore, which is attended with great labour, and at present said to be seldom adopted; and the other in collecting from the beds of torrents the sand that contains the gold, and seperating it by frequent washings: in the latter way a considerable quantity is still annually accumulated, though it seems to be rapidly decreasing, for in 1593, the Governor of Mosambique, George Menses, collected for himself and the Viceroy of India 100,000 crusades, and I do not believe that one-third of this amount is now altogether annually produced.

"The country around Manica is extremely fertile, and yields abundance of provisions and cattle. It is very mountainous, and supposed to lie at a great elevation above the sea, the weather at times being unusually cold for the latitude in which it is situated. Frequent storms of thunder and lightning occur, which are attributed by the Portuguese to the immense quantities of metallic substances with which the country abounds. The trade is here carried on by barter, and the goods most valued are Surat cloths, beads, coarse silks, and iron; and the returns, besides gold, consist of ivory, ghee, and a small quantity of copper.

"From Senà it is about sixty leagues further up the river to Tête, but the navigation is much more dangerous and tedious than that from Quilimanci to Senà. About half way up is situated the pass of Lupata, formed by two impending mountains of black rock, which seem to threaten instant destruction to the passenger, the river in this spot being so narrow that a child may throw a stone from one side to the other. In the mid-stream a large rock just rises above the water, called Capucho, on which many boats are lost, owing to the rapidity of the current. The northern bank and country from Senà to Tête remains to the natives; while the Portuguese assume the jurisdiction of the southern country, though they confess that a little to the eastward of Lupata lies a kingdom called Jambara, abounding in provisions and yielding a great quantity of ivory, which is governed by a powerful sovereign who despises their authority. Beyond, towards the west, extend the districts of Mussangani and Tipui, which are, in like manner, equally independent. Close to Tipui are situated the village and fort of Tête, where a dépot is kept for merchandize, and this is considered by the traders as the best regulated settlement on the

the river. Here the Governor of Sena generally resides, and the Portuguese territory exists on both sides of the river.

"The principal mart in the interior, frequented from this point, is that of Zumbo, at which place the Portuguese are allowed a small factory by the permission of the natives. The journey to this place from Tête requires nearly a month to accomplish, the first fifteen days being employed in travelling, by land, to a place named Chicova, on account of certain falls in the river called Sacumbe: at Chicova it is necessary to embark again in small shallow boats, and in this way to proceed to the station at Zumbo, whence the traders send out their agents in different directions, who in return for their goods bring back gold, ivory, and other valuable articles. Of the country beyond Zumbo no information could be obtained.

"From the foregoing accounts it will appear how extremely confined the knowledge of the Portuguese has always been respecting the interior, which satisfactorily accounts for the extraordinary inaccuracy of all their writers, and their want of agreement, on the subject.

"The jurisdiction of the Portuguese, along the coast, has, on the contrary, been always extensive; in the height of their power it reached from Socotra, on the north, to the Cape of de l'Agoa, on the south, comprehending the islands of Zanzebar, Quiloa, and other important settlements, which have been since recovered by the Arabs, and are now subject to the Imaum of Muscat, whose power and consequence have greatly increased of late years, owing to the protection and encouragement of the Bombay government. It still extends from Cape Delgado on the north, to Inhambane on the south, embracing an extent of thirteen degrees of coast. The most southern settlement on this line is at Cape Corientes, where a small fort is established, which was taken possession of by the French in 1808; but the influence of the Portuguese with the surrounding natives soon compelled them to abandon it. There is another small fort at Inhambane, and both these establishments are annexed to Sofala, and kept up for the purpose of collecting ivory, which the neighbouring forests abundantly supply. Sofala itself is a miserable village; but the country around is extremely fertile, and furnishes considerable quantities of rice, oranges, and many exquisite fruits to the inhabitants of Mosambique. These establishments, and others of a smaller description at the mouth of the Luabo, on the Island of Fuogo, at Angoxo, and on the Querimbo Islands, are all that now remain of what was once proudly termed the Sovereignty of Eastern Africa.

"It appears evident from the preceding observations, that the consequence and value of this Colony has always been greatly overrated; still, during the prosperity of the Portuguese monarchy, it was of real importance to that nation. It furnished very large supplies of gold and ivory, and though it never returned much, if any immediate profit to the crown, yet it served to enrich a great number of individuals, whose wealth ultimately reverted to the state. It afforded a valuable place for the Indian ships to touch at in the earlier stages of navigation, which was then absolutely requisite, and it supplied all the

the eastern and some of the western dominions of the Portuguese with slaves.

"There exists at present only the mere shadow of its former splendour, which without difficulty may be traced to the weak and disturbed state of the mother-country, the loss and decline of her eastern possessions, and the impolitic manner in which the Settlement itself has for a long time been governed: the two first causes having most materially affected its trade and relative value; and the last having degraded its consequence, broken its connections with the neighbouring tribes, and reduced it to a state scarcely capable of resisting the attacks of the undisciplined barbarians in its neighbourhood. A cursory review of the government, its population, internal and external connections, will clearly elucidate this statement.

"The Governor of Mosambique is assisted in his office by a council, consisting of the bishop, the minister, (as he is here termed) and the commandant of the troops. The regular salaries of all these persons, and their subordinate officers are inconceivably small. The governor receives 12,000 real crusades only, or about £750. sterling: the bishop 1500; the surgeon-general 960; a captain 720, and a lieutenant 300, or the pitiful allowance of £18. 5*s.* per annum. One simple fact will shew the perfect inadequacy of these salaries to the proper maintenance of such officers: the governor's cook gets at this time fifty dollars per month for wages, besides his provisions and a bottle of wine per day, which, as may be observed, is more than treble the pay of a captain. Hence has arisen the too frequent practice of tolerating certain abuses, such as selling the inferior commands, of keeping a nominal instead of an effective force, and in fact of winking at every species of injustice.

"Even with men of high feeling it is to be apprehended that a system of this nature might have had no small influence on their integrity; what then could be expected, when we regard the description of persons usually sent out to these settlements? With the exception of the governor and his staff, the rest have been mostly culprits exiled for transgression; the place being so unhealthy, and bearing so indifferent a character, that very few people of respectability would volunteer their services. To maintain themselves when they arrive, they are obliged to enter into speculations with the native traders and planters, whose chief employment consisting in the nefarious traffic of dealing in slaves, renders them not very scrupulous about the means of obtaining wealth.

"The great encouragement given to this trade, which constitutes one of the principal perquisites of the governor, has also contributed greatly to the degradation of the Settlement, from its having rendered the planters vicious, indolent, and careless of improving their property. Had a more enlightened policy been pursued, and the cultivation of the land more closely attended to, the proprietors might have now seen prosperous villages rising round them, inhabited by free settlers, and have possessed an export of cotton, indigo, sugar, and other valuable commodities, instead of being surrounded by wretched assemblages of slave-huts, woods of cocoa-nut trees, and unprofitable plantations of manioca.

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"The two distinct classes above-mentioned, consisting of European Portuguese, and of native planters descended from the old settlers, may be estimated at about five hundred with their families. Next to these may be enumerated the descendants of the old Arab settlers and the Banians; the former are mostly engaged in a sea-faring life; and the latter are in general petty traders, or mean artizans: both together may amount to about eight hundred in number. The remainder of the population, consisting of free blacks, and native soldiers whom I have before described, may, in addition, amount to about one thousand five hundred. The necessity of employing the latter arose from the small degree of reliance to be placed on the services of Europeans, whose free mode of living and debauchery soon render them in this climate incapable of active exertion. It is even said, that not more than seven soldiers out of a hundred survive after a service of five years; and that nearly the same proportion holds good with respect to the civilians, who go out to the colony from Europe.

"It may be easily conceived how inadequate such a promiscuous population must be to the improvement, or even defence of the settlement. As to the neighbouring tribes before described, which acknowledge the Portuguese jurisdiction, it may be doubted whether they add more to its safety or its danger. In fact, as the Portuguese themselves confess, it is only on the ignorance of their enemies that they rely for security, and upon this no great dependance is to be placed, for the Arab traders, whom I met with at Mocha, seemed to me pretty intimately acquainted with the true state of affairs at Mosambique, and one of them, named Hadjee Sálee, even declared "it was so miserably weak that, with a hundred stout Arabian soldiers, he would dispossess the Portuguese of the colony." I tried to convince him that the situation of things would be very different under the new governor; but he shook his head and persisted in his opinion, observing that "it was too far gone to be reclaimed."

"The external connections of this colony were unfortunately at this time as discouraging as its internal relations. The war with France had been already productive of the most disastrous consequences. In 1808, a French privateer took possession of one of the adjacent islands, at the season when the coasting vessels come up from Quilimanci and Sofala, and captured almost every Portuguese boat employed in the trade, which proved a serious loss in a country where wood is scarce, and where the industry requisite to remedy such a disaster is wanting. This kind of warfare would probably have been continued during subsequent years had it not been for the conquest of the Isles of France and the protection thereby afforded by British cruisers.

"Another enemy about the same time also made its appearance on the side of Madagascar, which, though deficient in the means of equally annoying the settlement, had notwithstanding done it considerable mischief. This foe consisted of a nation of pirates on the north-east point of Madagascar, called by the Portuguese Sekelaves, but whose real name I have reason to believe is Marati, which for many years back has been known to infest the Comoro Islands. The following account by Captain Thomlinson,

linson, extracted from his journal, gives a very interesting and forcible description of the melancholy situation to which their incursions have reduced the wretched Johannese.

" 'June, 1809. The people of Johanna are the most courteous and inoffensive I have ever met with, tendering every assistance to strangers, and with the greatest fidelity and honesty executing any commissions intrusted to their care. They have lately been much reduced by the natives of Madagascar, who annually invade the island for the purpose of procuring slaves, which they sell to the French. The other islands, Comoro, Mohilla and Mayotta, are nearly depopulated from the attacks of these marauders, and at this time Johanna from twelve towns is reduced to two. These pirates come over at the latter part of the south-west monsoon, build huts round the towns, which are walled, and remain blockading them until the latter end of the north-east monsoon, which occupies a period of eight months, as they never attempt the passage but with a fair wind.

" I have seen one of their canoes, which was about forty-five feet long by ten or twelve broad, ingeniously put together upon a construction very similar to that of a whale-boat, and joined by wooden pegs driven into both edges of the planks. The plan adopted by this people is to send every fifth year upwards of one hundred canoes, with from fifteen to thirty-five men in each, armed with muskets, while during the other four years, they dispatch not more than thirty, on account of the want of provisions they might experience, and with a view to leave time for the plantations to be restored to their usually flourishing condition. The king told me that during the siege last year nearly two hundred women and children died from hunger, owing to their not daring to go outside the walls for provisions, and that many of the women actually eat their own children.

" 'The town of Johanna, called Sultan's Town, has, in different parts of its walls and in a fort on the hill close behind it, upwards of fifty guns mounted, though in a wretched state. The king keeps in his possession papers from Admiral Renier and Blanket, requesting captains of ships of war to assist them with powder and arms. Their chief reliance for a supply of these articles is on the Governor and Council of Bombay, who last year sent them in an Arab boat 40 half-barrels of powder, 80 muskets, and one iron six pounder, 1500 flints, and 2000 musket-balls. A French cruiser unfortunately fell in with this boat, and plundered it of every thing, except the muskets and six half-barrels of powder. It is my opinion that the whole of these islands will in a few years become desolate, unless they receive more effectual assistance. It deserves particular notice, that, though this people has been plundered of the greater part of its cattle by these savage enemies, who destroyed those for which they had themselves no occasion, they nevertheless keep the few which remain for the use of the East India Company's ships, never killing any for their own consumption, it being expressly prohibited by the king, who looks up to the company as his only friends."

" The facts above mentioned appear to me to constitute strong grounds for an appeal to the generosity, I had almost said justice, of the

the English nation, and I cannot help expressing a sanguine hope that the cause of the poor Johannese may not be much longer neglected, for while we are in possession of the Isles of France and the Cape of Good Hope, the expeditions of their cruel enemy might, I conceive, be readily put a stop to.

"Encouraged by their success against the Johannese, the Marati last year actually ventured across the channel and took possession of one of the islands of Querimbo, destroyed the houses, burnt the cocoa-nut groves and plantations, and killed every inhabitant that fell into their power. Their force is said to have consisted of about one thousand canoes, (which number, however, is probably exaggerated.) each containing about thirty armed men.

"Nothing can be more terrible than the character which is attributed to these marauders. They carry cresses like the Malays, from whom possibly they may be descended, and exhibit in their attacks a degree of ferocity that can scarcely be exceeded. Their enmity is not peculiarly directed against the Portuguese, for their maxim is universal warfare. A French ship in 1807 was cut off by them, on her passage to the Isle of France, and not a single person escaped from their barbarity. A medical man of some distinction with his son from Mosambique fell victims on this occasion.

"Notwithstanding the success they met with on their expedition to the Querimbos, yet they did not quit the coast without suffering for their temerity. The inadequate provision made for their voyage, and their want of skill in navigation occasioned the death of numbers, and the small-pox which they caught on the coast became also a just instrument of retribution, leaving scarcely half of them to return to their chief at Madagascar. Yet this event, as might have been expected, did not discourage them, and they continued to threaten a repetition of their visit; being daring enough to declare that the island of Mozambique itself should be the next point of attack. Information of this was obtained from four prisoners taken by a Portuguese brig of war, after an engagement with six of their canoes, in which the Marati fought with such desperation that these four only were captured alive. The fort of Mosambique is too strong I conceive to fear the assaults of such an undisciplined rabble, but on any other part of the coast they might occasion infinite mischief.

"The abolition of the slave trade by the English has been another severe blow to the trade of Mosambique. The whole supply of the Cape, of the Isles of France and of Batavia was formerly derived from these settlements, and many of the Indian ports afforded a ready sale for cargoes of this description; besides a very considerable number of these unfortunate creatures was carried over by American, and sometimes, even latterly, by English ships under American colours, into our West India possessions. The whole of these sources are now cut off by the strict adherence of our cruisers in this quarter to the subsequent laws of the abolition.

"Nothing therefore remains to Mosambique except the limited trade with India and the Brazils; the former is still lucrative: ivory, gold, and slaves always find a ready market at Goa, Diu, and Demaun, and four or five vessels annually come

come from these places with cloths, cotton, teas, and other Eastern produce. The trade to the West is chiefly confined to slaves, which are carried as well to the Spanish as the Portuguese possessions in that quarter, and in return nothing but specie is received.

"The number of slaves annually exported from Mosambique is said to amount to more than 4000. The duty on each of these is sixteen and a half crusades; the Portuguese traders for a long time were charged only eight, but they are now obliged to pay at the same rate as the foreign trader. All other exports are exempt from duty. The duty on imports is charged in the following pr portions: two and a half per cent is imposed on all the specie brought into the country, one per cent. of which goes to the general revenue, and the remainder to the governor. Other imports pay twenty per cent. ad valorem, to which may be added one and a half per cent. custom-house charges, forty dollars for pilotage, and the maintenance of two custom-house officers on board each ship trading in the port, to whom it is usual to pay besides one and a half crusade per day. These charges, with fees to secretaries, &c. may be computed altogether to amount to twenty-five per cent.

"The few following remarks on the trade, which may enable the reader to form a tolerably correct though not a very favourable estimate of the commerce of Mosambique, will conclude my account of this settlement.

"By the advice of one of the principal merchants, Captain Weatherhead opened a store soon after his arrival, and landed samples of his goods, consisting of iron bars, gunpowder, pistols, blunderbusses, hard-ware, broad cloths, muslins, Cape wine and brandy, and some small bottles of scented waters. The government bought the whole of the two first articles, (the former at three dollars and a half per arob of 32lbs. English, and the latter at thirty-five Spanish dollars per barrel); the rest of the articles, except the Cape wine, brandy, and broad cloths, met with a very slack sale, which Captain Weatherhead in a great measure attributed to the departure of the annual fleet for India having taken place, which had drained the traders of the greater part of their ready money. He seemed notwithstanding to entertain the opinion that a small cargo might be disposed of to good advantage in the months of April, May and June; and in his Journal he remarks: "the articles most suitable would be iron in bars, lead, powder, shot, iron-hoops, cutlery, stationary, prints and framed pictures, a small quantity of household furniture, printed cottons for sophas, silk and cotton stockings for ladies and gentlemen, shoes and boots, waistcoat-pieces of different patterns, light plain muslins, blue cloth, coarse and fine, a few telescopes, some salt butter, hams and cheese, and in short a little of every article necessary for comfort in use among the Portuguese.

"The price of goods for exportation appeared to be very exorbitant. The merchants demanded for their ivory from twenty-six to thirty-two dollars the arob, which on a rough calculation made the price of the first quality amount to £24. and the second to 21 15*s.* per hundred. Columbo root was four dollars per cwt. and gold dust about £3. 5*s.* the ounce avoirdupois. A considerable number of an Arabian breed of asses is reared at Mosambique

bique for exportation, which thrives remarkably well; these animals are generally sent as presents to the Brazils, but when sold they fetch a high price.

"The exchange at Mosambique is chiefly regulated by the current value of the Spanish dollar, which fluctuates from three to four per cent. according to the state of the markets.

"The articles required by our ships were found in abundance, and to be bought at a moderate rate: bullocks, in good order, were to be had for fifteen or twenty dollars; pigs for eight dollars the arob; goats for five dollars each, and fowls at the low price of one dollar the dozen. A number of Guinea fowls were also brought to the ship for sale, and they proved excellent stock. Three species of this bird are common at Mosambique; the Numida meleagris, mitrata, and cristata; the last is a most beautiful bird, being more variegated in the plumage than the others, and having a black crest of feathers on its head, from which it derives its specific name. Sheep appeared to be scarce, and were charged ten and fifteen dollars each. Water was furnished at one hundred gallons per dollar, and fire-wood of a superior quality, which answered also extremely well for dunnage, was delivered on board the ship at eight dollars the boat-load. His majesty's ships were supplied with water gratis, out of tanks constructed on a magnificent scale, and situated on the south end of the island, belonging to the government.

"Fahrenheit's thermometer during our stay varied from 86° to 89°, and the weather was uniformly fine.

"September the 14th and 15th were engaged in making preparations for our departure; and on the last day the governor sent me a bullock, three dozen fowls, and a large quantity of fruit as a parting present. On my taking leave afterwards, which I did with some regret occasioned by his friendly treatment, he gave me an official letter to the Governor of the Islands of Cape Delgado, to secure us a good reception should we by chance find occasion to touch at any of the possessions under his command: on the 16th we departed for the Red Sea."

Abyssinian Court and Manners at Chelicut.

[From the same.]

"ON the 13th, Mr. Pearce returned from Chelicut, charged with many kind expressions of friendship from the Ras. Another messenger soon afterwards arrived with a mule richly caparisoned, sent by the Ras, as a present, for my own riding; and by the same conveyance an order was forwarded to the Arista, at Gibba, to provide a cow daily for the consumption of our party, and afford us every other accommodation we might stand in need of. In the afternoon of the 14th, Ayto Debib and Chelika Havea came up with the greater part of our baggage; and, on the 15th, we proceeded in a body towards

wards Chelicut, which place the Ras had appointed for the reception of the mission.

"Before I left England I had prepared a suitable dress for the occasion, the most important article of which was a dark red velvet pelisse, bordered with fur, which being folded round the body, served to conceal the rest of the dress and to give that kind of appearance which I knew the Abyssinians would look up to with respect; for, as to the common European costume, I had formerly observed that it tended to excite a species of contempt and ridicule that occasionally became very unpleasant in its effects. The rest of our party were clothed also as neatly as possible, for the purpose of making, on our first visit, a favourable impression. The country from Gibba was very hilly, and the road, for a considerable distance, lay along the edge of a steep precipice, from which extended, on our right, a fine view of the adjacent country. The descent from these heights conducted us into the rich and fertile plain of Gambéla, and on the left stood the hill and town of Moculla, one of the favourite residences of the Ras which I had formerly visited in his company. Since that time, however, the church, which makes a conspicuous figure in one of the larger views which I published, had been burnt to the ground by lightning, and another constructed in its place, with a circular dome resembling that of a mosque, by no means so well suited to the character of the landscape. The mules having been refreshed during our stay at Gibba carried us briskly forward, and, at ten o'clock, we gained the summit of a hill overlooking the vale of Chelicut.

"Here we waited, by appointment, for a deputation from the Ras, and, in a short time afterwards, two horsemen were seen galloping up the plain with a large troop of armed attendants. On their approach we descended into the valley, and were met b the two chiefs, Shalaka Selassé and Ayto Shiho, who, in honour of the mission, dismounted from their horses, and uncovered themselves to the waist as they came up to pay their compliments. The number of attendants increased every moment as we advanced to Chelicut, and, before we reached the gateway of the Rass's mansion, we found some difficulty in making our way. At length, with a great bustle and a confused clamour, which, on such occasions, is reckoned honourable to the guests, we were ushered into the presence of the Ras. All the chiefs who were present stood up uncovered on our entrance. The old man himself, who was seated on his couch, rose up with eagerness to receive me, like a man suddenly meeting with a long lost friend, and, when I made my salutation, joy seemed to glisten in his eyes, while he welcomed me with an honest warmth and cordiality that nothing but genuine and undisguised feeling could inspire. A seat was immediately pointed out for me on his left hand, which is considered as the second place of distinction; the one on his right hand being occupied by Kasimaj Yasous, a brother of the reigning emperor. This prince was fairer than the generality of his countrymen, the features of his face were very regular and handsome, and he appeared to be extremely courteous in his manners. The Ras himself did not seem to have been much altered

tered during my absence, and the pleasure which he evidently manifested at our meeting was exceedingly gratifying to the whole of our party. He inquired with great anxiety respecting my health, and declared, that he had always felt a kind of presentiment that he should see me once again before he died. After a few more compliments, customary on a first meeting, had been interchanged, a repast was set before us, which had been prepared for the occasion; and we were then conducted to a house fitted up for my reception, which had for some time before been inhabited by Mr. Pearce, and possessed better accommodations than are generally to be met with in an Abyssinian habitation. Here, feeling ourselves perfectly at home, we enjoyed a degree of comfort which the fatigues of our journey had not permitted us, for some time before, to partake of: Ayto Debib still continuing to attend me for the purpose of communicating my wishes to the Ras, and every other attention being enjoined to be paid me, that was shewn to the Ras himself. In the course of our journey to Chelicut I had partly ascertained, in conversation with Mr. Pearce and Debib, the impracticability of proceeding to Gondar, as I had proposed, on account of the distracted state of the interior provinces, and the enmity subsisting between Ras Welled Selassé and a chief named Guxo, who at this time held the command of some of the most important districts eastward of the river Tcazze. In a conference which I had with the Ras on the 16th of March, when a long discussion took place relative to the subject of my mission, the difficulties above mentioned were not only strongly confirmed by him, but he also assured me, that it was absolutely impossible for me to attempt such a journey, unless I could wait till after the rainy season, in October, had subsided, at which time, it was his own intention to march with an army to Gondar; for that, if I were to venture unprotected on such an expedition, the enmity which Guxo bore him would occasion my certain detention, and, in all probability, my destruction. I own, that I felt inclined to have braved even these hazards; but, on pressing the point, I ascertained that the Ras was resolved not to permit it, and I knew that it was in vain to contend against his authority. I was therefore reluctantly compelled to give up the idea of visiting Gondar; for, with respect to waiting till after the rains, it was entirely out of my power, on account of the expense which would have attended the detention of the Marian; for, unfortunately, I was positively enjoined by my orders to return in that vessel.

"Under these circumstances I was under the disagreeable necessity, in compliance with my instructions, of delivering over his majesty's letter and presents, designed for the Emperor, to the Ras. Accordingly, this was carried into execution, and the whole of the following week was employed in arranging the presents and presenting them at the court. The painted glass window, the picture of the Virgin Mary, and a handsome marble table, all of which fortunately arrived without accident, gave particular delight; and they were sent immediately to be placed in the church at Chelicut, where I attended with the Ras to see them advantageously arranged. The table was converted into a communion

nion table, the picture suspended above it by way of an altar-piece, and the glass window put in a situation where it produced a remarkably pleasing, though not a very brilliant effect, owing to the peculiar construction of the church, which would not admit of its being exposed to the broad day-light.

"While this was passing, Mr. Pearce, at the Ras's desire, played on a hand organ, which had some time before been sent as a present from Captain Rudland, and, notwithstanding the instrument was considerably out of tune, yet, I confess, that, from an association of ideas, I never listened to any thing like music with more delight.

"It is scarcely possible to convey an adequate idea of the admiration, which the Ras and his principal chiefs expressed, on beholding these splendid presents. The former would often sit for minutes, absorbed in silent reflection, and then break out with the exclamation "etzub', etzub'," wonderful! wonderful! like a man bewildered with the fresh ideas that were rushing upon his mind, from having witnessed circumstances to which he could have given no previous credit. After a short time, an appropriate prayer was recited by the high-priest, in which the English name was frequently introduced, and, on leaving the church, an order was given by the Ras, that a prayer should be offered up weekly, for the health of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

"The effect produced by the presents on the minds of all classes became very apparent. The purity of our religion ceased to be questioned, our motives for visiting the country were no longer doubted, and our importance, in consequence, so highly rated, that the king's brother shortly after visited me, with the view of securing my interest should any change be adopted with respect to the government; a circumstance at this time expected by many persons, on account of the differences existing between Guxo and the Ras. I uniformly rejected, of course, all interference in the internal concerns of the country, and, as it appeared to me the proper course to be pursued, consulted on all such occasions confidentially with the Ras.

"It would appear, that, on my former journey I had entertained an erroneous opinion respecting the character of the Ras, as, at that time, I conceived that he owed his elevation more 'to his cunning than to his strength of character.' In this I was undoubtedly mistaken; since he is distinguished still more for his intrepidity and firmness than by the policy with which he has uniformly ruled the country under his command; having been successfully engaged in upwards of forty battles, and having evinced on these occasions even too great a disregard of his own personal safety in action.

"At the time of Mr. Bruce's arrival in the country, in 1770, Ras Welled Selassé was a young man of some consequence about the court, so that, considering him at that time to have been three or four and twenty, his age must, at the period of my last visit to the country, have amounted to about sixty four; a point somewhat difficult of proof from the extreme delicacy which existed of making any inquiries of this description among his followers. The first situation he held of any importance, and which undoubtedly led to his greatness, was that of Balgudda,

Balgudda, or protector of the salt caravans, which come up from the plains of Assa Durwa; an office always conferring considerable consequence on its possessor, owing to his being entitled to a duty on every load of salt imported into the country, and from the power which it gives him of withholding this very necessary article of consumption as well as of barter, from the interior provinces. This situation he received during the short government of his father, Kefla Yasous, over the province of Tigré. On the return of Ras Michael to the command he fled to the fastnesses bordering on the salt-plain, where he remained, carrying on a predatory warfare until the death of 'the old lion,' as the former is emphatically styled in the country.

"During this period, while Ras Michael was seeking his life, he challenged any two chiefs in the army opposed to him to fight on horseback; and, two men of distinguished bravery having been made choice of for the purpose, he went down into the plain to meet them, and killed both with his own hand; possessing, notwithstanding his small and delicate form, such peculiar skill in the management of two spears on horseback, that it was said in the country to be unequalled. This unexampled exploit raised his character as a warrior to the highest pitch; and the particulars of the combat still continue to form a favourite topic of conversation among his followers.

"On the succession of Degusmati Gabriel to the command of the province of Tigré, Welled Selassé was induced by many insidious promises held out to him, to return to Adowa, where, in spite of the most solemn protestations to the contrary, he was thrown into irons. The day on which this occurrence took place, he has since, with a sort of religious superstition, considered as the most unfortunate in his life. He did not, however, long remain in confinement; for, by the connivance of his keeper, Gueta Samuel, he shortly after made his escape and retired to the country of the Galla, who on this occasion received him with open arms.

"The death of Dejus Gabriel soon followed, when he returned once again to Enderta, and being joined by some of his friends, made himself master of that province, and in the following year entered Tigré; where, having in several battles overcome Guebra Mascal, he raised himself to the high situation of Governor of all the provinces eastward of Tacazze. Once possessed of this high power, he successively espoused the claims of Ayto Solomon, the son of Tecla Haimanot and of Tecla Georgis, his brother, whom, in spite of the combined forces of the chiefs of Amhara, he carried to Gondar and placed on the throne, being in return confirmed, by both these Emperors, in the high posts of Ras and Betwudet of the empire, which last office appears to be somewhat analogous to that which Pharaoh conferred upon Joseph, when he set him 'over his house.'

"These respective monarchs, however, not being long able to retain the sovereignty (as I have related more particularly in my former journal), the crown fell, according to the preponderance of the different provinces, into other hands, until it was at length agreed by Ras Welled Selassé and Guxo, Governor of Gojam, (who succeeded to the power of Fasil) that Ayto Egwala Sion,

Sion, son of Ischias, should be placed on the throne. Some religious disputes having subsequently arisen between these powerful chieftains, it had occasioned a rupture, which, since my return, has again thrown the country into a civil war: the Emperor, in the mean time, remaining neglected at Gondar, with a very small retinue of servants, and an income by no means adequate to the support of his dignity; so that, as he possesses neither wealth, power, nor influence in the state, royalty may be considered, for a time, almost eclipsed in the country.

"The duties of the Ras's situation, who may be regarded as an independent ruler, are extremely arduous, some notion of which may be formed by a reference to the map, where the extent of the country under what may be called 'his personal jurisdiction,' is marked out. Throughout this extensive district, all crimes, differences and disputes, of however important or trifling a nature, are ultimately referred to his determination, all rights of inheritance are decided according to his will, and most wars are carried on by himself in person. To rule a savage people of so many different dispositions, manners, and usages as the Abyssinians, requires a firmness of mind, and a vigour of constitution, rarely united in the same individual at his advanced age; yet, whenever I have seen him in the exercise of his power, he has shewn a vivacity of expression, a quickness of comprehension, and a sort of commanding energy, that over-awed all who approached him. During his continuance in power, he has made it his uniform practice to treat the different attempts at rebellion with perfect indifference; so that when those concerned in such conspiracies have, in their own imagination, brought affairs to a crisis, he has constantly expressed contempt rather than alarm at their machinations.

"After a second attempt against his life by the same persons, he has been repeatedly known to pardon, and even to permit the parties convicted to attend about his court, priding himself particularly on having never been guilty of the cruelties of Ras Michael, and being led with reluctance to the condemnation of a common culprit; while no possible provocation can induce him 'to cut off a limb, put out the eyes,' or commit any other of the atrocious acts which stained the character of that extraordinary leader. His common mode of punishing those who conspire against him, is, by taking away their districts; for, as I have heard him often declare, 'men are only saucy when their stomachs are full;' a saying peculiarly applicable to the Abyssinians, who, when ruled with a hand of power, make admirable subjects; but when left to their own wills, become intolerably presumptuous and overbearing.'

"During the three weeks that we stayed at Chelicut, I generally spent a great part of each day with Ras, being allowed free access to his presence, through a private door communicating between the gardens of our respective habitations. On these occasions I generally found him engaged in the administration of justice, or in receiving chieftains and ladies of consequence, who came from distant parts of the country to pay their duty; and when otherwise unemployed, invariably occupied in playing at chess, a

game to which he appeared greatly devoted. I understood, indeed, that no surer method could be practised for attaining his favour, than that of acquiring a knowledge of this game, and when playing with him, ingeniously to contrive that he should never be the loser. Ayto Debib, who stood high in his favour, was particularly well skilled in this game. In addition, he had acquired, by playing with Mr. Pearce, a perfect knowledge of the game of drafts.

"During this time our party received daily invitations to the Ras's evening repasts, and at such times, in the presence of his chiefs, he always paid us distinguished attention, constantly exhibiting, to their no small admiration, the pistols, spear, knife, and other presents which he had received from England; and the conversation generally turning on subjects in which we were principally concerned. At these meetings, a more than ordinary attention to decorum appeared to be kept up, and a much less quantity of maiz, than usual, was drank, owing to the continuance of Lent, a fast which is here observed, agreeably to the practice of some of the primitive Christians, for fifty-two days. Though every kind of flesh was excluded during this period, yet the table was plentifully served with wheaten bread, fish, dressed in different modes, and other warm dishes, made of various grains, mixed up with a most immoderate quantity of garlic, which, nevertheless, the guests seemed to devour with a keen and ravenous appetite. This last circumstance could not excite much astonishment, when it was considered that this unconscionably long fast had already lasted upwards of a month, and that the Abyssinians, during its continuance, never touch a morsel of food till after sunset, so that many of the stoutest, at this time, began to look pallid, and to express an anxious desire for its conclusion.

"I have before omitted to mention, that at the commencement of Lent, the priest Guebra Mariam, who attended us from Massowa, had proved of great service, owing to his having kindly absolved the whole of our party from the necessity of keeping it, a privilege which it appears the priests of the country are entitled to grant to all persons engaged in travelling, or similar pursuits. Some little difficulty had been experienced in persuading Ayto Debib to accept this indulgence; but, after seeing us eat meat for a few days, his inclination got the better of his scruples, though I subsequently observed, that he was rather ashamed of having complied with our solicitations, when any person of rank spoke to him on the subject; and I believe that the circumstance was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the Ras.

"Several of the principal chieftains in the country at this time visited me, particularly Palambaras Toclu, Ayto Guebra Amlac, and Shum Michael of Temben, which latter appeared likely to possess great weight in the country, in the event of any accident occurring to the Ras. As all these chiefs had sent me presents of cattle on my arrival, I felt it necessary to bestow upon them some trifling gifts in return, with which they seemed highly gratified. The Prince, Kasimaj Yasous, was also constant in his visits, whom I found to be very superior in accomplishments to most of the young men in the country, as he both read and wrote the Geez with

with unusual facility. The young men attending him, who were all natives of Gondar, appeared likewise to be more careful in their dress, and more polished in their manners, than the inhabitants of Tigré; and indeed I have reason to believe, that, in general, the latter are much ruder in their habits, and fiercer in disposition than the people of Amhara.

"The Ras's wife, Ozoro Mantwab, whom I have before mentioned as the sister of the Emperor, but did not, on any occasion, make her appearance in public; but she frequently sent us complimentary messages and presents of bread and maiz, besides various dishes, drest in a superior style of cookery, from her own table. I was given to understand by Mr. Pearce, as well as his wife, who was a great favourite of this lady, that she made frequent enquiries respecting the English, and often expressed a great desire to converse with me: but the extreme jealousy entertained by the Ras on these points, rendered such a meeting impracticable. She afterwards, however, ingeniously contrived to afford me an opportunity of seeing her person, on my return one day from visiting the Ras, who was then busily engaged with some of his chiefs: her form, though small, was very elegant, her features were regular, and having fine teeth and coal-black hair, she might, in any country, have been esteemed handsome.

"The jealousy which the Ras entertains with regard to his wives, and his strict notions in general, respecting women, are circumstances so uncommon in this country, that it is difficult to account for their origin, unless they may be supposed to have been imbibed from his having, in early life, been thrown into the society of Mahomedans; yet, as he retains a very decided abhorrence of their doctrines, it is singular enough that he should have adopted this most objectionable part of their system. It has, however, produced the effect of correcting, in a certain degree, the general laxity of manners in the more immediate neighbourhood of the court; but, his strictness in these respects appeared to be so strongly disapproved of, at least by the younger part of the community, that I do not think it is likely in the end, either materially to affect the privileges of the ladies, or to produce any great alteration in the character of their admirers.

"On the 25th of April, which, according to the Abyssinian reckoning, was the last day of Lent, the Ras very early in the morning informed us, that it was his intention to remove his residence to Antálo, and expressed a desire that we should accompany him to that place, with which request we complied. Accordingly, at day-light, he sent three of his best horses for our use, one of which, named Shummut, had for many years been his favourite, and the two others had lately been sent as presents from Liban, the chief of the Galla. The Ras himself had already set out, but on our arriving at a plain near the village of Afguol, we found him waiting to receive us, surrounded by about two hundred slaves and attendants, and about forty chiefs on horseback, who were galloping about and skirmishing with each other, after the manner of the country. Their style of riding differs materially from that of the Arabs, owing, in a great measure, to their using long stirrups, and to their taking a larger

sweep for their manœuvres. Their horses are generally strong, of a beautiful make, and in very high condition; but the latter part of the description could not be very correctly applied to the riders, who, from the long continuance of the fast, looked, for the most part, terribly thin and emaciated. The Abyssinians, in general, are well skilled in horsemanship, and exceedingly graceful in their movements, managing their arms with great dexterity, and at the same time never for an instant losing the perfect command of their horses. The lightness of their accoutrements is particularly advantageous, and gives them such a scope for the free exercise of their limbs, as would, in my opinion, render them superior to an equal number of Arabs. Their bridle, called 'legaum,' consists of a coarse Mameluke bit, a plain head-stall, and a neatly-wrought chain, answering the purpose of reins. The saddle is very simple in its form, but of an excellent construction, consisting of two thin pieces of wood, fastened together by thongs of leather, with a high pommel in front, and a kind of back to lean against, the whole of which is covered with an ornamental piece of red leather, manufactured in the country in imitation of morocco; under this is placed a 'marashut,' or 'cloth of quilted stuff,' which is doubled in front, in order more particularly to preserve the shoulders of the horse: the whole of these accoutrements being exceedingly light, and strongly fastened on the animal by a girth, a broad breast-band, and a crupper, which is not, like ours, sustained by the tail only, but, from being fastened to the two sides of the saddle, passes round the whole of the hinder part of the animal. By way of ornament round the neck of their horses, the Abyssinians place a collar, made of the Zebra's mane, together with chains of jingling brass, and occasionally a small bell. The whole of this equipage is so decidedly different from that of their neighbours, the Arabs, that it affords, among others, a strong argument against their customs being derived from the same origin.

"The persons attached to my party also exhibited their skill in riding, much to the satisfaction of the Ras, who particularly expressed his delight on finding that we were so well skilled in this their favourite exercise. After amusing ourselves in this manner for some hours, we proceeded forward to Antálo, where, on our arrival, we were met by a deputation of the priests, splendidly dressed out for the occasion, who, after paying their compliments to the Ras, turned round and marched before us, vociferously singing psalms, and tinkling a number of small bells, which they carried for this purpose in their hands. In the evening a repast of fish, &c. was served up for the last time during the season, of which a great number of the first people in the country partook; and one of the head priests, when it was over, pronounced a blessing on all those who had properly observed the holy institution of Lent.

"On the 26th we were called up early in the morning to attend a feast celebrated in honour of the day, at which no less than five cows were killed by the Ras, and so large a quantity of brind was consumed both by priests and laity, as clearly evinced that they were determined to make up as speedily as possible for the restraint which had so long been

been laid upon their appetites. The Ras himself was in excellent spirits, and in the course of the entertainment presented me his own brulbé to drink out of, filled with red wine, which was considered as so very singular a favour, that it seemed to astonish all the chiefs who were present. Among these were, Baharnegash Yasous, Baharnegash Subhart, and Kantiba Socinius, who had, I found, all been expressly sent for by the Ras, for the purpose of securing their good behaviour on my return. To each of these, as well as to our own party, a cow, and a large quantity of maiz was sent in the course of the day by the Ras, in order to regale our respective followers, and, in consequence, towards evening, as might well be expected, scarcely an Abyssinian was to be found throughout the town, who was not considerably affected by the quantity of liquor he had drank during the celebration of the festival.

"I afterwards understood, that preparations had been making for this feast for full three weeks, and that followers of the Ras had been sent out to a considerable distance, in different directions, to collect a quantity of 'zadoo,' (the bitter root with which the maiz is impregnated,) for the occasion. This kind of feasting and holiday-making lasted for several days. In the course of this time the Ras received a visit from some of the chiefs of the Assubo Galla from the south, residing near Muntilli, in the neighbourhood of the salt-plain, where formerly a mart of great consequence was held by the traders, who had been accustomed to assemble there from the most distant parts of the country. These Galla wore garments similar to those of the Abyssinians, and their heads were liberally greased and powdered, most of them exhibiting on their arms ivory bracelets, and trophies, according to the number of enemies they had killed; many of them displaying nine of these badges, and none of them less than two. I learnt with surprise, that it was extremely probable that most of these insignia had been acquired by the slaughter of subjects belonging to the Ras, with whom they were at this moment at war; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, so great was their confidence in his honour, that they were not afraid to come singly even into his presence. I found that the object of their visit on this occasion, was to bring him a present of some Sanga, or oxen, with the hope of prevailing upon him to interfere with the chief of Wojjerat, in order to prevent his making incursions into their territory. This very chief was also present at the time, and it was curious to remark, the affected mildness with which the parties behaved towards each other; though an angry glance would occasionally escape them, that very intelligibly bespoke their real feelings. These Galla made no scruple about eating food from the Ras's table; which was however served out to them, in separate dishes, from a prejudice entertained by the Abyssinians against eating with any except Christians. At the conclusion of the entertainment, I invited one of the Galla to pay me a visit, to which he consented, though I had great difficulty in persuading him to stay long enough to enable me to complete a sketch of his figure; which I could accomplish only by stealth, while Mr. Pearce kept him amused in conversation; as, in a former instance, when I had made a similar attempt,

attempt, the man, having perceived what I was about, ran away in great alarm, through fear of a spell being laid upon him. Perhaps it may be worthy of remark, that these Galla, on observing the red hair of one of our party, were so much delighted with it, that they called him 'Moti,' a name equivalent to that of Ras in the Abyssinian language. The Abyssinians, on the contrary, made the light colour of our hair and the pale complexion of our features an occasional subject of ridicule.

"On one of these festive days a circumstance happened, which, though extremely ludicrous in its consequences, might have produced very unpleasant effects; I am, therefore, induced to mention it by way of caution to other travellers, though I cannot altogether excuse myself from somewhat of imprudence in having inadvertently given occasion to the occurrence. Among their presents which I had taken up into the country, a quantity of artificial fire-works had been selected, chiefly consisting of serpents, small wheels, and crackers, which at different times had afforded the Ras and his chiefs much amusement; the former taking great delight in lighting them himself, and in throwing them among his attendants. Several Galla chiefs, whom I have before mentioned, and other strangers being present at the time, the Ras expressed a desire that I would let Mr. Pearce exhibit some of the best of these compositions; which were accordingly produced. On this occasion, I have to observe, that the room in which we sat was about sixty feet long by thirty broad, filled with guests who were all habited after the fashion of their respective countries, in loose flowing cotton garments. Without considering this circumstance, or taking into account the nature of the composition to be exhibited, I requested Mr Pearce to let off one of the largest of our fire-works, labelled 'a flower-pot.' Some little time was occupied in preparing it; and on its being placed nearly in the centre of the room, eager expectation sat on the countenances of all who were present.

"At length the match was brought and the fuse lighted, when such a deluge of sparks and fire-balls were almost instantaneously showered down upon us, that its effects struck the whole party with consternation. Several of the chiefs cried out, that 'the destruction had come upon them which they had expected to ensue from our arrival in the country;' others, more alarmed, crept under the couches; and some ran, frightened and screaming, into the corners of the room: while the Ras, and a few of the more resolute only kept quietly in their seats. At the instant that I perceived the confusion which was likely to be produced by this exhibition, I jumped from my couch, stood immediately before the Ras, and, with open arms, kept off the sparks of fire that fell towards him; assuring him, most solemnly, at the same time, that no danger could be apprehended. His natural courage was strongly displayed on this occasion; for he sat perfectly collected, smiling at the alarm of his followers, and, though several of their garments afterwards caught fire and the uproar continued to increase, did not evince the slightest agitation. Fortunately, his own dress was one of the few that escaped unsinged, which was considered as a good omen, especially as that of Kasimaj Yasous, the king's brother, did

did not meet with the same good fortune. At length, to my great relief, the shower of sparks began to abate, and when it had all subsided, the face of things took a different turn; the Ras expressing himself greatly delighted with the exhibition, turning the whole affair into ridicule, and rallying most unmercifully those chiefs who had expressed their fears on the occasion; though he afterwards observed, apart to me, 'that for the future it would be better to exhibit these things when we were by ourselves.' In this manner the affair terminated, which, though it appeared likely to have taken a serious turn in the first instance, was nevertheless mixed with such a portion of the ridiculous, as afterwards to afford our party a constant subject of merriment, and a celebrated jester at the Ras's court subsequently worked it up into a very amusing representation.

"As I am now upon the holiday sports of the Abyssinians, it may not be amiss to give some account of this man. Totte Máze, for such was his name, was one of the cleverest mimicks I have ever seen, the command which he possessed over his features almost equalling that which was displayed on the boards of our own theatres by Suet; an actor to whom he bore great resemblance. One of his chief acquirements consisted in the singular art of making other people (particularly strangers, who had not been apprized of his intention) imitate the contortions of his own features, a power which I repeatedly saw him exercise with success, and which, on one occasion, drew me into the same kind of ridiculous situation, without my being conscious of the changes in my countenance, until I was roused by a friendly hint from the Ras, who let me into the secret of what he was about. He afterwards performed, at the Ras's request, some finished pieces of acting that evinced very extraordinary native talent.

"One of these consisted in the imitation of the behaviour of a chief in battle, who had not been remarkable for his courage. At first he came in very pompously; calling out in an overbearing manner to his soldiers, and vaunting what he would do when the enemy approached. He then mimicked the sound of horns heard from a distance, and the low beating of a drum. At hearing this, he represented the chief, as beginning to be a little cautious, and to ask questions of those around him, whether they thought the enemy were strong. This alarm he continued to heighten in proportion as the enemy advanced, until at last he depicted the hero as nearly overcome by his fears; the musket trembling in his hand, his heart panting, and his eyes completely fixed, while, without being conscious of it, his legs began to make a very prudent retreat. This part of his acting excited among the spectators its due share of contempt, when, dexterously laying hold of the circumstance, he affected to be ashamed of his cowardice, mustered up his whole stock of courage, and advanced, firing his matchlock at the same moment in a direction exactly contrary to that in which the enemy was supposed to stand, when, apparently frightened at the noise of his own gun, he sunk down on his knees and begged for mercy: during this time the expression of his face was inimitable, and, at the conclusion, the whole of the spectators burst into a shout of admiration.

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"In another representation, he imitated the overstrained politeness of an Amharic courtier, paying a first visit to a superior. On coming in, he fell on his face and kissed the ground, paying most abject compliments to the chief, and, on being invited to sit down, placed himself with well-feigned humility close to the threshold of the door: shortly afterwards, on the supposition of a question being asked him by the chief, he arose, and still carrying on the farce, prostrated himself the second time, and gave an answer couched in very polite and artful phrases, advancing cautiously at the same time into the middle of the room. In this manner he continued to take advantage of the attentions paid to him, gradually stealing along, till he got close to the side of the chief, when he assumed an extraordinary degree of familiarity, talked loudly, and, to complete the ridiculous effect of the whole scene, affectedly shoved his nose almost in contact with the other's face. This species of satire afforded great delight to the Tigrians; as they pretend on all occasions to despise the submissive and effeminate manners of the people of Amhara, whom they invariably describe, as "possessing smooth tongues and no hearts."

"In addition to his other representations, Totte Máze gave a most admirable imitation of the mincing step and coquettish manners of the women of Amhara, and of their extreme affectation in answering a few of the most common questions. In all these representations, the tones of his voice were so perfectly adapted to the different characters, and his action so thoroughly appropriate, that it gave me very unexpected gratification.

The following instance may be related, as a specimen of the wit usually practised by the jesters of this country; who, like the fools of old times, exercise their ingenuity upon persons of every description, without regard to rank or station. He had, one day, so much offended the Ras by some liberties that he had taken with him, that he ordered him never again to set foot upon his carpet, (which, it may be noticed, extends about half way down the room.) On the following day, however, to the great surprise of the company, the jester made his appearance, mounted on the shoulders of one of his attendants, in which ludicrous situation he advanced close up to the Ras, and with a very whimsical expression of features, cried out, 'you can't say that I am on your carpet now.' The Ras, who, like most of his countrymen, delights in humour, could not refrain from smiling, which insured the jester's forgiveness. Several other anecdotes were related to me, that displayed much originality, but they were of a description that the reader will probably forgive me for omitting.

"The chief amusement of the lower class of the community during this season of festivity, consists in playing at a game called 'kersa,' which is precisely similar to the common English game of 'bandy.' Large parties meet for this purpose; the inhabitants of whole villages frequently challenging each other to the contest. On these occasions, as might be expected, the game is violently disputed, and when the combatants are pretty equally matched, it sometimes takes up the greater part of the day to decide. The victors afterwards return shouting and dancing to their homes, amidst the loud

loud acclamations of their female friends. I also occasionally observed, at Antálo, that the vanquished were received with similar honours, and we often heard them challenging their opponents, in a friendly way, to renew the sport, though at other times, the parties, engaged in these contests, fell into a violent rage, both men and women uttering the most terrible menaces, and pouring forth torrents of abuse; so that, as frequently happens in our own country, that which was begun in jest, ended in blows; but, even in such cases, they are never known to attack each other with any other weapon than the sticks, or bandies, which they employ in the game. In one instance, Mr. Pearce mentioned an instance which occurred in his presence, where one-half of the town of Moculla was so hotly engaged against the other, that at last the combat became very alarming, and the Ras himself was obliged to interfere, but did not succeed in parting them, till several men had been laid dead in the field. The Ras received an accidental blow in the fray, notwithstanding which, he would not, from a feeling of humanity, which is the distinguishing feature of his character, permit Mr. Pearce to use his pistols, which he had drawn out for the occasion.

"In a country like Abyssinia, where the natives possess so lively and active a character, it may be readily conceived, that every marriage, birth, or other important event, is attended with great festivity and rejoicing, all of which, however, they celebrate so much in the same way, that it will not be necessary to enter further into a description of them. I shall merely observe, that at the commencement of such meetings, nothing can be more agreeable than to witness the gaiety, mutual harmony, and mirth which is displayed; and it is remarkable, that, even during the scenes of intoxication, which almost invariably ensue, the higher ranks are very rarely known to quarrel, no single instance of any one of them drawing his knife on such an occasion having ever fallen under my own observation.

"On the 27th of April, I had a public audience given me by the Ras, at which he delivered into my hands a letter written in the Ethiopic language, which he requested me to deliver to his Majesty, or his minister, and at the same time he presented to me a gold chain, with a medallion suspended to it, on which were engraved the armorial bearings of the Abyssinian emperors, which he begged me to accept, as the highest honour that it was in his power to confer. At this conference, I was also requested by the Ras, to take with me Ayto Debib as his envoy to England, that he might express more particularly the Ras's sentiments to his Majesty's government, which offer I felt myself under the necessity of declining. He likewise mentioned, that he had two small lions, which he wished me to carry as a present to his Majesty; but the distance which I had to return, rendered their conveyance totally impracticable. One of these animals was occasionally brought by his keeper into the room where we sat, but during the course of my stay he became so fierce and intractable, that it became necessary to confine him, and in a short time afterwards he died.

"On the following night, the Ras, as a distinguishing mark of attention, had us called up at midnight to partake of a small repast.

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We found him seated, as usual, on his couch, by the side of an excellent fire, attended by some of his confidential people, and a few Shangalla slaves. In the course of the short period that the repast occupied, two applications were made at his gateway for justice, the parties crying out, 'Abait, abait!' Master, master, which is the usual mode in which supplicants address their chiefs on such occasions. Immediately on his hearing this appeal, he ordered the applicants to be admitted, and after listening to their complaints, and enjoining secrecy, desired them to appear before him in public on a particular day. By these, and similar means, he obtains so accurate a knowledge of the events that occur in the different districts, that the chiefs, however distantly removed from his immediate control, dare not commit any very flagrant act of injustice, from the dread of its coming to his knowledge.

"I have often had occasion to mention the Shangalla, who are in attendance on the Ras, and I shall therefore proceed to give the reader a short account of them. It appears, that the name of Shangalla, or Shankalla, is a generic term applied by the Abyssinians, without distinction, to the whole race of 'Negroes,' in the same way as they apply the words Taltal, and Shiho, to the various tribes on the coast. All those Shangalla with whom I conversed would not ackowledge the appellation, but had distinct names for their own tribes, the greater part of them having been taken captives in the neighbourhood of the lower part of the Tacazze, or in the wild forests northward of Abyssinia; while some of the others had been brought by the traders from countries beyond the Nile, and even from so great a distance as the neighbourhood of the Bahr el Abiad. I received from one of the latter the following account of the nation to which he belonged. 'The tribe, of which he had been a member, was called Dizzela, inhabiting a district named Dabanja, three days journey beyond the Nile, in a country bearing the general appellation of Damitchequa. He mentioned, that his countrymen entertain a very imperfect notion of God, whom they call Mussa-guzza. The only species of adoration they offer up to the deity, is during a great holiday, called kemoos, when the whole people assemble to sacrifice a cow, which is not killed in the usual way, by having its throat cut, but by being stabbed in a thousand places.

"They have neither priests, nor rulers, all men being looked upon as equals, though considerable respect is shewed to age; an old man being always allowed to drink first, and to enjoy the privilege of keeping two wives, while the younger are obliged to content themselves with one. When a young man is desirous of marrying, it is customary for him to give his sister to another man, and to take his in return; or, if he have no sister, he will go to war for the purpose of taking a female prisoner, who is immediately adopted as his sister, and formally exchanged; no other dower on either side being ever required. They do not marry so early as the Abyssinians, but wait till they are seventeen or eighteen years of age, yet no such thing as connection between the sexes is said to be ever known to take place till after marriage. Adultery is punished with death. The women, besides taking care of the house, assist the men

men in ploughing, and are entitled to an equal share of the produce of the land. When a child is born, the father gives it a name, which is generally derived from some circumstance connected with its birth, or an accidental mark on its body. The name of my informant was Oma-zéna, on account of his being born with a wart on his hand; others were called 'Im-magokwa,' 'born in the night,' 'wokéa,' 'born while making booza,' 'wunnéa,' 'born on the ground;' 'magokwa,' signifying night, 'kéa,' 'booza,' and 'ennea,' dust.' When a man dies he is buried without ceremony in his clothes, and the relations kill and feast on the cattle he leaves behind him, the wife having for her share, the household furniture which her husband may have possessed, and the sons inheriting his arms, implements of agriculture and land. The favourite occupation of the men is hunting; and they indiscriminately eat the flesh of the elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, deer, snake, rat, or whatever else they can procure. The rhinoceros of this country has invariably two horns.

"The arms of these savages consist of spears, shields, bows and arrows, and the tribe is continually engaged in war with the people of Metikul and Banja, who frequently invade the country for the express purpose of procuring slaves. When the Dezzela take any prisoners, they tie their legs, and employ them either in making cloth or manufacturing iron; and, if incapable of work, they kill them. A strong people called Dippura reside in the interior of the Dabanja country. He spoke familiarly of the Duggala mountains; and said they were on the opposite side from Darfoor, and mentioned a mountain called Yiba Hossa, to which his countrymen are accustomed to retire, when pressed by an enemy. Several rivers, called Quoquea, Púsa, Kuossa, and Popa, flow through these districts, which are all said to run in the same direction as the Bahr el Abiad. It is three days journey from the last mentioned river to the Kuossa, and one from the Kuossa to Púsa; the other lying still farther in the interior.

"The only musical instruments in use among them are trumpets, made of the horn of the agazen, pipes formed of bamboo, and a kind of lyre with five strings, called 'junqua.' The man who gave me this information said, that the music of a large junqua was delightful, and seemed quite exhilarate! at the bare recollection of its harmony. A copious vocabulary of the language of this people is given in the Appendix, as I conceive, that it is more likely to be connected with some of the western or southern dialects of the Negroes than any other I had the means of obtaining.

"The tribe of Shangulla that resides near the Tacazze has been very ably described by Mr. Bruce. It appears to be a perfectly different people in every respect but colour and form, from that of Dabanja; the language of the two tribes being also entirely distinct. Two little boys belonging to the Tacazze Shangalla, who a short time before had been taken prisoners, much amused me, at Antalo, with their playful antics; dancing and singing in a manner peculiar to their nation: one of their songs, which they had been taught in their infancy, had something extremely affecting in the tune as well as in the words, and it

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was translated to me nearly as follows:

'They come, and catch us by the waters of the
Tacazze: they make us slaves.
Our mothers with alarm flee to the mountains;
And leave us alone in strange hands.'

Generally speaking, however, the slaves in Abyssinia are very happy; and several of those I conversed with, who had been captured at an advanced period of life, preferred their latter mode of living to that which they had led in their native wilds; a circumstance which, in a great measure, may be attributed to the docility of their character which allows them soon to become naturalized among strangers. The situation of slaves, indeed, is rather honourable than disgraceful throughout the East; and the difference between their state and that of the western slaves is strikingly apparent. They have no long voyage to make, no violent change of habits to undergo, no out-door labour to perform, and no 'white man's scorn' to endure, but, on the contrary, are frequently adopted, like children, into the family, and, to make use of an eastern expression, 'bask in the sunshine of their master's favour.'

"On the 2d of May, in consequence of my having acceded to Mr. Coffin's desire of remaining in the country, the Ras assembled at midnight four of the chief priests of Antalo, and declared before them his intentions respecting both him and Mr. Pearce. He promised, that he would always treat them with kindness, would supply their wants, and, whenever they might choose it, would do all in his power to facilitate their return home. In compliance with a wish which I had expressed, that the primary object of maintenance might be left without dispute, he agreed, that they should be allowed three interlaams (or twenty-four bushels) of corn per month, besides provender for two horses, thirty pieces of salt weekly, and a gumbo of maiz every day, with other articles in proportion; and, he added, that, if Mr. Pearce continued faithful to him, he would in a short time settle upon him an ample provision. This agreement being concluded, a prayer, as usual, was recited by the priests to give a sanctity to the act; after which they retired. We then proceeded to take our 'nightly repast,' which consisted of a curried fowl and a quantity of cakes made with peas and teff.

"During the following day, while preparations were making for our departure, the Ras appeared to be much depressed, wished me to keep continually near him, and often fixed his eyes upon me with a sorrowful expression, repeatedly enquiring, 'if I should ever again return to the country.' To which I answered, with some degree of reluctance, that 'I believed, I should never again undertake the voyage.' I found, that a dream, which he had had a few nights before, had left a strange impression, respecting me upon his mind. 'He fancied, that he was sitting on the brow of a hill, and, that he saw me, in a plain below, passing along and sowing grain with both hands, and that the corn sprung up instantaneously round me in great profusion; while, at the same instant, he perceived, that his lap was full of gold.' It is astonishing what an effect trifling circumstances of this description produce in a country where the minds

minds of the inhabitants are deeply tinged with superstition and a love of scriptural lore.

"In the course of the ensuing night, we paid our last visit to the Ras: he was much affected, and the parting was painful on both sides. During the visit, he again expressed, in the strongest terms, his gratitude to our Sovereign, for regarding the welfare of so remote a country; and professed his most anxious wish to encourage, by every means in his power, an intercourse with Great Britain; at the same time, expressing with great sincerity his fears, that the country which he commanded might not be able to supply any quantity of valuable commodities sufficient to recompense our merchants for engaging in so precarious a trade; more especially as the Abyssinians were not much acquainted with commercial transactions, and the unsettled state of the provinces prevented the usual circulation of gold and other articles which are brought from the interior. Could any plan, however, be arranged for obviating these difficulties, he assured me, that he would most readily concur in carrying it into effect, though, he observed, it would be useless for him to interfere with the Mahometans on the coast, so long as that power had a naval superiority in the Red Sea. There was so much good sense in these remarks, and they so exactly corresponded with my own views of the subject, that they did not admit of any reply; except the declaration, that I would never lose sight of the interests of Abyssinia, and that I was disposed to think, that his Majesty's ministers would find a pleasure in doing their utmost to promote the welfare of his country. This and similar conversation had engaged us from two o'clock A. M. till daylight, when we rose to take our leave. The old man, on this occasion, got up from his couch, and attended us to the door of his hall, where he stood watching us, with tears running down his face, until we were fairly out of sight."

Narrative of Mr. Pearce's Residence in Abyssinia.

[From the same.]

"I HAVE mentioned in my former journal the reasons which induced me to leave Mr. Pearce in Abyssinia, at the urgent desire of the Ras, and the promises which he had made me respecting the treatment, which, as a stranger, he should experience. For some time after I had left the country, it appears that the Ras had strictly adhered to the good intentions which he then expressed, and at his particular desire, Mr. Pearce continued to remain attached to the service of Ozoro Setches, the legitimate wife of the Ras. This lady bore a very high character, being descended from one of the first families in the country, and by a stipulation, made at her marriage, claimed a right of receiving a tenth of every musket and cow paid in tribute to the Ras. It may be necessary to observe, in this place, that, although the chiefs of the country by ancient custom assume the privilege of marrying several

several wives, yet, that one alone is considered legitimate by the church; the only marriage, regarded as indissoluble by the priests, being that in which the parties have taken the sacrament together subsequently to the celebration of the rites. This ceremony the Ras had gone through with Ozoro Setches, and, in consequence, notwithstanding that his affections had been long weaned from her, yet he found it impossible to dissolve the tie.

"With this lady, Mr. Pearce remained, as a sort of confidential friend, for about half a year, through whom the Ras conveyed his wishes, when, owing to the influence of Basha Abdalla, who appears to have been in the interests of the Nayib of Massowa, and some other persons who regarded his residence at the court with suspicion, the Ras began to view him with a jealous eye, and treated him with indifference and neglect. He still, however, continued to attend the Ras in all his excursions, and to eat at his table: but about the latter end of 1806 the last-mentioned privilege was refused him, owing to his having remonstrated, perhaps, in somewhat too violent terms, respecting the ill treatment he had experienced, and he now became dependent, even for subsistence, upon Ayto Debib and his young friends about the court.

"During this period he exerted himself strenuously in acquiring the language of Tigré, a knowledge of which, as he properly felt, could alone enable him to gain the better of his enemies and regain the good opinion of the Ras. In this he was eminently successful, and an opportunity shortly afterwards occurred of exercising the talents which he possessed.

"In March 1807, a rebellion broke out at Adowa, in favour of the descendants of Ras Michael, headed by a number of chieftains, who had long been meditating in secret the destruction of Ras Welled Selassé. The names of the discontented chiefs, who were most of them mentioned in my former journal, where Ayto Ischias, son of Ras Michael, Nebrida Aram, governor of the province of Adowa. Ayto Hannes and Azage Giga, of Shiré, Guebra Amlac of Kelia, and Shum Salo of Temben, who, with their united forces, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Adowa.

"On the intelligence of this conspiracy being brought to Ras Welled Selassé, who at this time resided at Antálo, he assembled his troops without delay, and accompanied, as Mr. Pearce expressed it, by the provinces of Enderta, Temben, Giralta, Agamé, Haramat, Womburta, Désa, Monos, Wojjerat, Salowé, Bora and Avergale, marched in force to Adowa. Mr. Pearce, on foot, with his musquet, accompanied the Ras in this expedition, and after travelling eight days by way of Haramat they reached their destination. On the news of his approach the rebellious chiefs fled before him, and sent messengers to negotiate their pardon, to which the Ras refused to listen on any terms, but an unconditional surrender.

"During the time this was in agitation, the enemy assembled one night in force near the town, to one quarter of which they set fire, with the hope, as it should seem, of its extending to the Ras's house, where the old man lay sleeping, almost unattended, in the full confidence that they meant to surrender at discretion on the following day. Mr. Pearce, with the rest of the troops, had

had been encamped on the outside of the town, but, on being awakened by a glare of light, he hastened with his musquet to join the Ras. The flames had by this time enveloped the gateway, but Mr. Pearce undauntedly forced his way through, and without sustaining any great injury, safely reached the house. Here he found the Ras almost alone with his slaves; none of the chiefs having yet arrived to his assistance. Notwithstanding this circumstance, and though pieces of fire fell repeatedly on the roof under which he was sitting, the old man did not appear in any respect discomposed, but gave his orders, with perfect coolness, for extinguishing the flames, and preventing their farther progress. At last, the gateway being burnt down, some of his principal chiefs gained admittance, who brought intelligence respecting the force of the hostile party assembled.

"About this time the kábit, or door-keeper, confessed that he had been offered a bribe by Palambarus Guebra Amlac and other chiefs, to admit them on the following night through the lower gateway, for the purpose of murdering the Ras. Secrecy on this subject was immediately enjoined, from a hope that the chiefs might be ensnared in the attempt. In the mean time Kouquass Aylo, and a strong body of troops was sent out to make an attack upon the enemy assembled in the plain, and, in a partial action which ensued, twelve of the enemy were killed. On the following evening, according to the expectations of the Ras, Ayto Ischias and Guebra Amlac were observed, at dusk, skulking in disguise near the lower gateway, in expectation of being admitted by the kábit. The Ras being informed of this circumstance, Mr. Pearce and a party of the slaves were sent round, and, coming upon them by surprise, took them all prisoners.

This unexpected blow put an end to the rebellion, for, on the following day, the rest of the chiefs who had been engaged in the business submitted to the Ras's mercy. Guebra Amlac and Nebrid Aram were sent prisoners to a mountain near Antálo, ludicrously called El Hadje, or 'the pilgrimage;' — Shum Temben Salo and Ayto Ischias had their shummuts, or districts, taken away from them, and the rest were fined and forgiven. It was a considerable time before any proof could be obtained against Ayto Hannes of Shiré, for the share he had taken in the conspiracy; but, at length, Ayto Saiel, one of his tenants, came in and swore to the knowledge of his being actively concerned in the plot, in consequence of which he was taken up during the following mascal, or feast of the cross, when the chiefs are accustomed to assemble, and sent on a pilgrimage to his his companions at El Hadje.

"The civil dissensions and broils which took place in Shiré, on the removal of Ayto Hannes, will serve to give a pretty correct notion of the generally-disturbed state of the country at this time, and of the horrors to which a people must always be exposed under a weak and irregular government. On Ayto Hannes being imprisoned, Ayto Saiel was appointed to the command of the district of Shiré; but had scarcely taken possession of his government, when he was attacked in the night and slain by Welled Haryat, Ayto Hannes's brother. As soon as intelligence of this event reached the Ras, he sent Azage Giga to punish the murderers,

ers, but the party of the former was so strong, that he resisted all the force sent against him, and overthrew it in a pitched battle. This, however, could not secure him possession of the district, for the son of Ayto Saiel shortly afterwards challenged him to single combat, and slew him; since which time the province has remained quiet, under the rule of the son of Ayto Saiel.

"In consequence of the courageous and active conduct of Mr. Pearce throughout the whole of this affair, he, for a time, became a great favourite with the Ras, who presented him with a white mule, and increased his allowances, and, when peace was restored, he was appointed to the honour of attending Ozoro-Turinga, a sister of the Ras, with an escort back to Antálo. The mascal was this year kept with unusual splendour and very numerously attended; all the principal chieftains evincing great anxiety to prove their attachment to the Ras: a larger number of cattle than is customary were killed on the occasion, and, to use a phrase employed by the Ras's favourite scribe, 'the maize flowed in plenty, like the waters of a river.'

"The favourable inclinations of the Ras towards Mr. Pearce did not, however, last so long as might have been expected, the enemies of the latter regained their former influence, and shortly afterwards occasioned an absolute rupture; on which occasion, Mr. Pearce boldly declared, in the Ras's presence, that, unless he were better treated, he would go over to the Galla, who were then on the borders of Lasta, and offer his services to Gojee their chief. The Ras, who held the Galla in peculiar detestation, was so greatly enraged at this threat, that he told him he would prevent his carrying that plan into execution, but that he was welcome to go wherever else he chose, provided he might never see his face again.

"In consequence of this quarrel Mr. Pearce took leave of the few friends he had left, and set out on his mule from Antálo, attended by two servants, a boy and a girl, who, from kind treatment, had become much attached to his service. He felt doubtful, at first, which way he ought to direct his course, but, being informed that the road through Lasta to Gondar was practicable, he resolved to turn his mule to the south, and being anxious to get out of the neighbourhood of Antálo, before his quarrel with the Ras should become generally known, he travelled ten hours a day, which in two days brought him into the province of Wojjerat.

"The inhabitants of this district are said to be descended from the Portuguese soldiers, who settled in the country in the middle of the seventh century, and they pride themselves on the distinction which this circumstance confers. They constitute one of the most powerful race of men in Abyssinia, being larger in stature and stouter in proportion than the generality of the natives, and their fidelity to their rulers has been so remarkable, that it is became proverbial throughout the country.

"Here Mr. Pearce met with very hospitable treatment at the house of one of the aristies (farmers), where he observed that his appearance did not excite that kind of surprise which the first sight of a white man is generally observed to produce in other parts of the country.

The

The wife of the Aristi was peculiarly attentive to him, and, on his quitting them the following day, she prepared some cakes, and supplied him with a calibash full of booza for his journey.

"On the 28th, having crossed the narrow and mountainous district of Wojjerat, he arrived, in about eight hours, at an extensive and uncultivated plain, inhabited by a people called Doba: one of the isolated tribes of negroes which are to be found occasionally interspersed throughout all the regions of Africa. In the earlier history of the country, the Doba were considered as a formidable set of mauraders, but, latterly, it appears that they have experienced great difficulties in maintaining their native independence. Here Mr. Pearce passed unmolested, on account of his being supposed to travel in the service of the Ras, but he had little communication with the natives, owing to his not understanding their language.

"On the 29th, after seven hours travelling, he reached a district called Iyah, held by a tribe of Galla, under Welleda Shabo, a chieftain distinguished by his uncommon ferocity. Mr. Pearce declared, that he saw this sanguinary wretch drink a great part of a hornful of blood warm from the neck of a cow, though, by a most extraordinary kind of distinction, neither he nor any of his followers would eat of the animal's flesh until it had been broiled. This tribe of the Galla is called, by the Abyssinians, Assubo, a name which in all probability has been recently bestowed, from the circumstance of its having conquered the aboriginal inhabitants, and taken possession of the country of Asab. A sort of paganism is still kept up among these barbarians, and the wanza tree is held by them as sacred; but with respect to their peculiar mode of worship, no very clear account could be procured. The country which they inhabit is one continued forest, where they pass a rude and uncultivated life,

'The earth their bed, their canopy the sky,'

engaged in pastoral occupations, or in making predatory inroads on the territories of their neighbours. At this time they professed to be at peace with Ras Welled Selassé, and, in consequence, gave Mr. Pearce a very kind reception, and pointed out to him the haunts of the deer and guinea fowl, with which the country abounds, appearing to be particularly delighted with the skill he exhibited in the management of his gun.

"On the 30th he left Iyah, and proceeded to Mocurra, a large town belonging to a tribe of Musselmaun Galla, which is likewise under the jurisdiction of Welleda Shabo. This town is situated about a mile from a fresh water lake, called by the natives Ashangee, which is said to be nearly as large as the lake Tzana in Dembea. This supposition, I conceive, must be in some degree erroneous, as its circuit may be accomplished in less than three days. It is named in the Tigré language 'Tsada Bahiri,' or White Sea, and it is said at times to be nearly covered with birds. The natives believe in the tradition, that a large city once stood on the site of this water, but that it was destroyed, in his displeasure, by the immediate hand of God. To the south of this

lake extends the mountainous district of Lasta.

"On the 1st of October, Mr. Pearce left Mocurra, and traversing the eastern side of the lake, passed through the district of Wofila, which was then commanded by Degusmati Guéto, a Christian chief, who had married a wife from among the Galla. On the same night, after leaving a smaller lake called Guala Ashengee on his left, he reached Dufat, a village situated on one of the high mountains of Lasta. Here the cold was found intense, and an hoar-frost lay upon the ground. The course Mr. Pearce had hitherto pursued was nearly south, and the distance between each day's journey may be traced on the map.

"On the following day he continued his journey to Senaré, one of the principal towns in the district, where Palambaras Welleda Tecla, brother of Ras Aylo, Governor of Lasta, at this time resided; the chief himself being a prisoner in the camp of Gojee, into whose hands he had fallen in a skirmish on the borders. The latter, with all the inherent cruelty of the Galla, had ordered one of the fingers of his captive to be cut off; well knowing the disgrace which he should inflict upon him in the eyes of the Abyssinans by any species of mutilation. At Senaré, Mr. Pearce was received with much hospitality, though he evidently perceived that the principal people in the country were suspicious with regard to his intention of proceeding to the south; so that he here determined to advance only so far as the Ain Tacazze, and thence to turn off along the course of that river towards the district of Samen, where he entertained the hope of penetrating into the interior with more facility, and for this purpose he joined some wandering people who were travelling that way.

"On the third, after seven hours march, Mr. Pearce and his small party slept supperless under a tree on the top of a high mountain, a circumstance which was doubly felt, from the weather being extremely cold; and, on the following day they descended into the plains of Maizella. Here they met with a favourable reception at a small village in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Tacazze, which Mr. Pearce went to examine in the evening. This river, which may be considered as one of the larger branches of the Nile, rises from three small springs (called by the natives Ain Tacazze, or the eye of the Tacazze), emptying themselves into a reservoir, whence the waters first issue in a collective stream. To a person capable of strong reflection the sources of rivers afford a peculiar charm, for, in such situations the mind is naturally led to a contemplation of the various countries which the stream has to traverse, and of the different inhabitants whom it has to visit in its course. Similar ideas appear to have occupied Mr. Pearce's attention on this occasion, for he related to me, that when he stood on the brink of the reservoir, and threw a small piece of wood into the water, he could not help reflecting, how many regions it had to pass through before it could reach the ocean. It may be here observed, that Mr. Pearce, in his journey to Antálo, had not met with any river of importance, until his arrival at the Tacazze, the only stream he recollected, and that a small one, shaping its course northward, through Wojjerat.

"On the 5th of October, Mr. Pearce

Pearce directed his course nearly due north, following the windings of the Tacazze for eight hours, as far as Mukkiné, where, from the accession of a number of small streams, the river swells into some importance, and extends full thirty feet across. From Mukkiné, on the 6th, he travelled five hours to Selah-ferré, a lofty hill, lying about eight miles from the Tacazze; and from this place, on the 7th, he proceeded six hours N. by E. to Socota, the reputed capital of Lasta. This province is extremely mountainous throughout, and forms an almost impenetrable barrier between the two great divisions of Abyssinia, generally comprehended under the names of Amhara and Tigré, two passes only existing through the mountains, which are easily commanded by a small number of troops.

"Mr. Pearce describes the Lasta soldiers as remarkable for their horsemanship, a quality not common among mountaineers; but this in a great measure is attributable to the connexion subsisting between this province and that of Begemder, the natives of which not only pride themselves on their breed of horses, but are also distinguished by the skill with which they train them for service. The language of the country is Amaric, and the inhabitants wear their hair long and plaited, like the natives to the south. In other respects they resemble the Galla more than the people of Tigré, and they are considered, in general, as great boasters, though by no means deficient in courage.

"The town of Socota lies about ten miles from the Tacazze, and Mr. Pearce estimated it to be larger, and to contain a greater population than Antálo: these towns are distant from each other about six days journey. The treatment which Mr. Pearce experienced in the former place was altogether satisfactory, but he felt himself, to secure the continuance of it, under the necessity of concealing from the deputy of Ras Aylo his quarrel with the Ras.

"Soon after leaving Socota, Mr. Pearce arrived in the district of Waag, commanded by a chief dependent on the Ras, called Shum Ayto Cónfu, and thence, leaving Bora and Salowá on his right, he persisted in his course for three days northward, along the banks of the Tacazze, through Gualiu, the country of the Agows, until he came within thirty miles of Maisada, a town which I shall elsewhere have occasion to describe in the account of a journey which I subsequently made to the Tacazze. During the line of his march, Mr. Pearce had not met with any river of consequence running into the Tacazze, though he had crossed, particularly about Mukkiné, a great number of small streams and rivulets.

"It is a singular fact, that there exists among the Agows a peculiar prejudice against furnishing water to a stranger, so that when Mr. Pearce occasionally visited their huts, he found the occupiers always ready to supply him with milk and bread, but never with the first-mentioned essential necessary. As this did not appear to be difficult to procure in the country, the aversion from bestowing it may possibly arise from some ancient superstition or veneration of the waters, connected with the history of the Nile; an idea strongly confirmed by the circumstance of this people always selecting the banks of the great branches of this river for their residence.

"On the 9th of October Mr. Pearce crossed the Tacazze at a ford, where the river is nearly three hundred yards in breadth, which brought him into the province of Samen, whence, after travelling about four miles up a steep ascent, he arrived at the village of Guinsa. On his road to that place he had fallen in with a wandering monk, named Dofter Asko, who proposed, after a short conversation, to join his party, to which Mr. Pearce, as he found him an agreeable companion, willingly consented. He proved to be a man of lively humour, who had acquired a more than ordinary share of the learning of the country, and possessing great natural talents, with an extraordinary degree of craftiness, made a practice of travelling from place to place without any other object in view, than that of preying on the credulity of the inhabitants. On the present occasion he took upon himself, at Guinsa, to represent Mr. Pearce as a brother of the late Abuna Marcorius, and the son of the Patriarch of Alexandria; an artifice by which the country people became so completely his dupes, that they continually brought in presents of goats, honey, milk, and other articles of which the party stood in need, during the five days that they stayed in the place.

"To his other accomplishments Dofter Asko also united that of a physician, and, when the sick applied for relief, he wrote a few characters on bits of parchment, which not only were supposed to cure the maladies under which they laboured, but likewise to act as charms against the agency of evil spirits. Agreeably to the system of quackery established throughout the world, this Abyssinan Katterfelto undertook also the cure of barrenness, and when consulted on these matters, an accommodating screen was affectedly put up, to give an air of propriety to the transaction, which on such occasions is so absolutely necessary to ensure the success of an empiric. He had gained by some means possession of a Latin book, which he professed to read, and pretended on all occasions to be extremely religious; but Mr. Pearce, who soon became ashamed of his companion's conduct, considered him equally devoid both of religion and of principle. On the 14th, Mr. Pearce and his obliging friend, Dofter Asko, whom he found it difficult to get rid of, recommenced their ascent of the mountain; but the former took care to extend the day's journey to so great a distance, that the latter could no longer keep pace with him, and was at last compelled, though very reluctantly, to quit the party. On going away he recommended Mr. Pearce, with apparent friendship, to depend upon his own sagacity for support, telling him 'that none but a fool would starve.'

"Mr. Pearce had now gained about two-thirds of the ascent of one of the highest mountains of Samen, along a path leading up a deep gulley, formed by the force of the torrents. The landscape around was extremely beautiful; lofty trees of various species growing among the rocks, and the view, at times, opening on a boundless extent of country. The evening of the 15th brought him to Segonet, one of the principal towns in the province, which is situated on the east side of Amba-Hai. Here he was received with attention by Degusmati Welled Eyut, brother of the Governor of Samen, to whom he communicated

nicated his story, and in consequence this chief, after entertaining him for two days, gave him a letter of introduction to his brother, and sent a guide to conduct him on his way as far as Inchetkaub.

"On the 17th he got to Mishekka, where the report respecting an Abúna, raised by Dofter Asko, having by accident reached the place, the inhabitants, men, women, children, and even the priests came out to receive him, presenting him, as he passed, with a portion of the best things that the country afforded. Among the rest, the wife of an old priest brought out her daughter to receive his blessing, and an old man of seventy fell down and kissed his feet with transport at his arrival. Mr. Pearce felt, as may be well conceived, exceedingly distressed at the situation into which he had been drawn, and assured the good people, though in vain, that they were mistaken; but his new guide, on the contrary, seemed so much to enjoy the consequences of the misunderstanding, that, by his assertions, he more strongly confirmed them in their erroneous opinion. From this point of the mountain the road became extremely rugged and difficult of assent; and the snow and ice, which lay in every hollow, rendered the atmosphere piercingly cold, so much so, that his female servant actually cried, from the pain which the severity of the weather occasioned.

"On the following day, they passed over the summit of Amba-Hai, which was tremendously difficult of ascent, and at the same time they experienced a heavy fall of snow, which did not, as Mr. Pearce described it, 'come down with violence, but quietly descended in large flakes, like feathers.' On the evening of the same day they arrived, after a gradual descent for five hours, at Inchetkaub, where they sat down, according to custom, at the gate of Ras Gabriel's mansion, and had not waited more than an hour before his servants came and led them to a hut, provided them with plenty of bread and meat, and furnished them with a jar of maiz, a beverage to which they had for a long time been strangers.

"On the 19th, Ras Gabriel expressed a desire to see Mr. Pearce, who was accordingly introduced into his presence. This chieftain was a tall fine looking man, about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, having a Roman nose, open features, and a remarkably strong expression in his eye. When Mr. Pearce entered he was seated on his couch, surrounded by priests; and after the first compliments, he began to question the former very mildly respecting his quarrel with the Ras. As Mr. Pearce perceived that the intelligence of this difference had previously arrived, he told his whole story without hesitation, stating his causes of complaint against Ras Welled Selassé, and declaring, that it was his wish to proceed to Gondar, and to enter into the service of Zoldi of Gojam, or some of the chiefs in Ambara. Ras Gabriel listened to him with great attention, but made no immediate reply, saying, 'he would converse with him another day,' and desired him to retire to his supper.

"Two days after, Mr. Pearce was admitted to a second audience, when he found Ras Gabriel again encircled by priests, who, at his desire, began to ask a number of questions respecting his religion and his country. In answer, he gave as

correct an account of both as he was able, and fortunately, from being intimately versed in the Scriptures, his replies afforded general satisfaction: Ras Gabriel after the conversation was finished, declaring, 'that his opinions were very just, and that his religion was a good one.' From this time his treatment of Mr. Pearce became very kind; but he continued from day to day to delay granting him permission to proceed, and tried, with great earnestness, to persuade him to return back to Antála: with this judicious advice, however, the latter could not, for the present, be induced to comply.

"About this time, Mr. Pearce, who had for some days before felt a sharp pain in his eyes, was seized with a violent disorder, which, from his description of it, appears to have been a complete attack of ophthalmia. This disease occasioned a temporary loss of sight, and confined him almost entirely to his bed. During this period, he received a friendly visit from one of his most intimate female acquaintance in Tigré, called Wirkwa, who was accompanied by a young man named Guebra Merri, whom she introduced as her brother. At the time of their happening to call, Mr. Pearce's servants were both absent; his boy being engaged in looking after the mule, and the girl having gone out for a supply of water. The visitors, on entering, took a seat by his bed-side, and the lady began, with great apparent fondness and commiseration, to condole with him upon his ill health. In this her brother appeared very heartily to join, and they both together displayed so much tenderness respecting his misfortunes, and expressed so many kind wishes for his welfare, that Mr. Pearce, after they were gone, felt quite overcome with the interest they seemed to take in his welfare, being delighted to find, that so much true friendship existed in the country. He had not, however, long enjoyed the pleasure resulting from such feelings, when the return of one of his servants undeceived him, and led to a very unpleasant discovery, as it turned out, that these 'good creatures,' while amusing him with smooth words, had completely ransacked his house, having not only carried away a bag containing his books, papers, compass, shot, powder, and other articles, but even the very cloth (belonging to one of his servants) which had been laid as a covering on his bed; leaving nothing behind but the garments which wore, and his musquet, which he had fortunately placed under his pillow.

"Happily, on the same day that this occurred, some of Ras Welled Selassé's soldiers passed through Inchetkaub, who kindly interested themselves in his cause, and immediately set out in pursuit of the fugitives. On the following day the girl was apprehended, and, being taken before Ras Gabriel, confessed the whole affair. By this means Mr. Pearce recovered a few of the articles, but the journal, compass, and papers were irretrieveably lost, owing to her brother having effected his escape, and, in consequence, the lady was compelled, by Ras Gabriel, to forfeit her 'alwe,' or silver ornaments, worn round the ancles and wrists, which were given to Mr. Pearce's servants in compensation for the cloth which had been stolen.

"This untoward circumstance, together with his illness, removed in a great measure Mr. Pearce's desire

tire of advancing into the country, and as he learnt soon after from some of his Tigré companions, that the Ras Welled Selassé was in danger of being attacked by the Galla, who had advanced, as was reported, to the very neighbourhood of Antálo, he determined at once to return: for, in spite of the treatment he had experienced from the Ras, he still felt a considerable degree of personal attachment to him: and with the true spirit belonging to the followers of a feudal chief, which he had imbibed by a residence in the country, could not bear the idea for a moment of his being overpowered by his enemies. In consequence of this resolution, in December 1807, (the disorder in his eyes having abated), he took leave of Ras Gabriel, for whom he entertained a great respect, and who, in return, had been so much pleased with his conduct, that he presented hrm, at parting, with a mule, a quantity of powder and ball, and five wakeas of gold, and sent with him one of his confidential messengers, to speak in his favour to the Ras.

"On the 24th he reached Mishekka, where they met with another fall of snow, which lay so thick on the ground that it was with difficulty that they made their way through it. On the following day, (being the 29th of Tisas with the Abyssinians, which is Christmas day) he arrived at Segonet, and found Degusmati Welled Eyut keeping that festival, who sent them a sheep, maiz, and bread. On the 26th he descended the mountains, and at night reached an Agow village, about eight miles from the Tacazze. On the following day, the river being swollen, they found some difficulty in crossing it; but as length they accomplished this difficult undertaking, and in the evening reached Maisada. The 27th brought them to Asgevva; and the 29th to the neighbourhood of Antálo. As the party advanced, the country was found to be in great alarm, owing the near approach of Gojee and his Galla, who having obtained possession of great part of Lasta, had reached within a day's march of Enderta.

"This alarming intelligence occasioned Mr. Pearce to hasten his progress, and early on the morning of the 30th, he arrived at the gateway of the Ras.

"The followers of this chief, who met Mr. Pearce, expressed great astonishment at his coming back, and many urged him not to venture into his presence, but Mr. Pearce felt too proudly conscious of the motives which prompted him to return, to feel for a moment any dread of the consequences that might ensue, and, therefore, instantly sent in, to request an audience; when he was immediately admitted. As he approached the old man, he found (as he expressed it) 'something pleasant in his countenance,' and he turned to Gusmati Aylo, of Lasta, who was sitting beside him, and, pointing to Mr. Pearce, said, 'look at this man! he came to me, a stranger, about five years ago, and not being satisfied with my treatment, left me, in great anger: but now that I am deserted by some of my friends, and pressed upon by my enemies, he is come back to fight by my side.' He then, with tears in his eyes, told Mr. Pearce to sit down, ordered a cloth of the best quality to be immediately thrown over his shoulders, and gave him a mule, and a handsome allowance of corn for his support.

"About a week after this the troops of the provinces of Tigré, Endarta, Wojjerat, Salowa, Shiré, Haramat, Giralta, and Temben, having assembled, the Ras commenced his march against the enemy. His force, on this occasion, is said to have amounted to thirty thousand men, among whom might be reckoned about one thousand horsemen, and upwards of eight thousand soldiers armed with matchlocks. This may be considered as the largest army raised for many years in the country; the object which it had in view having been to repel one of the most formidable invasions of the Galla ever undertaken against Abyssinia. Gojee, the chieftain who headed this incursion, was reputed the greatest jagonah (or warrior) of his age; possessing all the skill in battle for which Ras Michael was famed, and even exceeding him in ferocity. This chief was decended in a direct line from the Guanguol, mentioned by Mr. Bruce, (being the son of AlliGaz, son of Alli who was the son of Guanguol.) The country which he governs extends from the borders of the Nile in Gojam to the foot of the mountains of Lasta: and his force was computed on the present occasion to amount to upwards of forty thousand Galla.

"The first day's encampment of the Abyssinian army (12th of January) was at Ivertoo, distant only six miles from Antálo, where it halted during the whole of Sunday, a general custom prevailing among the Abyssinians to avoid, if possible, marching on that day. On the 14th, they arrived at Bét Mariam, and, on the 15th encamped in Wojjerat; when the news of their approach having reached Gojee, he retreated into the heart of the mountains of Lasta.

"The 17th brought them to the side of the lake Ashangee, where general orders were issued 'to burn, plunder, and destroy.' On the 18th they arrived in the district of Wofila, and on the following day halted at Lat, on the top of a high mountain in Lasta: here the Ras sent forwards two Alikas with fifty matchlocks each, under the orders of Fit-Aurari Amlac, who fell in with the rear of Gojee's troops, and killed two Galla. On Monday 21st, the army made a forced march in hopes of overtaking Gojee, who fled in haste before it, being anxious to avoid fighting among the hills; as the chief dependence of the Galla is always placed on their horse. At night the Abyssinians encamped near Senaré. On the 22d they were joined by a few Lasta troops under Sanuda Abó Barea, and on the same day, Gojee being within sight on a distant plain, dispositions were made for the expected battle; Ayto Welleda Samuel, Chelika Cónfu, Woldo Gavi, Salafe Tusfa Mariam, and Ayto Aylo were sent forward to the right, and the Fit-Aurari advanced on the left, while the main body remained with the Ras in the centre. The right on taking up its ground was attacked by a party of Gojee's advanced troops, who, after having lost above twenty men in the attempt, were obliged to fall back.

"The appearance of the army on the 24th, as described by Mr. Pearce, must have produced a very striking appearance; the whole of the troops descending from the hills with a simultaneous movement into the plain. On the opposite side Gojee lay encamped with all his force; and, for a short time, he could

could be plainly distinguished reconnoitring the army as it advanced. In the evening some of his horsemen came down, within musquet-shot to procure water, but both parties remained in their respective stations, though a continual alarm was kept up by the Abyssinians through the night, lest the enemy might attempt to fall upon their camp by surprise.

"At the dawn of the ensuing day the Ras drew out his forces for action, but Gojee being unwilling to come to an engagement on a Friday, owing to a superstitious feeling entertained by the Galla against fighting on that day, shifted his ground a few miles back to the plains of Maizella. Beyond this point, Gojee had always declared that nothing should induce him to retreat. The Ras, at the same time, took up his encampment for the night close to the Ain Tacazze, and a flag of truce was sent for the last time to Gojee, offering terms of accommodation; but the latter flew into a violent rage at sight of the messenger, and swore, that, if he returned again, he would cleave him from head to foot; bidding him, with a sneer, to return to 'the Badinsáh,' and tell him that, 'before the setting of another sun, he and his followers might expect the same destruction that the son of Michael had met with on that very plain, from the hands of his grandfather Alli.' This alluded to the death of Degustmati Gabriel, of Tigré, son of Ras Michael, who, it is singular enough to observe, was actually killed on the plain of Maizella, with the greater part of his army, in a battle fought with the Galla under Alli, the grandfather of Gojee; on which account it was reported, that Gojee had made choice of it for his present scene of action.

"In consequence, on the following morning the Ras's army prepared itself for battle. The musqueteers, according to the mode in which they are usually disposed, were sent forward along some rising grounds on the flanks; the right being commanded by one of the brothers of the Ras, and the left by Palambaras Guebra Michael, of Temben, while the Ras himself, with the main body of the troops, was stationed in the centre. During the first shock, the Galla (notwithstanding the annoyance they experienced from the musqueteers) rushed down, making a horrible yell, with such tremendous force on the centre, that, for a moment, it was compelled to give way. The Ras, enraged at the sight, called out for his favourite horse, but the chiefs, who were anxious to keep him out of personal danger, held it back: on which, without a moment's hesitation, he urged his mule forward, and galloped to the front; his white turban and red sheep-skin, streaming wildly behind him, rendering him at once a conspicuous object to his troops. The energy of his action, on this occasion, produced an instantaneous effect upon the Abyssinians; a terrible cry spread throughout the ranks, 'the Badinsáh,' 'the Badinsáh,' and, at the same moment, the troops charged with such impetuous fury, that Gojee's horsemen were suddenly arrested in the midst of their career. Repeated vollies of musquetry now poured in upon them from the flanks, at which the horses of the Galla began to take alarm, and, in a few minutes, they were thrown into absolute confusion.

Mr.

"Mr. Pearce was among the first in advance, and the Ras, when he saw him in the thick of the fight, cried out to his attendants, 'stop, stop that madman!' but he called in vain; Mr. Pearce pushed on, and soon lost sight of his party. He soon afterwards killed a Galla chieftain of some consequence, and, by his courage, throughout the rest of the day, gained the admiration of all around him. The rout of Gojee's troops now became general, and the Abyssinians, who behaved throughout with great bravery, pursued them nearly sixteen miles to Zingilla: their chieftain, Gojee, having, under circumstances of considerable difficulty, escaped with a few followers into the plains.

"On the following morning, no less than eighteen hundred and sixty-five of the barbarous trophies which are collected on these occasions were thrown before the Ras, at his encampment, under the high fortress of Zingilli. This victory was obtained with only the trifling loss of thirty-five of his men, and two chiefs of no very great consequence, Chelika Murdoo and Ayto Guebra Mehedin, who were killed in the outset of the action. Among other advantages accruing from this victory was the capture of one of the wives of Gojee, his musical band, and an immense train of female attendants, with various utensils for cooking.

"On the 27th, the strong hold of Zingilli surrendered, by the taking of which, five and twenty Abyssinian chiefs of some note were released, who had been held in confinement by Gojee: amongst these was Degumati Tumro, Governor of the province of Begemder, who has, since that time, been strongly attached to the Ras. At this station the troops halted for two days, when the drum was again beat to arms; and the troops advanced a few miles, until they came to the brink of a precipice, which Mr. Pearce described to be the steepest he had ever seen, commanding an extensive prospect over the plains of the Edjow. Here the troops remained encamped for seven days, sending out parties, in every direction, in search of plunder, which were perpetually engaged in partial skirmishes with the enemy. The Abyssinian name for soldiers engaged in this irregular species of warfare, is Worari.

"On the 5th February, 1808, the army was put in motion, and descended the precipice before-mentioned into the plains inhabited by the Galla. This invasion of their territory produced dreadful alarm throughout the country, and Gojee, on the same day, sent a flag of truce, by four prisoners he had taken, to the Ras, to propose terms of surrender, submitting his cause to the arbitration of another powerful chief of the Galla at that time in friendship with the Ras, called Liban. This chief (the son of Mahomed Kolassé and grandson of Hamed) was a young and handsome man, about twenty years of age, who commanded a large tract of country, comprehending a portion of Begemder, the whole of Ambara, and the greater part of an extensive region, which was formerly termed the kingdom of Angote. Soon afterwards the drums were beat, and an order issued throughout the camp, that no one under pain of death should commit any further act of hostility. This truce was, however, of short duration; for, on the following day, some of the soldiers who

who had gone out in search of forage being killed by the Galla, the drum was again beat, and free licence given to the Worari to renew their predatory excursions

"In the course of these desperate expeditions, scenes of barbarity were occasionally said to have occurred, which appear strongly to corroborate an account given by Mr. Bruce respecting a circumstance that he had witnessed in travelling from Axum to the Tacazzee, which from being too generally discredited, has drawn upon him much unmerited ridicule and severity of criticism. I shall proceed to relate one of these occurrences which Mr. Pearce himself witnessed.

"On the 7th of February, while these transactions were passing, he went out with a party of the Lasta soldiers on one of their marauding expeditions, and in the course of the day they got possession of several head of cattle, with which, towards evening, they made the best of their way back to the camp. They had then fasted for many hours, and still a considerable distance remained for them to travel. Under these circumstances, a soldier attached to the party, proposed 'cutting out the shulada' from one of the cows they were driving before them, to satisfy the cravings of their hunger. This 'term' Mr. Pearce did not at first understand, but he was not long left in doubt upon the subject; for, the others having assented, they laid hold of the animal by the horns, threw it down, and proceeded without farther ceremony to the operation. This consisted in cutting out two pieces of flesh from the buttock, near the tail, which together, Mr. Pearce supposed, might weigh about a pound; the pieces so cut out being called 'shulada,' and composing, as far as I could ascertain, part of the two 'glutei maximi,' or 'larger muscles of the thigh.' As soon as they had taken these away, they sewed up the wounds, plaistered them over with cow-dung, and drove the animal forwards, while they divided among their party the still reeking steaks.

"They wanted Mr. Pearce to partake of this meat, raw as it came from the cow, but he was too much disgusted with the scene to comply with their offer; though he declared that he was so hungry at the time, that he could without remorse have eaten raw flesh, had the animal been killed in the ordinary way; a practice which, I may here observe, he never could before be induced to adopt, notwithstanding its being general throughout the country. The animal, after this barbarous operation, walked somewhat lame, but nevertheless managed to reach the camp without any apparent injury, and, immediately after their arrival, it was killed by the Worari, and consumed for their supper.

"This practice of cutting out the shulada in cases of extreme necessity, is said very rarely to occur; but the fact of its being occasionally adopted, was certainly placed beyond all doubt, by the testimony of many persons, who declared that they had, likewise, witnessed it, particularly among the Lasta troops. I certainly should not have dwelt so long, or so minutely, on this disgusting transaction, which, 'even the distresses of a soldier cannot warrant,' had I not deemed it especially due to the character of Mr. Bruce, to give a faithful account of this particular occurrence, since I have found myself under the necessity

sity of noticing, on several other occasions, his unfortunate deviations from the truth. I may here mention, that the Abyssinians are, in general, very expert in the dissection of a cow, a circumstance owing to the necessity of a very exact division of the several parts among the numerous claimants, who are entitled to a certain portion of every animal that is killed; and I have also to add, that whenever I subsequently mentioned the word shulada to an Abyssinian, I was uniformly understood.

"Let me here caution the reader against confounding this isolated fact, with the general practice attributed to the Abyssinian by Mr. Bruce, of keeping all the animals they slaughter alive during the time that they are preying on their flesh; an horrible and detestable refinement in barbarism, sufficient to stamp them among the lowest of the human race. Upon this question I still remain of opinion, that Mr. Bruce is decidedly mistaken, no such practice having ever been witnessed by myself, or having ever been heard of by Mr. Pearce, or any person with whom I conversed; and the Ras, Kasimaj Yasous, Dofter Esther, and many other very respectable men, who had spent the greater part of their lives at Gondar, having solemnly assured me, that no such inhuman custom had ever come under their observation. They all, indeed, asserted that it was impossible; and as a proof of it, remarked, 'that it would be flying in the face of heaven, as the person who kills the animal invariably sharpens his knife for the occasion, and nearly dissevers the head from the body, pronouncing the invocation; 'bism Ab wa Welled wa Menfus Kedoos:' 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' which gives a kind of religious sanctity to the act.

"A few days after the army had encamped in the plain, (during which period Gojee had sent repeated messages to the Ras, to deprecate his anger), a deputation arrived in the Abyssinian camp from Degusmati Liban, for the purpose of arranging a meeting between this chief and the Ras Welled Selassé, and it was agreed between the parties, that it should take place half way up a high mountain in the neighbourhood, on which Liban was encamped. Accordingly on the 8th, the Ras, attended by about thirty of his most confidential people, ascended the mountain, and soon arrived at the place where the interview had been appointed: when it came, however, to the point, Liban, who was a very young man, became so much alarmed, through the dread he entertained of Ras Welled Selassé, that he did not dare to come down; in consequence of which, the Ras, with the daring intrepidity for which he is at all times so much distinguished, took Mr. Pearce and two of his bravest 'jagonahs,' or 'fighting men,' and advanced into the midst of Liban's camp, where they found the young chief seated on a rude stone, in front of a body of his people.

"It is scarcely possible to imagine a more striking instance of the superiority which intrepid spirit and mental ability confer in a barbarous country, than that which was exhibited on the present occasion; for though the Ras was so feeble, that he could scarcely walk unsupported, and Liban, on the contrary, possessed all the strength and energy of

of youthful vigour, yet, on the approach of the old man, he was evidently awed, and it was some time before he could collect his thoughts sufficiently to enter upon the proposed conversation. In a short time, however, he recovered his spirits, and in the course of the discussion which ensued, it was settled that the Ras should desist from further hostility, on condition of Liban's pledging himself for the future good conduct of Gojee; the latter, on his part, accepting the guarantee, and binding himself never again to invade the Abyssinian territory during the life of the Ras.

"Previously to my tracing the Ras's progress back to his capital, it may, in this place, be proper to introduce a short account of the Galla immediately under the command of these two powerful chiefs.

"I have before stated my opinion, that the Galla entered Abyssinia from the south, by the way of Melinda and Patta, and upon this subject little doubt can, I conceive, be entertained, from the circumstance of the tribes still forming an uninterrupted chain to those points. Like the Goths and Vandals, who spread themselves over the greater part of Europe, the Galla poured in separate tribes into this part of Africa, at different periods, according to prospect of advantage or settlement; and, like the former, in a short time, became naturalized, and have, in many instances, adopted the language, manners, and customs of the natives they have conquered.

"With respect to their invasions in three great divisions, each consisting of seven tribes; their government established under kings, Lubo and Mooty, elected every seven years;' 'their councils of chiefs,' and other circumstances related by Mr. Bruce, they appear either to be customs or traditions peculiar to the Maitsha Galla, with whom Mr. Bruce conversed, or to be confined entirely to the southern tribes, as among those I am describing, no such regular political government is known to exist. As far as I could ascertain from the Ras, who spoke the language of the Galla, and seemed to be intimately acquainted with their history, it appeared that no common bond of union subsists between the different tribes, except that of their speaking the same language; twenty tribes, at least, being known perfectly independent of one another, each ruled by its peculiar chief, respectively at enmity among themselves, and the character of the people essentially varying, according to the districts in which they have settled.

"The two larger divisions of the Galla, known under the general appellation of the Edjow, live under the rule of the two chiefs abovementioned, Gojee and Liban. The most powerful of the two is said to be Gojee, which seems to be owing chiefly to his personal prowess; for the other commands a greater extent of country, keeps a larger body of horse, and is allowed by Gojee himself to assume the higher title of Imaum. The latter generally resides in a district called Werho-Haimanot, close by the river Bashilo, and part of his subjects are more civilized than the rest of their countrymen. I saw several of the former at the court of the Ras, and their manners, dress, and habits, seemed by no means inferior to those of the Abyssinians; indeed they are said to have become so completely naturalized in Amhara, that most of the

the principal people speak the language of the country, and dress in the same style. This improvement in their habits is in a great measure, I conceive, to be attributed to their having adopted the Mahomedan religion, which, with all its faults, has here, at least, tended in a certain degree to humanize its followers, and has led to the abolition of those inhuman rites and practices, which heretofore had disgraced the character of the eastern natives of Africa.

"The subdivisions of the Edjow Galla are numerous: those under Gojee are called Djawi and Tolumo, while those commanded by Liban are styled Wochali, Woolo, and Azowa; to the north-east of which reside the more barbarous tribes of the Assubo. The Ras also mentioned to me, that besides these, the Maitsha, and the Boren Galla, who reside in Gojam, another tribe is found near the Abay, or White River, more barbarous in its character than any of the others, called Woldutchi, which retains all the sanguinary ferocity of its first ancestors. The Woldutchi, like the Assubo, drink the warm blood of animals, adorning themselves in the same way as some of the southern natives of Africa, with the entrails of animals, and still continuing the practice of riding on oxen.

"In the course of my conversations on these subjects, I made many inquiries about the story told by Mr. Bruce respecting Guanguol; but the Ras assured me this could not be correct, as he knew Guanguol well, who was very respectable in his appearance, and when he visited the court, received great attention. He told me, however, that scenes somewhat similar to that described by Mr. Bruce, were often represented by the jesters about the court; so that it seems not unlikely that the story originated from some such circumstance, if it be not an improved edition of an incident related by Jerome Lobo, which occurred to him among the Galla in the neighbourhood of Jubo, as Mr. Bruce, though in the habit of constantly abusing the Jesuits, was not averse from borrowing pretty largely from their works, of which the reader may be satisfied by a comparison of his writings with either those of Tellez or Lobo; particularly the former, from whom he has taken whole pages without any acknowledgment.

"The Ras, as I have before mentioned, having concluded a peace with the Galla, mutual presents were exchanged, and on the 20th he set out on his return, by the way of Zingilla and the sources of the Tacazze. On the 22d, Mr. Pearce attended some of the principal chiefs on a visit to Jummada Mariam, an holy church, which is entirely excavated out of a steep rock, and surrounded by groves of fir. This appears to be one of those singular excavations so minutely described by Father Alvarez, who twice visited them during his stay in the country, and which were supposed to have been constructed in the tenth century, by one of the Abyssinian emperors, named Lalibala. Mr. Pearce described this church as very similar to the one, which I formerly visited on my way to Chelicut, called Abba os Guba. As the plan of that church was not before given, I have thought it right to insert it in this place, together with a plan of the one visited by Mr. Pearce, which is taken from the work before referred to, written by Father

Father Alvarez, and which he calls 'the Church of our Lady.' I have also added, in the same plate, the front elevation of another of these excavations, from the same authority, as I entertain no doubt of its authenticity, from its perfectly resembling in its style of architecture, part of a ruin which I examined in the vicinity of Axum. The workmanship of this church was said by Mr. Pearce to have been very curious, and to have produced an effect extremely imposing in its general aspect. The priests belonging to this establishment had some Portuguese or Latin books in their possession; but they could not be induced to part with any of them, owing to their being regarded as precious relics, with a sight of which they occasionally indulge the numerous votaries who visit this holy shrine.

"On the 23d, the army proceeded to Cobah; on the following day to Durat, and thence to Antálo, where it arrived on the 1st of March. In consequence of Mr. Pearce's conduct in this campaign, he became a great favourite with the Ras, as well as with his chiefs, particularly with Guebra Michael, Shum of Temben, who from this time continued to make him an annual allowance of corn. The Ras also presented him with a handsome mule, and gave him twenty pieces of cloth, in value about twenty dollars, and not only granted him the privilege of eating on common occasions at his table, but sent for him to his feasts at midnight, where they were generally favoured with a sight of the fair Ozoro Mantwab. At this period, Mr. Pearce married a very amiable girl, daughter of an old Greek, named Sidee Paulus; she was much fairer than the natives of the country, and extremely agreeable in her manners.

"Affairs continued in this kind of regular train, the Ras going about from Meculla to Gibba, from Gibba to Chelicut, and from Chelicut to Antálo, till the end of the rains, when a rebellion having broken out, headed by my former acquaintance, Subegadis, and his brothers Guebra Guro and Agoos, who refused to come in with their tribute, the Ras marched himself early in 1809 in great force to suppress it. The first day carried the army to Dola; the second to Aggula; the third to Saada Amba Haramat; on the following day it reached Ade-Kulkul in Agamé; and on the 6th proceeded to Mokiddo, in the neighbourhood of which the troops continued encamped for two months. During this time the army lost many men, and suffered great annoyance from the peculiar species of warfare carried on by its enemies, who, during the day-time, invariably retired to inaccessible fastnesses in the mountains; while at night they ventured abroad, and made continual attacks on the Ras's encampment, killing every straggler on whom they could lay their hands.

"While the army remained on this spot, Mr. Pearce went out on an excursion with Badjerund Tesfos and Shalaka Lafsgee, and others of the Ras's people, for the purpose of carrying off some cattle which were known to be secreted in the neighbourhood. In this object the party succeeded, getting possession of more than three hundred oxen; but this was effected with very considerable loss, owing to a stratagem put in practice by Guebra Guro, and about fourteen of his best marksmen, who had placed themselves in a recumbent position on the overhanging

hanging brow of a rock, which was completely inaccessible, whence they picked off every man that approached within musket shot. At one time Mr. Pearce was so near to this dangerous position, that he could understand every word said by Guebra Guro to his companions, and he distinctly heard him ordering his men not to shoot at either him (Mr. Pearce) or Ayto Tesfos, calling out to them at the same time with a strange sort of savage politeness, to keep out of the range of his matchlocks, as he was anxious that no harm should personally happen to them, addressing them very kindly by the appellation of 'friends.'

"On Mr. Pearce's relating this incident to me, I was instantly struck with its similarity to some of the stories recorded in the Old Testament, particularly that of David 'standing on the top of a hill afar off, and crying to the people and to Abner, at the mouth of the cave, 'answerest thou not Abner?' and now see where the king's spear is, and the cruse of water at his bolster.' The reader conversant in scripture, cannot fail, I conceive, to remark, in the course of this narrative, the general resemblance existing throughout between the manners of this people and those of the Jews previously to the reign of Solomon, at which period the connections entered into by the latter with foreign powers, and the luxuries consequently introduced, seem in a great measure to have altered the Jewish character. For my own part, I confess, that I was so much struck with the similarity between the two nations during my stay in Abyssinia, that I could not help fancying at times that I was dwelling among the Israelites, and that I had fallen back some thousand years upon a period when the King himself was a shepherd, and the princes of the land went out, riding on mules, with spears and slings to combat against the Philistines. It will be scarcely necessary for me to observe, that the feelings of the Abyssinians towards the Galla partake of the same inveterate spirit of animosity which appears to have influenced the Israelites with regard to their hostile neighbours.

"The Ras finding that he could make only a trifling impression on the enemy he had to encounter, burnt the town of Mokiddo, and left the country; having previously made over the district to Thadoo, one of the brothers of the rebellious chieftains, whose force was supposed to be more than sufficient to repel any aggression the latter might dare to undertake.

"On the first day the Ras's army marched to Adegraat, thence to Gullimuckida, and on the third to Seraxo, a small district belonging to Ayto Welleda Samuel, who being firmly attached to the Ras's cause, orders were issued to the troops to abstain from every species of plunder. Three days afterwards the army passed through Sawa and Rivai Munnai, and arrived at Gehasé, a small district belonging to Mr. Pearce's friend Ayto Debib. Here some of the soldiers, in opposition to orders, having committed various acts of hostility, the old Ras was so exceedingly enraged, that he mounted his horse, rode to the spot, and was with difficulty restrained by the chiefs, from slaying with his own hand, one of those who had been concerned in these disorders.

"On the following day the expedition took place, which I have before mentioned, to Zewan Buré, while, at the same time, an attack was made upon the district of Zoldi,

Zoldi, where upwards of three thousand cattle were said to have been taken in one day, besides immense quantities of corn: in consequence of which the whole camp exhibited, for some time, a continued scene of festivity and confusion. After staying a week at this place, the Ras crossed the plain of Zarai into the districts of the Serawé, and thence proceeded to the borders of Hamazen; where in frequent skirmishes with the Shangalla (whom the Abyssinians barbarously consider it a kind of sport to hunt down), the Ras lost fourteen men. The inhabitants of Hamazen are said to bear a very distinct character from the rest of the Abyssinians, and seem in many respects to be more nearly allied to the Funge, who reside in the neighbourhood of Senaar; being dark in their complexions, strong-limbed, desperate in character, and fighting with two-edged swords.

"At this time Lent having set in, the Ras took up an encampment near Adebara, in a beautiful and fertile plain lying on the bank of the river Mareb, which constantly supplied his table with various kinds of fish. Here two powerful chiefs of the country, named Guebra Mascal and Ayto Solomon, came in, with great splendour, to pay their tribute, and, soon afterwards, the Ras set out on his return to Adowa. In the course of this march, which lay for the most part through a wild forest, great quantities of game were taken by the troops, and immense numbers of elephants were met with; in the pursuit of which the Ras seemed to take particular delight. On one occasion, Mr. Pearce mentioned, that a whole herd of these tremendous animals were found feeding in a valley, and the troops having, by the Ras's orders, completely encirled them, no less than sixty-three trunks of these beasts were brought in and laid at the Ras's feet, who sat on a rising ground, which commanded the whole scene, directing his soldiers in the pursuit. During the progress of this dangerous amusement a considerable number of people were killed, owing to a sudden rush made by these animals through a defile, where a large party had been assembled to stop their advance. After this occurrence, nothing material happened until the arrival of the army at Adowa.

"At this time, Mr. Pearce's courage and talents had brought him into great favour in the country, and shortly afterwards, Ayto Manassah presented him with the house in which I found him residing: a large plot of ground was annexed to it, that Mr. Pearce had cultivated with considerable care; so that we had the pleasure of eating cabbages and other European vegetables out of it, equally good with those produced in our own country; Captain Rudland having sent over the seeds from Mocha."

Description of Athens.

[From Mr. Haygarth's Notes to his Poem entitled Greece.]

"'SEPT. 25. Soon after leaving the plain of Thebes we entered Attica. The country now presented a most barren appearance, and the road wound amidst a chain of low hills, on the sides of which the crags were continually bared to the view, interspersed with little vegetation, and exhibiting hardly any sign of cultivation. In about three hours we entered a narrow defile: the rocks on each side were covered with trees, chiefly firs. This is part of the ancient Mount Parnes. We followed a path amongst these rocks for three hours. About two o'clock we had the first view of Athens, distant four hours journey. The Acropolis was the only part visible; it appeared to stand in a plain. We were on very high ground, and two ranges of hills rose between us and the Acropolis. Beyond, we had views of the sea, and what I concluded to be Salamis and the coast of Argolis. This view was the most interesting that we ever beheld. The object of our wishes, the reward of our toils, was in sight. In a few hours we were to enter the most celebrated city in the world, which in its days of glory filled so magnificent a space in the history of man, and the light of whose glory still beams with uneclipsed splendour through the gloom of more than twenty centuries. A thousand recollections of its power, its grandeur, its pre-eminence in the arts, were presented to our minds. On our right we saw the ruins of an old tower and some other buildings, which I took to be the ancient Phylé, whence Trasybulus advanced against the thirty tyrants. We passed through the village of Casha, and in an hour reached the plain. For two hours more we traversed this plain, which is covered with olive trees. The sun was setting amidst clouds of a gloomy hue tinged with a fiery redness when we entered Athens. We passed near the temple of Theseus, which reflected the last rays from its broad and massy pillars. The Acropolis rose before us, on whose summit appeared the ruins of the temple of Minerva."—Journal.

"The mind naturally feels some doubt at the accomplishment of what it has for a long time anxiously desired, and most travellers, I should imagine, upon their first arrival at Athens, have been inclined to question the reality of the picture which the senses presented. 'Can this be Athens?' we exclaim, 'this the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence? Is this the fountain of that mighty stream which has flowed to all the nations of the civilized world, bearing on its breast the stores of art and science, of imagination and reason?'—The object so long sighed after, so diligently pursued, when offered

offered to the view is rejected as illusive; we feel inclined to disbelieve the impression of the senses, and regard the whole as the fabric of a vision.

"To this momentary state of scepticism succeed the lasting emotions of enthusiasm; a temper of mind the more permanent as novelty is not the source of its existence. Every object is as new and interesting at Athens at the end of the first year, as of the first hour. We are never wearied with visiting the banks of the stream where Socrates conversed; the *bema* whence Demosthenes declaimed; the theatre where the voice of tragedy spoke the immortal conceptions of Sophocles and Euripides. 'Id quidem infinitem est, in hac urbe; quacumque enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.'

"The chief part of the pleasure experienced in a survey of Athens is intellectual, derived from memory and reflection. Moral associations crowd so rapidly into our thoughts on this sacred ground, that we have little leisure or inclination to attend to visible objects; and scenes which in any other place would fill us with delight, at Athens perform only a secondary office. The bold and commanding figures of Genius, Virtue, and of Heroism, are pourtrayed in such vivid colours, and start with such life and spirit from the canvass, that we can hardly turn the eye from them to admire the glowing skies, the time-stained temples, and majestic mountains which appear in the distance.

"Time is not required to make Athens familiar. At the mention of each object a thousand recollections of the most interesting nature are awakened. The string is touched, and the motion vibrates through the heart. There is nothing in our visit resembling the ceremonious introduction to a new circle of acquaintance; it is the revived delight of the society of long absent and beloved friends. Each place long known to us by name is presented to the sight. We can read the first of authors amidst the scenes which inspired their genius; and from the contemplation of whatever is most excellent in human production turn to the admiration of whatever is lovely and grand in nature. We can leave for a time the perusal of the sublime doctrines of Plato, to wander amidst the groves of the Academy, or turn from the poetic raptures of Æschylus to view the scenes of his glory and theme of his song, the waves of Salamis.

"And yet after all, the traveller who, from the accounts of others, anticipates the most exalted pleasure, during a residence at Athens, may perhaps be disappointed. If his mind be not deeply imbued with classical impressions let him prepare for mortification; or rather prudently resolve to leave unvisited the walls of Cecrops. The fallacy of the hopes of a traveller who, in a tour through Greece, looks for pleasure independent of association, was exemplified to me in a striking instance. Previously to my arrival at Athens I met at Livadia a British merchant. He had experienced nothing but vexation and disgust since the ill-fated hour when first he set his foot on Grecian shores. The rivers and mountains which he had seen were not superior in appearance to those of his native country; the inns and roads decidedly worse; and he seriously informed me that

in the parks of English noblemen were to be found many such buildings as the Temple of Theseus.

"The account which this merchant gave me of the failure of his hopes and expectations, was as candid and ingenuous as the confession of an early traveller, Synesius, who declares that the chief reason which he had for visiting Athens was, that he might no longer be compelled to revere (προσκυνειν) those who had been there, and who differed in no respect from common mortals, but because they had seen the Academy, the Porch, and the Lycæum.

"Were we able to examine the secret thoughts of many of the modern pilgrims to Athens, we should find, I am afraid, that their travels have been guided by motives not superior to those of Synesius, and that their disappointment has at least equalled that of the merchant.

"Athens is situated nearly in the centre of a plain, about ten miles in diameter. This plain is bounded on the N.E. by the mountain Pentelicus; on the N. by Mount Brilessus, and the more distant summits of Mount Parnes; on the S. E. by Hymettus; and on the W. by the long and rugged range of Mount Icarius and Ægaleos. On the S. W. side its rocky shores repel the waves of the Saronic gulph, which rush with a melancholy sound into the deserted ports of Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. A wood of olives beginning in the vicinity of the Piræus, stretches about six miles in a N. E. direction, towards Pentelicus, and adorns the plain with a belt of never-failing verdure. The waters of the Cephissus flow through this wood, fertilizing in their course the gardens of the Academy, which are now used to supply with vegetables the inhabitants of Athens. The channel of the Ilissus is visible at the distance of about two miles to the S. E. of the Cephissus. The two rivers unite before they reach the sea; and within the curve formed by their junction, stands the Acropolis of Cecrops, composed of precipitous rocks, and crowned with the venerable ruins of the temple of Minerva. The entrance to the citadel ascends by a steep path at the western end; and the town beginning at the foot of the perpendicular cliffs which face the north, sweeps down a declivity into the plain. In the immediate vicinity of Athens the ground is broken by the abrupt rising of several insulated hills, of which the boldest in form, and largest in size, is Mount Anchesmus, distant about a mile to the N. E of the town. The hill of Musæus to the S. W. and the smaller elevations of Lycabatus and Colonos, agreeably diversify with their different outlines the uniform surface of the plain, which, except in the early part of the year, when the young corn is on the ground, presents a barren and arid appearance.

"The new town covers about half the space occupied by ancient Athens. Instead of embracing, as formerly, the whole circuit of the Acropolis, it is now confined to the N. side. The foundations of the old walls, which are generally discovered very near the modern ones, confirm the conjecture that the extent of the town, in this direction, has not undergone any material change.

"Its length, from the temple of Theseus to the Gate of Adrian, is about a mile; and its breadth, from the base of the rocks of the citadel

to

to the boundary of the walls, is about half that distance.

"The streets are narrow and irregularly laid out. It can no longer claim the Homeric epithet of *ευρυαγυια*. The houses in general are mean and wretched, except where the dwelling of a rich Turk or Greek, surrounded with its ample court, overlooks the miserable hovels which adjoin it, and aided by the effect of a powerful contrast, almost extorts the praise of magnificence.

"In the early and flourishing times of the republic, the private houses of Athens were probably not much superior in splendour or convenience to those of the present day. The alteration in their appearance kept pace with the increase of luxury, with the apparent prosperity and real decline of the state. Demosthenes says, that the habitations of Aristides and Miltiades were not distinguished from those of their neighbours by any superior embellishment; but complains that in his own time the houses of individuals surpassed in magnificence the edifices appropriated to public purposes.

"Athens seems to have undergone the most violent change in its outward appearance between the end of the second and beginning of the fifth century. Pausanias has left us a description of the magnificent aspect which it presented in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and we are lost in admiration at the number and beauty of the temples, pictures, and statues which he enumerates. Though it had then passed through the ordeal of Sylla's tyranny, and been plundered of its most valuable ornaments, it still retained a splendour worthy of its former fame. So exuberant was its fertility in works of art, that without sustaining any sensible diminution of splendour, it was able to spare treasures sufficient to adorn the capital of the Roman world. But the Gothic visitation was more destructive than the ravages of the Romans. And about two hundred years after Pausanias, the skin of a slaughtered victim, figuratively and impressively represents the desolation of Athens.

"The present population of Athens is estimated at 10,000 individuals, one-fifth part of which are Turks. The population in the time of its greatness, is supposed to have been no less than 284,000. The climate of Athens was always celebrated for its excellence. Euripides congratulates the Athenians on the purity and brilliance of their atmosphere:

Αει δια λαμπροτατου
Βαινουσης αβρως αιθερος.

Xenophon says that the seasons there were most temperate, *ωραις πρεπουσαις*. Yet there were occasional winter storms of considerable violence. Its lightness is applauded by Dion Chrysostom. It is still praised for superior salubrity. The months of November and December, which I passed there, were like August and September in England. January was in general fine, with the occasional interruption of bad days. The winter months are February and March, when there is a good deal of rain, and sometimes snow.

"'The state of Athens is much better with respect to the condition of the inhabitants, than that of the other towns of Greece. It enjoys peculiar privileges. It is not under the government of a Pasha, but of an officer called the Vaivode, who purchases his place from one of the great officers of the Porte, the

Kislar Aga. This privilege was obtained about the year 1600 by the address of a young Athenian female, called Johahi, who had been carried captive to the seraglio of the Sultan. It is in consequence not subject to such terrible exactions and oppressions as the other towns suffer; and whenever the Vaivode has shewn himself disposed to increase beyond the usual degree, the measure of extortion, the modern Athenians have, by intrigues and representations to the higher powers, extricated themselves from their difficulties with a dexterity of conduct and diplomatic acuteness worthy of the descendants of Themistocles and Alcibiades. Athens besides, lies out of the direct road from the Morea to Constantinople, and does not therefore suffer from the passing of troops, which is so serious an evil in other parts. The Turks too who inhabit it are a mild and peaceable race in comparison with their neighbours; so that the Athenian Greeks by no means endure any severe oppression.

" 'The Greek governors of Athens still retain the old appellation of Archons They are three in number, and elected to the office. They, with the archbishop form a court, which sits every Monday for the determining civil suits and litigations amongst the Greeks. They assess all ranks in proportion to their means for defraying the expenses of the city, which in general amount to 60,000 piastres per annum.

" 'The annual revenue of the Vaivode, whose jurisdiction extends over Attica, is about fifty or sixty thousand piastres. It arises from different sources, the principal of which are the capitation tax (the Caratch) from the Greeks, the poor classes paying three, the other, six piastres each: the customs on exports and imports; the tithe of grain, and of olive oil. Sheep, goats, bee-hives, vineyards, are also charged with a certain tax to the Vaivode. The taxes which the Athenians pay, though they complain much of their pressure, bear but a small proportion to those of some other countries. A man in very comfortable, if not affluent circumstances, told me that the amount of what he annually contributed was about 150 piastres, (£7 10.) a trifling sum for a man of his condition.

" 'The price of labour is one piastre a day for a common labourer; for a man with two bullocks two piastres and a half; but provisions are so very cheap, that labourers are infinitely better paid than in England; in proof of which it may be observed, that they work only about one half the year, the remaining half is occupied by holidays and festivals, on which they are idle. Their rate of payment must therefore provide not only for the days they work, but for those on which they do nothing. Beef and veal are hardly ever offered for sale, and mutton very rarely; the common meat is goat's flesh, which is sold at about three-halfpence per pound. Wheat flour sells at two pence per pound; so that in comparing the means of subsistence, and the pay of the English and Greek labourer, the balance is much in favour of the latter.

" 'There are few manufactories. The inhabitants make a coarse kind of hair cloth for bags, and coarse linens for their dress. They also make soap and oil in considerable quantity, but they have none of the finer manufactories of silk, &c.'—Journal.

" Athens,

"Athens, in almost every article, is ill supplied. We are told by two old poets, that it formerly had excellent bread:

τον δ' εις αλοραν ποιευμενον αρίον
αι κλειναι παρεχουσι βροίοις καλλισ-τον Αθηναι.

ου δη καλλισ-ους αρίους ιδον, ηδε μεσ-ους,
λευκοτερους χιονος, εσθειν δ' αμυλοισιν όμοιους.

It is at present execrable. The wine is so bad that strangers cannot drink it. The water though anciently celebrated for its purity, is very disagreeable. What is used chiefly in the city and distributed from several cisterns, the principal of which is in the bazar, is brought from Mount Hymettus, by a water-course.

"The modern Greek ladies are fond of ornament. A small cap of pearls and gold is placed on the head. The hair, which may still be called, as Euripides termed it, παρθενιαν χλιδαν, falls in long ringlets over the shoulders, and down the back. The neck is covered with a broad necklace of pearls; golden bracelets are worn on the arms, and large ear-rings in the ears. The garments are not well calculated to display the form, but hang loosely and negligently on the body. The outer vest, of different coloured silks, is not confined by any bandage; the inner one, of muslin, is carelessly bound by the zone. Their eye-brows are formed into regular lines with great care, so as to appear, in the language of Anacreon, 'neither joined nor separated.' The eye-lids are stained with a dark tint called σύρμε. The nails of their fingers, and even of their toes, are tinged with a dye brought from Egypt, and called κινά. They wear a yellow slipper or sandal, and when they walk out cover their heads with a white veil. They paint their faces both white and red.

"For many of these fashions they are indebted to the Greek ladies of antiquity, as will appear from the following quotations.

"The description of the dress which Euripides has given to the Bacchanalians, will represent very accurately the costume of the modern Greek ladies. He mentions the κομην επι τω κραλι τανυσον, the πεπλοι ποδηκεις, and επι καρα μιτρα. The hair, in general, however, was not suffered to flow loose, but was gathered in a knot. This we learn from ancient statues, and from Pausanias's description of a picture at Delphi. Πολυξενη δε καλα τα ειθισμενα παρθενοις αναπεπλεχθαι τας εν τη κεφαλη τριχας. It was a Spartan fashion:

incomptam Lacænæ
More comam religata nodo.

"It was, however, occasionally worn loose and flowing, particularly in the dance:

Χοροις δε γαιην, όθι και
Παρθενος ευδοκιμων γαμων
Παρα ποδ' ειλισσουσα φιλας
Μαλερος ηλικων θιασους,
Εις αμιλλας χαριτων
Χαιτας ανθεμοπλοκου ποικιλας
Φαρεα, και πλοκαμους περιβαλλομενα
Γενυσιν ισχιαζον.

Mine be the dance of lightest tread,
Such as in nuptial hour I twin'd,
When round my mother's couch I led
The maids who charm'd my youthful mind;

Hand link'd in hand the maze we wove,
Like Graces floating on the skies
To music's softest harmonies;
And ev'ry virgin strove
Who with most art could twine her vest
In easy folds around the breast,
Or bid the clust'ring ringlets deck
Her shaded cheek, and iv'ry neck.'

"Lucian describes the hair of the Grecian ladies as stained with a red dye, and falling down over the shoulders.

"The wearing the hair long was an Ionic fashion. The dress of the Athenian women was changed from the Doric to the Ionic, in consequence of an event mentioned by Herodotus.

"The zone still forms an essential part of the Grecian female's dress. The ladies wear it either simply tied in front, or fastened by two large metal clasps. It is used to carry the purse, handkerchief, &c. as formerly.

"The zone (called μίτρα, as well as ζωνη) was anciently a great object of attention, and several ceremonies were observed respecting it. It was loosened at marriage, and at the birth of the first child.

"It was not worn till nine years of age. Hence young children were called παιδας αμίτρες. They sometimes made an offering of the zones to the dead.

"The fashion of staining the eyebrows and eye-lids is mentioned by Lucian and by Juvenal.

'Ille supercilium madidâ fuligine tactum
Obliquâ producit acu, pingitque trementes
Attollens oculos.'———

"Xenophon describes the οφθαλμες ὑπαλειφομενες ανδρεικελω. The ὑπογραφαι οφθαλμων was a custom among the Medes, and probably copied by them from the Greeks.

"St. Chrysostom reprobates the ὑπογραφας οφθαλμων.

"The epithet ῥοδοδαχτυλος, so frequently used by Homer, marks the prevalence of the custom of dying the fingers with a rosy tint. Musæus describes his heroine as so adorned:

Ηρεμα μεν θλιβων ῥοδοειδεα δακτυλα χειρος
Βυσσοθεν ιστοταχιζεν αθεσφαλεον· ἡ δε σιωπη
Οἱα τε χωομενη ῥοδινην εξεσπασε χειρα.

——— he press'd the damsel's hand
And deeply sigh'd; she silently withdrew,
In anger feign'd, her hand of rosy hue.

"We can find also precedents for the necklace, the ear-rings, and yellow sandals. Hesiod mentions the ὁρμες χρυσειες, 'the golden necklaces;' and Lysias enumerates the ear-rings as a female ornament.

"Eschylus talks of the κροκοβαπτον ποδος ευμαριν, 'the crocus stained, or yellow sandal.'

"The veil, which was sometimes of a yellow colour, though generally white, was universally used by the Grecian ladies, and was formerly, as it is now, the most elegant part of their dress:

Αμβροσιῳ δ' ἑφυπερθε καρηατι βαλλε καλυπτρην
Αργυφεην . . .

Above her head she drew her flowing veil
Of silv'ry whiteness. ———

"The πεπλος, or outer garment, was occasionally drawn over the face, and used as a veil.

"St. Chrysostom gives a long catalogue of the articles of female dress, most of which are still in use with the Greek ladies.

"The custom of painting the face

face is mentioned by Xenophon; and by Lucian.

"The style of beauty for which the Greek females are at present distinguished partakes a great deal of the antique character. Their profiles resemble those of the ancient statues, or of the figures represented on fictile vases. The face is oval, the nose in general forms nearly a straight line with the forehead, and the eyes are large, dark, and brilliant. They have, as Euripides expresseses it,

Οιων πας ποσοις χαρίλας Αφροδιτης.

"The Greek beauties of the present day are distinguished by their dark locks. Light or golden hair was the theme of praise with the ancient poets.

Ω γερον, και παρηϊδες, και ξανθαι κομαι.

"The Greek ladies are almost entirely ignorant and illiterate. Most of them can neither read nor write. They are regarded by their husbands rather as servants than companions, and perform, as of old, many of the menial offices of the family; relieving the severer duties of cleaning the house and washing the clothes, with the lighter pleasures of self-decoration, spinning, and embroidery, like Penelope or Helen. They employ themselves in working garments for their dowry, in weaving, &c. They make their pantaloons, their handkerchiefs, and embroider with gold or silver their zones, which are composed either of cotton or silk. They arrive at the full bloom of their beauty at thirteen or fourteen years of age, about which time they marry (contrary to Hesiod's advice, who recommends them to wait till thirty) and look old at five-and-twenty.

"The young Greek female, at least if she has not been contaminated by the manners of civilised nations, is never seen before marriage. When she walks out she is veiled and closely watched by a female relation. In this respect their manners differ in no respect from those of their ancestors:

Πεφας γας αυλιος θυρα
Ελευθερης γυναικι νενομις' οικιας

The outer gate should be the boundary
Of every modest woman's walk.

"In depravity and licentiousness they at least equal their ancestors. The accounts which I received from very good authority are too disgusting to be submitted to public view. They are, however, confirmed by the narration of an old traveller. See C. 22, of Navigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages made into Turkey, by Nicholas Nicholay Dauphinois Lord of Arfeuile, 1551.

"'They have found out a way of corresponding with their lovers by sending them different tokens, as an orange, an almond, &c. for the interpretation of which, the lover has recourse to some old woman who is supposed to be skilled in magic. He replies in the same way. This correspondence is called Μάνδες, and is something similar to the clandestine courtship of the Greek ladies described by Lucian.

"'The way in which a marriage is negociated is this. The parents of the female, when they have fixed upon a man whom they think likely to prove an eligible connection, make a long list of the different things which they intend to give their daughter as a dowry. This is transmitted to the man, who looks it over, and if he thinks the offer sufficiently

ficiently lucrative accepts it, if not, rejects the proposal. After it is determined that the couple are to be married, they never see each other till the ceremony takes place, either in the house of the bridegroom or in the church. The bride, who is still called by the ancient name of Νυμφη, is brought there veiled; and at the ceremony a crown of artificial flowers is placed on the head of the bride and bridegroom. The eighth day after the marriage they both go to visit the parents of the bride, and a feast, with dancing and singing, is prepared on the occasion.

"'The marriage ceremony of the Albanians has several peculiarities, some of which appear to be relics of ancient customs. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom proceeds on horseback to the house of the bride, attended by his friends. The bride is brought out, and placed sideways on a horse, and conducted to the house of the bridegroom. When she approaches the house a party of women meet her, and dance before her a dance called Συρτες, holding each other by the hand. She proceeds into the house; the bridegroom remains at the door on horseback; a large cake, called Πλακουντα, is brought out to him, which he breaks over his head and throws to his friends. He then enters the house, the Papas performs the marriage ceremony, and the day concludes with feasting and dancing.' Journal.

"In this account of some of the marriage customs of the Greeks and Albanians, traces of ancient manners may be recognised. I will enumerate a few of them.

"The relations formerly conducted the negotiation for marriage.

"The woman brought the dowry.

"The bride remained concealed for some days after the marriage.

"The custom of wearing crowns at the marriage is ancient.

"Bion talks of the στεφος γαμηλιον, and Persuasion is poetically said to have woven the marriage crown for Helen.

"The ancient Greeks had dances at their marriages."

Description of the Greek Islands and their Inhabitants.

[From the Same.]

"THE oppression which the Greeks suffer is unquestionably dreadful. A Turk may kill a Greek without being detained to answer for the crime. On the day of my visit to Livadia, a Turk entered the house of a Greek, and attempted forcibly to take away his wife. The Greek naturally resisted, and the Turk shot him dead on the spot. He was not secured, but suffered to depart. The only measures taken in consequence were, that application was made to Ali Pasha for *liberty* to punish the offender, which would probably not be

be attended to, unless the petition was backed by a large bribe. A Turk may seize by force the wife, son, or daughter of any Greek, and this is perpetually done by Ali Pasha. In addition to these sufferings, they are robbed of the fruits of their industry by the heavy contributions which they are obliged to pay to the Pashas.

" 'Under these circumstances, can it be wondered that genius and spirit are almost extinct; and that their thoughts are solely occupied with the miseries which they endure, and the means of evading as much as possible the cruelty of their tyrants? Talents can never be exerted with effect, except where the mind enjoys perfect tranquillity; and courage is only displayed where there exists a conviction, that there is something worth gaining or defending. In the case of the Greeks, we find neither of these incentives to action, and they are in consequence sunk into a state of indifference and lethargy. How far a mild and equitable government would restore them it is not easy to determine; the experiment may, perhaps, at no very distant period, be tried.

" 'In personal appearance the Greeks are a fine manly race, of athletic form, and generally possessing marked and intelligent countenances. In common discourse the lower orders are particularly emphatic. The variation of their features, their different gestures, and extreme eagerness, strike all foreigners, but particularly Englishmen, whose mode of address is certainly very remote from Greek energy. Their looks and voice in conversation are so very impassioned, that to a bystander ignorant of the language, two Greeks engaged in friendly discourse would frequently appear to be the bitterest enemies. The women do not yield to the men in this particular, and their volubility of tongue exceeds any thing I ever heard.

" 'The Greeks are naturally merry and lively, and their mirth, in spite of their miseries, breaks forth at every favourable opportunity. They are fond of singing and dancing, and at the festivals of some of their saints they parade the streets with music, and indulge themselves in various kinds of riot. Their marriages too are celebrated with great joy, with music, feasting, and dancing; and the first day of Spring is also hailed with peculiar festivity.

" 'The manner of living amongst the Greeks is simple and uniform. They take a slight breakfast of coffee early in the morning, dine at mid-day, and sup at seven or eight. They do not reckon their hours as we do, but begin, as the Romans did, from six, and call seven one. In my tour through Greece, in the principal towns, I was generally lodged at the houses of the richest Greeks. Some of them live very well, and even splendidly. Logothete's establishment at Livadia is quite sumptuous. At an entertainment which he gave to a friend of mine, every dish (and the number was very considerable) was brought to the table by a different female domestic. Our host at Ioannina, Alexi Nutzo, also lived in a costly style.

" 'In the Greek mode of living there are several particulars which recall to one's mind the customs of the ancients. As soon as a stranger arrives at a house, and has been conducted

ducted into an apartment, a servant, generally a female, brings a basin, an ewer, and a towel, and kneels down whilst he washes his hands. The vessels are not indeed made of gold and silver, as in former times, but in other respects Homer's picture is accurate:

Χερνιβα δ' αμφιπολος προχοὴ επεχευε φερουσα
Καλὴ, χρυσειὴ, ὑπερ αργυρεοιο λεβητος
Νιψασθαι ———

In all the first houses this ceremony is performed before and after meals. Dinner they eat after the ancient manner, reclining on sofas; a very small kind of stool or table, a little higher than the sofa, is set before them: it may be called the tripod, which, we learn, from Athenæus, was always used at feasts. On this stool, or tripod, a large round metal salver is placed, and on this the dishes are served. At our daily repasts at Ioannina the cook always made his appearance, and called to my recollection the lines of Homer:

Δαιτρος δε κρειων πιναχας παρεθηκεν αειρας
Παντοιων· παρα δε σφι τιθει χρυσεια κυπελλα.

"'Most of the rich Greeks are either merchants or possessors of lands, which they generally farm themselves. Our host at Ioannina was proprietor of forty villages in the neighbourhood, which were cultivated by his domestics. The Greeks are naturally addicted to traffic, and a mercantile kind of life, which the Turks despise. The former have therefore almost the whole of the commerce of the country in their own hands. If the Turk is possessed of lands, he generally lets it to the Greek, who makes his profit on the produce. Speculation of any kind is quite foreign to the character of the Turk, and he is by his education (or rather want of education), and mode of life totally disqualified for the activity requisite in a merchant. Most of the Greeks who have not the active occupations of business to engage them, pass their days in the most listless and indolent manner; they do not occupy themselves in reading, or any kind of study, and (except at Ioannina) I met with very few in my tour who possessed any information, or engaged themselves in any thought beyond the occurrences of the day. Some had a slight acquaintance with the history of their country, its former state and glories; but their ideas were vague and imperfect. On all other subjects their ignorance is equally flagrant, and they in consequence ask the most absurd and childish questions. From the continual oppression which they suffer their spirit and character are now so sunk that it would perhaps be impossible to reclaim them. This oppression has had a most pernicious effect on their moral character, and rendered them knaves as well as slaves. They are pillaged and cheated by the Turks, and they in return think it fair to plunder and cheat strangers whom they have in their power. They certainly take every opportunity of practising imposition, and generally ask for their wares double or treble the price which they are willing to take.'—Journal."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

Influence of the Roman Emperors upon the Literature of their Country.

[From Mr. *Berington's* Literary History of the Middle Ages.]

"AFTER the conquest of Greece, the military genius of the Romans became tempered by something of a literary spirit; and the arts and sciences, which hitherto had languished in neglect, or been rejected with scorn, began to be cherished with fondness and cultivated with assiduity. The new ardour which was excited soon became manifest in the blaze of intellectual excellence which was produced. All the force and the blandishments of poetry have been concentrated in the works of Lucretius, of Virgil, and of Horace; while the Gracchi, Hortensius, Julius Cæsar, and above all, Cicero attained to such a degree of excellence in oratory, as to leave it doubtful whether the palm of eloquence is due to them or to their Grecian masters. Sallust and Livy, and particularly the latter, are models of historical composition. Cicero taught the philosophy of Greece to speak the language of Rome, whilst he rendered the doctrines of the Grecian sages more perspicuous and captivating than they were found even in their native idiom. In architecture, Vitruvius laid down the rules of design and just proportion. Other studies were equally encouraged. In the annals of literary patronage the name of Mæcenas will long be remembered: even Augustus himself, whilst he held the reins of government, either cultivated by his genius, or protected by favour, every laudable pursuit. Applause, rewards, and honours, failed not to attend the public instructors of youth, among whom were sometimes found men of exalted science.

"Of the estimation in which the polite arts were held, we may form some idea from the rapacity with which the cities of Greece were plundered, and collections of statues made. And this might be a principal cause, why Rome, at this time, satisfied with the easy means of procurement, had herself few artists whose names are recorded. In a moment of strange alienation of mind, or of abject adulation, Virgil indeed hesitates not, in the most exquisite strains of poesy, to speak slightingly of the arts, and even of oratory; and to represent no pursuit as becoming the majesty of a Roman, but to hold the sceptre of command, to dictate laws, to spare the prostrate,

trate, and to humble the proud. Those are pursuits which he recommends as peculiarly worthy the ambition of his fellow citizens. But if the sweets of patronage or the dread of despotism could vitiate a mind of so much purity, or degrade one of so much sublimity as that of Virgil, was it not even then a melancholy presage that the Romans had reached their highest point of intellectual elevation?

"Hitherto Rome had been, and continued to be, the seat of learning, and the centre of the arts: but they visited, in their progress, the neighbouring cities, and from them passed to the remoter provinces. When her arms had surmounted the Alps, and the more western countries, discomfited by repeated victories could offer no further resistance, she had recourse to her usual and enlightened policy of civilizing those whom she had vanquished, and of extending the social habits and the civil jurisprudence with the arts, the sciences, and the language of Rome, to the extremities of the empire. For the gross manners of barbarians she substituted those of the most polished capital in the world; for the rough and inharmonious accents of an uncultivated dialect, she habituated the ear to the softer melody of the Latin tongue; and when she had allured them to the perusal, she laid before them the pages of her admired poets, her historians, and her philosophers; and, in exchange for the rude edifices of their fathers, she displayed the beautiful proportions of architectural design. Europe, say the historians, began to breathe and to recover strength; agriculture was encouraged; population increased; the ruined cities were rebuilt; new towns were founded; and, an appearance of prosperity succeeding, the havoc of war was, in some degree, repaired. And, indeed, when at this remote period, we survey in their temples, their amphitheatres, their aqueducts, the mere ruins of the gorgeous structures which were raised by that mighty people, we feel compelled to acknowledge, that though misery and destruction at first followed the track of their arms, it was afterwards succeeded by happiness and abundance; and that they were not unworthy of the universal dominion which they had acquired.

"I have somewhere seen an opinion hazarded, that it would have been well for the state of man, had Carthage triumphed, and the Roman power been subdued. It has been supposed that, compared with that of the sword, the spirit of commerce is mild and beneficent; that, acting under the influence of this spirit, Carthage would have respected the rights of nations, and have promoted, as herself interested in the event, their greater prosperity; that by her, nautical science would have been advanced, and new regions discovered, by which a more early and general intercourse would have taken place amongst nations, the condition of mankind would have been improved, and the arts of peace more generally cultivated. The theory is pleasing, but it is not in unison with the conduct of commercial nations. Their spirit is less often mild, and beneficent, than selfish, rapacious, and mercenary. For them letters have few charms; and the culture of the nobler arts is apt to be neglected in the pursuit of sordid pelf.

"Tacitus, in detailing the achievements of his Agricola in Britain, has a passage which illustrates

trates the conduct of the Romans in their conquests.

" ' The following winter was devoted to points of the highest utility and importance. In order to allure the scattered population of the country from the predatory habits to which they were accustomed, to more pacific and civilized pursuits, Agricola laboured to incite them by individual persuasion and public assistance, to erect towns and adorn them with temples and porticos. He praised the willing and he reproved the sluggish, till the rivalry of honour operated like the feeling of duty, or the stimulus of necessity. The next object of his policy was to inspire a passion for letters in the sons of the nobility. The genius of the Britons appeared to him superior to that of the Gauls; for the former had no sooner learned the language of Rome, than they discovered a desire to improve it into eloquence. Our fashions rose in their estoem; the toga was frequently seen among them; and by degrees they adopted our porticos and baths, the refinements of our luxury. But what the thoughtless and the ignorant considered as the charm of polished life, was in fact only an indication of the loss of their liberty and independence.'

"But what is human must ever fluctuate; and the progress of learning has been ingeniously represented as a curve line, which having reached its greatest altitude, again descends to the plane from which it rose. Whilst the Romans were diffusing a taste for letters and for the arts of civilized life over the distant provinces, those letters and those arts were rapidly verging to decline within the confines of Italy, and even within the walls of the capital. The perfect models of Roman eloquence, which had been furnished by Cicero, seemed to last only to shame the puny efforts of his followers. The loss of liberty and the extinction of public spirit had put an end to that freedom of thought and grandeur of sentiment amongst the Romans, without which public speaking soon becomes only a vapid contest of sophistry or adulation. Cicero himself was not unconscious of the operation of those causes which, in his time, had secretly begun to corrupt the genius of Roman eloquence. To the intellectual pre-eminence of the Greeks he was never sparing of his praise; but he thought that in oratory the Romans had nobly struggled with them for the palm of victory. ' Yet, in this very faculty,' said he, ' in which we have advanced from the most imperfect beginnings to the highest excellence, we may, as in human things, soon expect to see symptoms of decrepitude and the process of decay.

"The declension of eloquence, of which so many motives of emolument and of fame conspired to promote the culture, might naturally be expected to be accompanied with the fall of many sister arts. Here, however, a question presents itself which is not easy to be solved, and which I shall do little more than state. What, it may be asked, were the causes that, at this period, had carried literature to so high a degree of excellence? Many, doubtless, were those causes arising from a fortunate combination of circumstances, the principal of which may be referred, I think, as Cicero often confesses, to the habit of frequenting the Greek schools, and the consequent admiration of the perfect models, in every art, which were there exhibited. Curiosity was thus stimulated;

stimulated; and emulation was gradually spread from breast to breast, till a vivid desire was excited to acquire in the pursuits of literature and the arts, the same distinction which they had already attained by their military achievements.

"The history of the decline of letters, as they regard Italy, has been treated in a manner at once so masterly and copious by a late Italian author, that I might deservedly be accused of arrogance, were I to neglect his sources of information; though I should perhaps be charged with negligence of research if I employed them without reserve. Tiraboschi divides the whole period from the death of Augustus (which coincides with the fourteenth year of the Christian æra) to the fall of the Western Empire in 476, into three epochs, in each of which, having first exhibited a short view of the character and conduct of the successive emperors in regard to science and the arts, he details, under separate heads, the vicissitudes of literature, and the stages of its decline.

"When public liberty was extinct, it will readily be conceived how great must have been the influence of the imperial will on the state of learning, as it was either neglected, oppressed, or encouraged, according to the fluctuations of caprice, aversion, or regard. The mind, in general, turns from the race of the Cæsars with disgust, though some of them, as Tiberius and Claudius, were not devoid of literary acquirements. It is with some pleasure that we dwell on the attempts of Vespasian to repair the evils of his predecessors, but Titus is the subject of more pleasurable contemplation. He was an amiable prince and accomplished scholar; but the fates seemed only to shew him to the earth that his loss might be deplored. After the death of the tyrant Domitian, we welcome the reigns of Nerva, of Trajan, and, may I say, of Adrian? Adrian was, indeed, learned; but his erudition was tinctured with a jealousy of the literary fame of others, which bordered on meanness, and was totally unworthy of a sovereign. Such was his jaundiced taste, that he preferred the elder Cato to Cicero; and Ennius to Virgil; and even the names of Homer and of Plato excited his disgust. Trajan, bred from his earliest youth to the profession of arms, and ranking with the first generals of antiquity, had not a sufficiency of leisure for the acquisition of learning; but he wanted not judgment to distinguish, nor munificence to reward, those by whom it was possessed. The scholars, not only of Rome but of Greece, were selected as the objects of his patronage, and equally felt the effects of his liberality.

"A little more than an hundred years had elapsed, for Adrian died in 138; and if learning, during so short a period, as we shall soon see, had sensibly declined, want of liberty rather than want of imperial encouragement was the cause. The great men in the age of Augustus had received the first impulse to their genius before the destruction of the republic; and the effects of the spirit of liberty, in some degree, remained after the ancient constitution had degenerated into an absolute monarchy. When suspicion was universally excited, the character alone of being learned could hardly fail to awaken jealousy; and the annals of the times have recorded the names of many eminent scholars who became the victims of a tyrant's

a tyrant's fears. A sensitive timidity, rather than a robust hardihood of character, is too often the result of solitary application; and to that timidity may be ascribed the adulatory baseness, by which the writings of many authors at that time were disgraced. Velleius Paterculus did not blush to praise Tiberius, and his band of courtiers; nor Quintilian to extol even the genius of Domitian. Under such leaders, the political and judicial constitution of the empire became a prey to every assailant, whilst internal discord, vitiated manners, and an unbounded luxury, gave new strength to the wasting force of profligacy and corruption.

"If any thing could have rescued from merited reproach the name of Adrian, it would have been the adoption of Antoninus Pius. Endowed by nature with superior talents, which had been carefully improved by cultivation, and possessing an easy flow of eloquence, Antoninus, amidst the cares of empire, could find time for literary pursuits; but it is related of him as principally praiseworthy, that, on the professors of the arts, whom he established in Rome and in the provinces, he bestowed stipends, honours, and a variety of privileges. Marcus Aurelius, a name dear to virtue and to science, pursued the same path, and sought glory by the same honourable toils. He had been tutored, from early youth, in all the branches of elegant literature; but his mind, says the historian, was addicted to serious reflection: and he often neglected the captivating society of the Muses to court the fellowship of the severe disciples of Zeno. In the schools of the Stoics he experienced his greatest delight; and he modelled his conduct by their precepts. Notwithstanding this preference, the masters in every science were objects of his favour; and it is amusing to read of the honours which he conferred. To one he raised a statue in the senate; a second was made a proconsul; and he twice promoted a third to the consular dignity. Their images were suffered to repose with those of his tutelary deities; and he offered victims, and strewed flowers, on their tombs.

"Of the persons who were thus honoured by imperial patronage, few could make pretensions to classical elegance; and many, of whom the greater number were Greeks, clothed in the philosophic garb, devoted their lives to the severest studies; or, in order to secure the countenance of their sovereign, affected the austerity of his school. If Marcus Aurelius returned thanks to the Gods for having weaned him from the allurements of poetry and eloquence, his subjects would be less disposed to cultivate those arts which he had renounced.

"At the name of Commodus, the son of Aurelius, and of the cruel Septimius Severus, of Caracalla, and of the dissolute Elagabalus, science hangs her head; nor, in the succeeding reigns, does she find much ground for comfort, though Alexander Severus, and a few others, were well inclined to espouse her cause. But it was observed, that an immature death too often abridged the lives of those, from whose virtues, or from whose talents, some good might have been expected. From Dioclesian, or his colleagues in the empire, whom no education had refined, and who were little more than soldiers of fortune, what good could be expected to proceed? The school of arms is not the school

of letters; and whatever had been their disposition, they were too much involved in civil broils, and absorbed in the interests of ambition, to attend to those of literature and science.

"In this rapid glance, over a period of somewhat more than a hundred and seventy years, what a scene has the eye surveyed! The greatest portion of it is filled with conspiracies and seditions, bloodshed and devastation of all kinds. Successive competitors were continually struggling for empire; and he, who to-day was seen trodden in the dust, had but a few days before been raised by the legions to the throne.

"A new order of things, and a more pleasurable prospect now open before us. We behold a Christian Emperor, who was adorned with those virtues, military and civil, which could command the respect of distant nations, and the love of his subjects, at the death of Licinius, invested with the sceptre of the Roman world! But were letters and the polite arts as dear to Constantine as the general interests of the vast society, to the superintendence of which he had been called? —If we may believe the historian of his life, who is certainly sometimes too encomiastic, letters and the arts were the objects of his fond solicitude. His mind had been early imbued with a tincture of learning; he afterwards cultivated eloquence, and composed in the Latin language; and the decrees, published by him in favour of the professors of the learned arts, which may still be read, are an incontestable proof of his good-will. But Rome, and I may say, the western world, has a charge against him, which can never be effaced: he removed the seat of empire to Byzantium. The charge is thus justly stated by a modern writer. The city of Constantinople, he observes, founded as a rival to Rome, and chosen for the imperial residence, proved a source of fatal evils to the ancient capital, to Italy, and to its literature. Rome hitherto had been deemed the metropolis of the world; but the attention of mankind was soon attracted to the new imperial residence. All affairs of moment were transacted at Constantinople, which became the general resort of persons of eminence in all ranks and professions; and what Rome had been was seen only in the dreary pomp of her edifices, and the silent magnificence of her streets. Literature also forsook her former abode: and whither were her professors likely to retire, but to the new city, where rewards and honours were to be found? The cultivation of the Greek in preference to the Latin language, in a country of Greeks, could not fail soon to be adopted, to the obvious detriment of the western learning. And when the empire, on the death of Constantine, was divided, Rome, even then, was not the ordinary seat of her princes. Her loss, however, turned to the advantage of other cities When she ceased to be the universal centre, men of learning were sometimes satisfied with their distant stations, where, in a sphere less splendid, they could circulate round them the love, and invite to the cultivation of, letters.

"The sons of Constantine, though two of them had their stations in the west, were little solicitous to repair the injury which the removal of the seat of empire had occasioned; and when, after some years, Constantine became sole master, so engaged was he with the necessary defence of his widely extended

tended dominions, or so absorbed in the Arian controversy, which then distracted the christian world, that classical literature in vain implored his fostering care. Besides, at this time, the systems of Grecian philosophy had gained so many admirers among the converts to christianity, and by their alluring theories had so far succeeded in perplexing its simple truths, that men of the brightest abilities eagerly engaged in the new pursuits; and that harmonious and manly language, which the sages, the poets, and orators of Greece had spoken, was alienated to the purposes of sophistic disputation.

"The line of Constantine was terminated by Julian, a prince of some abilities, and who was not indifferent to the interests of literature; but his mind was vitiated by a more than ordinary portion of levity and credulity, and hence he became an easy prey to the artifices of the philosophers, whom he professed to admire, and who were still addicted to the heathen ritual. To their discourses he had given peculiar attention: he had, besides, been trained in the habit of composition, and, having frequented the schools of Greece, he had learned to write their language with purity and ease. His hatred of christianity was extreme; and though the means which he adopted for the promotion of learning were highly commendable, yet his views were so illiberal, that he refused the aid of science to the professors of the new religion, in order, as far as lay in his power, to oppress them with the reproach of ignorance. He forbade their public masters to teach; and as they believe not, he said, in the gods, whose names are repeated in the very authors whom they most love to interpret, let them repair rather to the assemblies of the Galileans (as he opprobiously termed the christians) and there comment on the works of Matthew and Luke. His reign did not embrace a period of two years.

Not many months after the death of Julian, the empire was permanently divided into the two great members of the east and west To the west I shall confine myself. Valentinian I. himself a poet, as is related, an artist, and endowed with eloquence, passed several laws in order to restore the christian teachers to their former privileges, and to encourage general learning, even in the distant provinces. His motives were laudable, and his measures had an obvious tendency to encourage literary application; but do not his laws, at the same time, prove, how much the general standard of study had declined, and how languid the desire of mental improvement had become? Indeed, a contemporary writer, coupling the increasing ignorance with the licentious depravity of the times, has described the houses of Rome, in which the sciences had once flourished, as resounding with musical instruments, the performers on which had taken the place of grave philosophers; where jugglers had succeeded to orators; and the libraries were for ever closed like the monuments of the dead.

"I shall say nothing of Gratian, whom Ausonius has immoderately praised, and whom, perhaps, as a grateful return for his panegyric, the prince raised to the consulate; nor of his brother Valentinian II. both of whom were massacred in the spring of life. It has redounded much to the praise of Gratian, that he invited the great Theodosius

to the support of the falling empire, who, by that means, was raised to the possession of the eastern throne. He also afterwards occupied that of the west. This prince, though he was not himself profoundly learned, could admire learning in others, and could devote his leisure hours to instructive reading, when the toils of government allowed him an interval of repose. The simple manners of the good and virtuous were, it has been said, his principal delight; but he failed not to reward every art and every talent of an useful, or even of an harmless kind, with a judicious liberality.

"The fourth century closed, and the fifth opened, while the purple was disgraced by the imbecile Honorius, one of the sons of Theodosius. This was a period of accumulated distress to the Roman States. In the preceding years they had often, with various success, been invaded by the barbarians from the north, first in quest of plunder, and then, as they felt the allurements of a milder climate, or the pleasures of a less savage life, in quest of settlements. Resistance, though sometimes crowned by victory, was ultimately vain; for new bodies of armed men, with their wives and children, their slaves and flocks, kept constantly advancing with steady perseverance. In less than two centuries from their first eruption, they extended their ravage and their conquest over Thrace, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and finally over Italy. Even Rome, in the tenth year, of the fifth century, saw Alaric with his Goths within her walls.

"The effects of these invasions on literature and the arts, and more than the invasions, the effects of the permanent settlements in the provinces, will hereafter be detailed. Let me now only add, that ten emperors, from the death of Honorius in 423, filled the western throne, during whose reigns the Huns, under Attila, in 452, overran Italy with furious impetuosity. Genseric, with his Vandals from Africa, in 455, surprised Rome, which he abandoned to pillage during fourteen days. New scenes of devastation were daily repeated; and finally, when a civil war, between the competitors for the throne, filled up the measure of misfortune, the barbarians, of whom the provinces were full, and with whom the ranks of the army were crowded, demanded, as their stipulated property, one half of the lands of Italy; and, when this was refused, aspired to a higher price. Odoacer, the chief of the Heruli, pursued his victorious career to the walls of Rome, despoiled Augustulus, a name of ominous import, of the purple, proclaimed himself king of Italy, and ascended the vacant throne. The western empire closed. This was in the year 476, at which time Africa obeyed the Vandals; Spain and part of Gaul were subject to the Goths; the Burgundians and Franks occupied the remainder; and many parts of Britain were subject to the domination of the Saxons."

Literature of the Arabians during the Caliphats of Bagdad and Cordova.

[From the same.]

"WHEN we consider the desolating policy which inspired the plans of the followers of Mahomet, and the fanaticism by which they were achieved, the last wonder to be expected was, the cultivation of learning and the gentle arts of peace. One hundred years after the flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina, which was in 622, and is the first year of the Hegira, the arms and dominions of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the general names of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain.

"In the earliest accounts of the Arabias, the native inhabitants are said to have possessed a taste for letters, considered as restricted principally to eloquence and poetry; and great praise is bestowed upon the force and the harmony of their language: but when we are told, they had fourscore words to signify *honey*, two hundred a *serpent*, five hundred a *lion*, a thousand a *sword*, and to illustrate each of which whole treatises were compiled, I must be allowed to withhold my assent from the philological prodigy. When a language is perplexed by synonymous words, these are known to have arisen from an intercourse with other nations, caused by conquest or by commerce; but it is said that the Arabians were never subjugated, and they lived in a state of independent seclusion. Whence then could so stupendous a multiplication of superfluous words have proceeded; and at a time when their compositions were committed to the repository of memory, rather than of books?

"Their poets, as was primarily the case among all nations, were their historians, whose verses recorded the distinction of descents, of which the Arabians were proud, the rights of families, and the memory of great exploits. But even in poetry the freeborn spirit of the Arabians would not be shackled by many rules; and their eloquence has been compared to loose gems, brilliant, but not improved by artificial combination; or, less elegantly, to 'sand without lime.' It was not by a discourse methodically arranged, as among the Greeks and Romans, but by the fulness of insulated periods, the harmony of expression, and the acuteness of proverbial sayings, that the Arabian orator aimed to rouse his hearers.

"Though educated in the purest dialect of the Arabian language, Mahomet is said to have been illiterate, and not even to have been able to read. 'As to acquired learning,' observes Sale, 'it is confessed, that he had none at all, having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who, neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained

gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life.' From Mahomet, therefore, learning, even in its lowest branches, could look for no encouragement; and when we follow him and his immediate successors through the progress of their mighty achievements, we tremble, lest—the monuments of past ages perishing in the general wreck of nations—the rhapsodies of the Koran should alone survive. 'As to the books, of which you have made mention:' replied Omar, the second caliph, when consulted by his general Amrou about the Alexandrjan library, 'if there be in them what accords with the book of God, (meaning the Koran), there is without them all that is sufficient: if there be any thing in them repugnant to that book, we in no respect want them. Command them to be all destroyed.' This fact which is not recorded by the historians nearest to the times, may not be untrue; but it is not less certain, that the triumph of their faith by arms, rather than the preservation or the dissemination of liberal knowledge, was the object of Moslem ambition.

"The Arabians began ill; but they began as other nations had done: for it is only when success has ensured security, and empire is established, that the mind begins to think of letters, in the serenity of repose, and to seek for satisfaction and for fame in other occupations, than of those of arms. It may be said, that the Arabian character had been suspended: that it returned to its native habits, when time and prosperity chilled the ardour or relaxed the energies of fanaticism; and bigotry gave way to the suggestions of a laudable curiosity.

"Under the reign of the caliphs of the house of the Ommyiah, who, during ninety years, resided at Damascus, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and to the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue, which was generally diffused through the vast extent of all their conquests. Indeed, the Caliph Walid I. prohibited the use of the Greek language, and ordered the Arabic to be substituted in its place. But, on the accession of the Abassides to the caliphate in 750, Almanzor, the second of the dynasty, removed the seat of empire to Bagdad, the foundations of which he laid on the laid on the banks of the Tigris, where it soon became the most splendid city of the East. The simplicity of the first caliphs was now succeeded by the magnificence of the Persian court; and Almanzor, who had personally cultivated science, professed himself the lover of letters and of learned men. He offered rewards to such as should produce translations of Greek authors on the subjects which were most adapted to the taste of his countrymen—philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine - by which means he hoped to enrich his native literature, and to excite the attention of his subjects to higher attainments. The successors of Almanzor pursued the same track. Their ambassadors at Constantinople, and their agents in other parts, collected the volumes of Grecian learning, which were translated by the most skilful interpreters. Men of genius were exhorted to pursue them with assiduity; and the vicars themselves of

of the prophet were sometimes seen to assist with pleasure at the conversations of the learned. Then it was, in the lofty language of Eastern eloquence, that men of science were denominated 'luminaries that dispel darkness; lords of the human kind; of whom, when the world becomes destitute it again sinks into barbarism.'

"When the son of Mesuach, a young Nestorian christian, retiring from his own country, first entered Bagdad, it is related that he appeared to have discovered a new world. He saw that the followers of Christ and of Mahomet were there engaged in the pursuit of the liberal arts. Here then he remained, applying himself to medicine, philosophy, and astronomy. His acquirements became great, and his knowledge of languages extensive; whence, himself being a treasure of learning, he was chosen to attend on prince Almamon, the son of the caliph, Heron-al-Raschid, and to accompany him on an important embassy. But the great deference which was shewn to him displeased the caliph. 'Why have you this christian,' he said to his son, 'so constantly about your person?'—'I keep him as an artist,' replied Almamon, 'and not as the director of my conscience; and your highness is aware how much the Jews and Christians are necessarily employed in your states.' —Another instructor of Almamon was the Persian Kessai, who, one day, calling on the prince, when he was at table with his friends, was not admitted, but received from him the following lines: 'There is a season for study, and a season for amusement: the present hour belongs to friendship, and the joys of the table.'—Kessai on the back of the same leaf wrote, 'Were you well apprised of the excellence of learning, you would prefer the pleasure which it can give, to what you now enjoy; and did you know, who waits at your door, you would rise, and coming on your knees thank heaven, for the favour which it shews you.' The prince rose, and attended on his master.

"On the accession of Almamon to the caliphate in 813, anxious as he was himself to acquire knowledge, and to instil the same desire into the public mind, he invited learned men from all nations to his court, whatever might be their religion; and collecting from them the names of the most celebrated authors, and the titles of the works which they had published in the Greek, the Syriac, and Persian languages, he directed journeys to be undertaken, and volumes to be purchased. The number of these, says the historian, was immense. The next point was, to select what was deemed most valuable under each head of science, and to proceed to the business of translation. The son of Mesuach presided over this important work, when, it is said, that among many others, the volumes of Galen on Medicine, and all the treatises of Aristotle, were translated into Arabic. Thus enriched, as it seemed to them, with the best stores of Grecian learning, they committed the residue to the flames, as useless, or perhaps, as dangerous to the Moslem faith. Indeed, as the austere Cato once feared the contagion of Grecian eloquence, the sages of the law looked with jealousy upon the introduction amongst them of philosophy and other speculative studies, to which their caliph was peculiarly addicted. And his friendship for Mesuach also gave offence to them, when

when he observed: 'Surely, as I entrust to him the care of my body, wherein dwells the immortal part of me, I may well commit to him the superintendance over words and writings, in many of which neither his faith nor mine has any concern.' It was in the capacity of physicians that many Christians continued to be employed in the court of Bagdad.

"Almamoun reigned twenty years. He was the greatest prince of a dynasty, which was celebrated for great men, and is represented to us as possessing, besides the virtues of a king and the talents of a warrior, the more pleasing endowments of generosity and gentleness, which were embellished by literary taste. When, in terms highly courteous and flattering, he applied to the court of Byzantium, saying, that could the cares of government have allowed it, he would have waited in person on the emperor—he received the rude answer: 'That the sciences, which had reflected glory on the Roman name, should not be communicated to barbarians.'

"But the splendour of the caliphat soon began to decline; and it is related, that Radhi, who reigned early in the tenth century, was 'the last, who harangued the people from the pulpit; who passed the cheerful hours of leisure with men of learning and taste: whose expenses, revenues, and treasures, whose table or magnificence had any resemblance to those of the ancient caliphs.' But the unwieldy weight and cumbrous magnitude of the empire were the principal causes of its ruin. Extensive powers were necessarily delegated to the distant emirs or governors: and when they had armies and treasures at their command these soon became the instruments of ambition. We then behold the rise of independent monarchies. But if by these revolts the caliphate was divided, and weakened by division, it is probable, that ruin was by this means averted from the remaining kingdoms of the Christian world, which seemed to be threatened by the union of such a mighty power.

"While the Arabian mind, by the means which I have mentioned, and principally through the course of the ninth century, was expanded, and enriched by the treasures of Greece—the reader will recollect what was the state of things in the West; when Charlemagne was dead, and all the hopes which his labours had excited, of the return of better days were extinguished.

"The various revolts, which dismembered the Moslem empire, form the principal subject of the annals of the Saracens, but I shall notice, as connected with letters, those only of Africa and Spain.

"By Amrou the general of Omar, Egypt had been completely subdued in 641; and, within a few years, was begun the conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic ocean. The usual tide of success attended the arms of Abdallah, and, after the establishment of the house of Ommiyah, Akbah, the general of the Caliph Moawiyah, we are told, pursued his career of victory till it was checked by the waves of the boundless ocean. Before the close of the century the conquest of Africa was complete; when Spain was invaded from its shores; and, about the year 713, reduced to a Moslem province.

"This province, however, was the theatre of the first successful revolt against the caliphs.—In the proscription of the Ommiades, about

about the year 750, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped. He wandered from the banks of the Euphrates to the vallies of Mount Atlas; was invited into Spain by the friends to the fallen family; landed on the coast of Andalusia; and, after a successful struggle, established the throne of Cordova, in the year 755.

"The example of Spain seems to have encouraged many similar acts of rebellion. In 812 the great revolution commenced in Africa, which finally terminated in the establishment of two independent sovereignties in the Fatimate dynasty, the seats of which were at Cairo in Egypt, and at Fez on the shores of the Western Ocean.

"We have seen the encouragement which was given to letters by Almamon at Bagdad, which was sometimes imitated by his successors of the same line, and extended to many other cities. The same conduct calls for our admiration in their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa, and the Ommiades of Spain. They became the patrons of learning; and their example, communicating a general spirit of emulation, diffused a taste for letters; whilst rewards and stipends allured the learned to their courts, and operated as a powerful stimulus to intellectual exertion. If Bagdad could boast of its richly endowed college, in which instruction was freely communicated, and of its profusion of volumes, collected from every reigion by the curiosity of the studious and the vanity of the rich, the same splendid distinction was possessed by Cairo and Cordova. The royal library of the Fatimites is said to have consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts; and the collection of Spain was far more abundant. Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, gave birth to many writers; and it is related that above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of Andalusia. ——but it is now proper to be more particular.

"I have before me an interesting work on the literature of the Saracens, during the most splendid æra of their government; and though its contents, under many heads, may principally regard Spain, they will be found adequately to represent the general standard of learning, in its full extent and character, whether at Cordova or Fez, at Cairo, or at Bagdad. In these seats of empire, though so widely separated, the same language was spoken; and the same taste seemed to prevail. It is, indeed, proper to add, that the works to which I now allude, and on the style and contents of which our judgment must be formed, are many of them not the peculiar offspring of the Spanish school. Let me, however, profess my ignorance of the oriental tongues, and my gratitude, therefore, to the learned interpreters, who have transfused their spirit into the languages most common in Europe. And if, when these versions are said to be most faithful, we feel not that glow of admiration, which is expressed by the adepts in the original idioms, the cause may be principally ascribed to the diversity of eastern manners, and to the extravagance of eastern imagery. If the more temperate climate of Spain have rendered this less glaring, and intercourse with its christian natives have effected other changes, still while the language remained unaltered, the primitive models must have left a permanent impression.

"It must, at the same time, be admitted,

admitted, that the Arabian volumes possess much which to our apprehension, could only have a local value and a temporary interest. But on many of our own productions, they, surely, would be authorised to pass the same judgment And while we freely censure their partial histories, their codes and commentaries on the law of their prophet, their endless interpretations of the koran, and the whole mass of polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists; we should not refuse the same liberty to an Arabian critic, who, admitted to turn over the volumes which crowd our libraries would soon discover ample grounds for just recrimination. Two things are remarkable: that they should have written so much, and that so much should have been preserved; when we consider that equal exertions were not made in Greece or Rome, in any former period; and that such shameful negligence, as I have often lamented, disgraced the conduct of their descendants. But if the Arabians wrote much, it follows, that they also read, or, in other words, that they were a literary people.

"Before the times of Mahomet the Arabians or Saracens—for the words with us are synonymous, whatever may have been the origin of the latter—possessing a natural flow of eloquence, were little acquainted with the rules of grammar. But, in an early period of their conquests, an apprehension having arisen, that a commixture of so many nations would vitiate the purity of their tongue, it became an object of solicitude to prevent this effect: and for this purpose learned men were directed to institute rules: and academies were founded with the same view. The names of not less than thirty early grammarians are extant, among whom great difference of opinion prevailed; and commentaries, in many volumes, and of an endless prolixity, continued to be published. Among these commentators not a few were Spaniards—Grammar even to an Arabian mind could afford subjects for poetical composition; and Ebn Malek, a native of Spain, celebrated for his universal knowledge, and who lived in the thirteenth century, has left behind him more than forty works on language, of which five are called poetical. When I speak of language, I must be understood to mean that of Arabia; for the Saracens, proud in the riches of their native speech, disdained the study of any foreign tongue, and were satisfied, that translation should open the treasures of Greece to their inspection.

"The two hundred and one works on grammar, which the Escurial library alone has preserved, sufficiently attest the scrupulous care with which the purity of the Arabic language was protected; its rules of pronunciation and syntax explained; its elegancies marked, and its obscurities elucidated. Even the accuracy and elegance of transcription which is visible in many copies, so late as the sixteenth century of our æra, must be viewed, as a continued proof of sedulous industry. Works of real philological science proceeded from all the schools of the Arabian professors, and men of talents employed themselves in unravelling the intricacies of grammar: while no standard of language could be found in Christian Europe, while Latin was become obsolete, or served only to supply the materials out of which, by a slow process, the dialects of modern Europe were to be formed: and

and while he who could barely read, was deemed a man of erudition. 'Then such,' exclaims our oriental linguist, 'was Arabia, the nurse of letters, when even Greece grew languid, the mistress of Asia, of Africa, and of Europe. Her natives turned their minds with so much ardour to the cultivation of science, that, though it may almost be said that the world submitted to their arms, it remains a doubt, whether their greatest renown be due to the splendour of these achievements, or to the tranquil cultivation of literature.'

"It has been observed, that the ancient Arabians, though naturally eloquent, were lax and desultory in their addresses, of which many passages in the Koran are a proof; and when more matured reflection had corrected the exuberance of fancy, this consideration impelled them to recur to the chastened models of Grecian eloquence. These were translated, and their principles adapted to the genius of the Asiatic tongue. From this time, they could boast of their rhetoricians, of whom it is boldly asserted, that they might be compared with Quintilian in perspicuity and truth of precept; whilst they could vie with Cicero in beauty and in copiousness. Among the first was Ebn Alsekaki, a Persian, whose celebrated work is entitled The Key of Sciences, on which many commentaries have been written, and which, in the tumid language of its admirers, has been called 'a boundless ocean, flowing with every thing precious.' Let no one, observes Alsekaki in his general precepts, pretend to excellence in writing, whose mind has not been well-seasoned in the school of all the liberal arts. In his Universal Method, Algezeri, another rhetorician, states the several kinds of knowledge with which the orator should be furnished. He should possess, he says, the rules of grammar; be skilled in the accuracies of his tongue; have present to his mind the proverbial sayings of his countrymen; be versed in the select writings of the poets; have a knowledge of the laws and of the Koran, with a promptitude in applying them; and be conversant in the history of past events, particularly those in which the Moslems bore a part. In a third work on the same subject of oratory, the author, Alsiuthi, having spoken of the purity, the elegance, the force of the Arabian tongue, as an exemplication of his rules, adduces passages from the most approved writers, with their testimonies in support of his doctrine.

"Whilst the too luxuriant effusions of their minds were restrained by compliance with these canons of discipline, we cannot doubt that the Arabs would attain the elevation of perfect eloquence. In the eleventh century, Athariri is extolled as a consummate orator. But, though the translations could not be deemed an accurate test, we cannot but regret, that, from the sixty-eight works which fill this department, some extracts have not been exhibited, as samples of genuine Arabian eloquence when chastised by rule.

"Besides the seven celebrated poets, who wrote before the age of Mahomet, and whose works on various subjects, all of which have not much connexion with poetry, are highly esteemed by the Arabians, the detailed catalogue of their successors in the same walk may be deemed endless. Not less than two hundred and twenty copies of their works are contained in the Escurial

Escurial library, many of which are by Spanish authors. Indeed, so addicted were the Arabians to poetry, and so flexible was their language, that not only the jejune rules of grammar, but philosophical and mathematical questions, jurisprudence and theology, and commentaries or scholia on these and every other subject, were treated by them in poetical measure. Much has been written on the variety of this measure; which from the earliest times was rendered diversified and intricate, in elegies, epigrams, odes, and satires. But the praises of their heroes, particularly of Mahomet, the descriptions of beautiful scenery, the events of war, the vicissitudes of fortune, the charms of virtue, the deformities of vice, the passion of love in all its modes and influences, together with apologues or moral tales, in an unbounded variety, are those themes which appear most congenial with the taste of the Arabic Muse.

"That portion of Arabia, called Yemen, or the *Happy*, from the delightfulness of its climate and the simple manners of its people, is the only country, it has been observed, in which the scene of pastoral poetry can properly be laid. Placed under a serene sky, and exposed to the most favourable influence of the sun, Yemen takes its name from a word which signifies *verdure* or *felicity*; for in those climates, freshness of the shade and coolness of water, excite ideas which are almost inseparable from those of happiness. Poetry, besides, derives its principal ornaments from the beauty of natural images; whence the odours of Yemen, the musk of Hadramut, and the pearls of Omman, supply a variety of allusions to the Arabian poets. And if the remark be just, 'that whatever is delightful to the senses produces the beautiful when described,' what may not be expected from eastern poems, which turn so much on the loveliest objects of nature? Beautiful expressions are obviously suggested by beautiful images. But Arabian poetry does not delight in these alone. The gloomy and terrible objects, which when described, produce the *sublime*, are no where more common than in the *desert* and *stony* Arabias; and nothing is more frequently painted by their poets, than beasts of prey, precipices and forests, rocks and wildernesses.

"When natural objects are sublime and beautiful, observes the same able judge, such will be introduced as comparisons, and metaphors, and allegories; for an allegory is a string of metaphors, a metaphor is a short simile, and the finest similies are drawn from nature. The *dew of liberality* and the *odour of reputation* are metaphors very generally used; but they are peculiarly proper in the mouths of those who have so much need of being refreshed by the *dews*, and who gratify the sense of smelling by the sweetest *odours*. When many of the eastern figures are examined by these allusions, they seem to possess a grace, to which, in our northern climates, they have no claim.

"The Arabians of the plains, like the old Nomades, dwelt in tents, and removed from place to place; according to the season, watching their flocks and camels, repeating their native songs, and passing their lives in the highest pleasures, of which they had any conception, surrounded by the most delightful objects and in the enjoyment of perpetual spring. And if the genius of every nation is affect-

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ed by its climate, that of the East must abound in liveliness of fancy, and in richness of invention. Admirers also of beauty in the human figure, the Arabians were peculiarly susceptible of that passion, which has been aptly termed the genuine source of agreeable poetry. Love has, certainly, the greatest share in all their poems; and there is hardly an elegy, a panegyric, or even a satire, which does not open with the complaints of an unfortunate, or the raptures of a successful lover. The description then follows of the horse or camel, on which he is to be carried to the tent of the beloved object.

"With this turn for poetry, the Arabians had the advantage of a rich and beautiful language, expressive, forcible, sonorous, and perhaps the most copious in the world. From the familiarity of this people with the most enchanting objects, from leading a calm and tranquil life in a fine climate, addicted to the softer passions, and possessed of such a language as has been described, they could be deficient in no ingredient which was requisite to give a vigorous impulse to poetical composition, provided their manners and customs were, at the same time, favourable to the cultivation of the art. This was the case in a high degree.

"In the days of chivalry, it is probable, that we learned from the Arabians, to honour poets and minstrels: but we did not rise to the enthusiasm of our masters. Among them, when a poet made his first appearance, his tribe was saluted with the warmest gratulations. Happy, exclaimed the exulting multitude, were they, who now possessed a hero, who would guard their honour, and a herald who would perpetuate the fame of their achievements. It was on this occasion, and when the birth of a son, or the foaling of a colt of generous descent, was announced, that such gratulations were principally expressed. To keep alive an emulation among the poets, the tribes are said, once a year, to have held a general assembly, before which they recited their compositions, sure of receiving every merited applause. Even the most admired of these compositions were transcribed on Egyptian silk in letters of gold, as were the seven celebrated poems already mentioned, and deposited in the public treasury, or suspended on the sides of the sacred Caaba at Mecca. But Mahomet, intent on higher objects, suppressed this assembly; when the pursuits of poetry were checked, and, by the interruption, many of the ancient poems, which were chiefly preserved by memory, were lost. These days of barbarism soon passed away, and the courts of the Saracen princes were again opened to the bards, whose songs were rewarded with a munificence truly royal.

"With such stimulating patronage and inspiring honours, we cannot be surprised, that poetry should have advanced to high perfection among the Saracens. At the same time, none of the causes which, with us, had affected language, had begun to operate; and their's had retained its primitive purity with the nicest care. This was also aided by the contempt in which they held the speech of other nations, though they could value the contents of their works. But our ablest linguists lament, that no version can transfuse the elegant sweetness of the Arabian bards. This is an evil which cannot be avoided, even where many more steps

steps of approximation, in verbal idiom, in national manners, and in natural objects, exist, than between Europe and Asia.

"The hatred of idolatry was so deeply fixed in the mind of the Arabians, that if they could have received pleasure from the more sober elegancies of the Grecian school, they would not have been induced to read their poets, or to have permitted them to be translated. They seem, therefore, to have been strangers to the mythology of the Greeks; but they had a mythology of their own, composed of an extensive range of spiritual beings, whose agency might well have been introduced into the epic drama, had they followed the rules of Aristotle, whose works they professed to admire; or could the poets of Greece have captivated their attention. They were barely acquainted with the name of Homer; and not so much could, probably, be said of Virgil, nor of any of our Western poets. It has sometimes been made a charge against the Christians of Spain and Africa, that they withheld from the Moors, or did not themselves know the value of, the classical works of ancient Rome: but these were not esteemed even by the Greeks; and, besides, it is it is well known, that the cause which has been assigned, estranged the Arabian mind from the perusal of our poets.

"The Arabians were also strangers to dramatic compositions, as adapted to the stage; and they seem not to have known the names of the tragic and comic writers of Greece. But they made up for this deficiency, by a species of writing, more fitted to the retired habits of their women, which consisted of tales in all the infinite ramifications of Asiatic invention. From this source Europe drew abundantly.

"As it would be little interesting, I have not specified the names, nor mentioned the contents and particular style of the works of the most celebrated poets, as they are found in the Escurial collection. What has been generally observed may suffice; to which I will only add, that, whilst the delicacy of the Arabians, on certain points, in which their faith seemed concerned, has been extreme, and, it may be thought, in some degree, justly reproachful to our more pliant manners; their licentious and disgusting freedom, on other subjects, has passed all bounds. But this freedom has not escaped the severe censure of their rulers.

"Under the head of Philology, many miscellaneous subjects, serious and facetious, are introduced; and as the reader may be curious to see, in what manner the learned Spaniard proceeds in his laborious work, he may take the following specimen. 'The first,' says he, 'of the seventy-six works on philology is a copy, for elegance and beauty of writing, inferior to none, decorated with golden lines and asterisks, and completed on the fourth day of the month Gemadi, of the Hegira 789, of Christ 1387, for the use of the king of Morocco. It contains a work highly valued by the Arabians, in prose and verse, entitled Academic Harirean Orations, from the name of the Author Hariri, and which may be considered as a characteristic specimen of Arabian elegance and learning. The discourses are fifty, many of which pourtray the manners of the age, and are named from certain persons, or from the places in which they were delivered. Thus one is called Alcailiat, from an

an ancient Arabian prince Cail, who was styled the *Great* from his exploits; another Alsananiat, from Sanaa, the principal city of Arabia Felix. The author Alhariri, a native of Bassora, died in 1121, of the Hegira 515, so celebrated in all the academies, as to have commanded the praises of the most learned, and have induced them to write commentaries on his works. 'The orations of Hariri,' observes Schirazi, 'should be inscribed on sheets of silk and gold, not on parchment or linen.' And thus he proceeds to add: 'His diction is graceful, elegant, and compressed; his method and copious style exhibit the art of fine writing; and no one ever more vividly displayed the peculiar character and amenities of the Arabian language. In all his discourses, which are adorned with the flowers of rhetoric; are many examples, and these are set off by passages, sometimes calculated to draw tears by their plaintiveness, and at others to amuse by their gaiety.'

"The contents of another work by Ebn Arabscah of Damascus, in tales and fables, indicate the true Arabian origin: 'The story of an Arabian king: admonitions of a king of Persia: the disputations of a man with the king of the Genii: the sayings and actions of a goat: the judgment of a solitary lion: the opinions of a wandering camel: the story of the king of the birds, and many more such pieces, designed by elegant and diverting discourses, to improve the mind and teach the art of government.'

"Asba Alazadita of Corduba, or Cordova, in the twelfth century, wrote Descriptions of Things and their Properties, styled the Golden Verses, in which, after having first accurately described whatever seemed to appertain to man, he goes on to describe the horse in all its parts, a favourite subject with the Arabians, and to state what his characteristic nature is, and what the qualities deserving of praise or censure. He then passes to the camel, and to other animals.

"Another native of Corduba, but an inhabitant of Sicily, in the eleventh century, composed a work which is highly moral, and divided into sections—on the disposition of mind with which the events of life are endured in submission to the will of heaven; on mental sorrow or penitence; on patience; on the conformity of our wills with that of God; and on the purity and discipline of life.

"From the painted figures with which this work abounds, and the subjects which they represent, it should seem rather to have been the transcription of a Christian than of an Arabian copyist. The names of the transcribers are generally given, and the precise date of the MSS.

"But let me not forget to speak of the venerable Locman. He is said to have been an Ethiopian or Nubian, extremely deformed in his person, but so famed for wisdom, as to have acquired the appellation of *the sage*. It is agreed, that he lived in a period of remote antiquity; and, probably, during the reigns of the Jewish kings, David and Solomon. His fables and moral maxims, written for the instruction of mankind, were, in the estimation of the eastern people, a gift from heaven, and they received them as its inspired dictates. "Heretofore," says the divine being in the Koran, 'we give wisdom to Locman.' Were he and Æsop the same

same person? It is not improbable that Greece was indebted to the Rart for the fables which she claimed under the name of Æsop. That, at least, was the country of apologues, a species of writing peculiarly adapted to its genius. Besides, the history of the two sages is so perfectly similar in their characters, and the incidents, of their lives, that one must have been borrowed from the other; and, in this case, to doubt, is to be ignorant of the Grecian character. But there are chronological difficulties which are sufficiently perplexing.

"Another proof of the great attention with which the Arabian language was cultivated, may be drawn from the number of lexicons or dictionaries, designed to elucidate its obscurities, and fix the proper meaning of words. A work of this kind appeared in the early years of the Hegira, which was followed by many similar productions, so comprehensive and minute, as to have left nothing unexplored. Among the lexicographers, two are principally commended, Geuharis and Firzuabadi, the first of whom lived in the most flourishing æra of Arabian literature, the latter in its decline; whom the student should regard as polar stars, to guide him unerringly on his way. Firuzabadi lived in the fifteenth century, the eighth of the Hegira; was greatly honoured by many princes, and, as a reward for his labours, is said to have received from the Tartar Tamerlane, five thousand pieces of gold. His works, as it was first projected, was intended to be comprised in sixty volumes, which he reduced to one. The number of MSS. on this head are forty-three.

"Notwithstanding the early fondness of the Arabs for such studies as were immediately connected with the improvement of their language, they did not apply themselves so soon to the pursuit of the higher sciences. They had long followed medicine: and they had made observations in astronomy; but they were strangers in the walks of philosophy; and it was the wish of the prophet, and of his immediate successors, that the Koran alone, rather than inquiries which might lead to its contempt, should engage the thoughts of the Moslem. Providence had other views; and as literature retired in disgust from the realms of Christendom, this very people were ready to embrace it with eagerness, and to cherish it with ardour in the court of Bagdad, and in many other cities of their empire.

"In the court of Bagdad the voice of philosophy was first heard. The works of the Greek sages were translated, schools were opened, and science was pursued with such avidity, that at one time, we read of a concourse of six thousand students. The same zeal was felt in Africa and in Spain; and we are furnished with magnificent descriptions of their colleges. But Aristotle was the master whom they principally, if not exclusively, followed; and on his text are founded the several systems of philosophy which sometimes united, but oftener divided, the Arabian schools.

"Among the most celebrated philosophers, the first was Alkendi of Bagdad, who taught there in our ninth century, who was styled, in the language of the East, 'the root of the age, the phœnix in the circle of sciences, and the philosopher of the Arabians,' from whose pen proceeded treatises on logic, geometry, arithmetic,

arithmetic, music, and astronomy, with commentaries on the works of Aristotle, to whom he implicitly resigned his judgment on every question.

" Alkendi was followed by Thabet Ebn Korra in the next century, who wrote on the same subjects, and on the books of Euclid, and who, like his predecessor, and many more of the Arabian sages, joined the profession of medicine to the study of philosophy.

" In the tenth century also lived Alfarabi, who, having studied with uncommon success at Bagdad, where honours were held out to him, and his stay was pressed with the warmest solicitations, withdrew from the splendid scene, and in retirement, joining practice to theory, devoted himself to intellectual pursuits. In the days of her most rigid morality, Greece had seen nothing more severely moral than was the life of Alfarabi. ' A barley-loaf,' he used to say, ' a spring of water, and a woollen cloak, are preferable to joys that end in penitence.' In this retirement, he found a source of unfailing delight in the works of Aristotle, which he is said to have perused two hundred times, and for the instruction of his countrymen, to have made them the subject of sixty distinct treatises. The labour might be prodigal; but it evinces, what it is important to know, how strongly this species of Grecian science had captivated the Arabian mind. Alfarabi was likewise a musician, who composed, and accompanied his compositions on the lute. In the court of the Sultaun of Syria, while the singers were executing one of these pieces, and he was playing, the audience, by an irresistible impulse, burst into laughter. He changed the piece, when every eye was filled with tears: but, at the third change, a sudden drowsiness seized the assembly, and the Sultaun nodded.

" About the same period of time, Al-Asshari in order to explain the nature of the divine decrees and their influence on human actions, applied the subtle reasoning of the Peripatetics to the tenets of Islamism, and dividing its professors, established a theological sect which soon acquired almost an universal ascendency. His books, like the texts of truth, were read in the schools, and his axioms and verses were committed to memory.

" Another great man, great both in philosophy and in the art of healing, was Al-Razis, a Persian, but who taught and practised at Bagdad, in the tenth century, who has been celebrated under the appellation of the Arabic Galen. He afterwards resided at the court of Corduba, where he died, leaving behind him works on a great variety of subjects: but it is said that he chiefly owed his fame to the Greeks, in whose writings he was well-versed.

" Al-Razis was followed, in the same line, by his still more celebrated countryman Avicenna, whose ardour in every pursuit of philosophy, theology, and medicine, has been described by himself. He faithfully committed to memory the lessons of the Koran, and the metaphysical books of the Stagirite; and he mastered without a guide, the theories of Euclid. ' Afterwards,' says he, ' repeating my philosophical studies, when difficulties perplexed me, I repaired to the temple, where, in suppliant prayer, I addressed my Maker, till light broke in upon my mind. At night before my lamp I desisted not: I overcame the importunities of sleep:

and finally triumphed in the acquisition of almost every science.'

"Yet we might be permitted to doubt of his scientific acquisitions, if he placed much reliance on heavenly illumination; or the aid by natural dreams which he also mentions. It was, however, a great misfortune, by which all the Arabian students suffered, that, themselves ignorant of the Greek tongue, they relied solely on translations, which, as it was afterwards discovered, were in general extremely defective. The work had often been committed to Asiatic Christians, ill-versed in the originals; and the first translation was not unfrequently in Syriac, from which it was rendered into Arabic. The Arabian philosophers were often led astray by these unfaithful guides; yet they were enthusiastically devoted to their theories; and no one more than Avicenna. He is even accused, in all his works, whether medical or philosophical, of having stolen from the Greeks whatever was most valuable, and of having stolen without judgment."

On the Infernal Regions of the Greeks.

[From Mr. Haygarth's Notes to his Poem entitled Greece.]

"I HAVE ventured to introduce the lake of Ioannina into the picture, though it is at some distance from the shores of the Cocytus and Acheron. I have also described it as the Acherusian lake, a name which it has received from most travellers, but to the honour of which it cannot lay claim. The authorities of Thucydides and of Strabo are decisive against such an opinion. The former represents it as situated on the coast, and discharging its waters into the sea, after it has received the stream of the Acheron. The latter assigns the same situation to Acherusia, but represents the Acheron as issuing from, and not falling into, the lake.

"It is evident, therefore, from the authority of Thucydides and Strabo, that the lake of Ioannina, which is situated many miles from the sea, cannot be allowed the title of Acherusia. Its appearance, however, is singularly striking. Overhung by bleak and lofty mountains, it impresses the imagination with those terrors which the ancient Poets, in their description of the unknown regions beyond the grave, always endeavoured to excite. The district which lies between it and the sea is wild and sublime. In this tract of country Cocytus, Acheron, and the Acherusian lake were situated, and as those recollections, as well as the uncommon grandeur of its scenes, make it an interesting part of Epirus, I shall transcribe from my Journal the account of a tour which I made from Ioannina to the shores of the Cocytus and Acheron.

"'Aug. 31, 1810. About ten o'clock we set out on our journey on horses furnished us by the Vizir. A guard of three Albanian soldiers was also promised us, who were directed

directed to overtake us in a village where we were to pass the night. The first part of the road was over the same plain which we had traversed in our way from Arta. After riding about an hour and a half, we turned to the west, and entered the defiles of the mountains, along a path rugged, and scarcely distinguishable. We ascended a steep hill, and came to a small wood, in which were some fine oaks. Looking back, we had a magnificent view of the Lake of Ioannina, and and of Mount Pindus around which the clouds were gathering, and the appearance of the sky announced an approaching storm. We descended by a path as stony and steep as the one along which we had passed in our ascent; and after riding about an hour, arrived at a small village called Dramasus, where we were to rest during the night. It is prettily situated amongst trees, on the side of a mountain, which rises boldly behind it. From the rocky cliffs in its vicinity, we had grand and extensive views. We proceeded to the house of the Capo, the best in the place, but a miserable dwelling. We found him sitting cross-legged in an open gallery, and smoking his pipe. Our firman from the Vizir, secured us an immediate reception; our baggage was carried in, and mats spread for us in the gallery. We ascended the hill above the house, and enjoyed from it a fine and magnificent prospect. The village of Dramasus is inhabited entirely by Greeks. There is more wood in it than in any place which we had seen in Greece; many of the trees are large and flourishing, with vines climbing to their summits—a picture which has furnished some of the writers in the Greek Anthologia with beautiful images and allusions.

" ' Sept. 1. At day-break we proceeded on our journey; the road was very steep and rugged, ascending and descending continually; barely wide enough for one horse, and frequently passing along the edge of deep ravines. In some places none but the horses and mules accustomed to the country could have kept their footing. We were now entering upon the tract of country in which the imaginations of the ancient Greeks placed the entrance to the infernal regions; and with just poetic taste, for the scenery is grand and impressive, made awful by the shade of overhanging cliffs, and the whole prospect darkened by the gloomy tints which overspread them. We passed along a spacious valley, surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, the sides of which were varied with crags and shrubs, and worn into numberless channels by the course of the wintry torrents. Several of these torrent beds we passed in our road, dry at this season, but in winter they must present a terrific and sublime appearance, rolling from the top of steep precipices, and bringing along with them rocks, trees, and mounds of earth. The breadth of the valley which I describe is about two miles. The bottom of it is not spread out in a plain, but broken into numberless small hills, which meet the eye in every direction; some of them of a considerable height, round at their bases, and terminating in sharp points, others abruptly broken off, and ending in precipices. The whole valley appeared as if it had been torn by violent convulsions. Through this valley flows Cocytus,

and Acheron, the ωκυπορον Πορθμευμ' αχεων, as it is expressly called by Æschylus. The place where they united their streams, the ξυνεσις δυω ποταμων εριδουπων, in Homer's words, was anciently called Γλυκυς, an appellation still preserved in the modern name of Glyki. Journal.

"Apollonius Rhodius has painted with uncommon force the terrific scenes which announced the approach to the Infernal Regions, and though he has assigned to them a different situation, yet his description is so energetic, and accords so well with the feelings excited by a view of this wild district of Epirus, that I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing it."

" ———They came to Acherusia's port,
With rocks precipitous encircled round,
And looking to Bithynia's sea. Gray cliffs,
Deep-rooted in the billows, tow'r to Heav'n,
And at their base the melancholy surge
Rolls sobbing; whilst above, th' umbrageous plane
Nods on the highest peak. In a dark glen,
Which opens shelving from the barren shore,
Yawns the wide cave of Hell, with trees and crags
Dimly o'ershadow'd. Vapours half-congeal'd,
Pouring continuous from the icy gulph,
Scatter a hoar-frost which the noon-day sun
Again dispels. Upon these shaggy steeps
Silence ne'er rests, but ever on the ear
The distant thunders of the angry tide,
And rush of winds amidst the wither'd boughs,
Burst mournful.———"

Picturesque Description of the Vale of Tempe.

[From the Same.]

"SEPT. 14. This day was spent most agreeably in exploring Tempe. At eight o'clock in the morning we left Larissa, and for three hours traversed the plain, having before us to the N. E.

the snowy top
Of cold Olympus,———

where the Gods

rul'd the middle air,
Their highest Heav'n.———

"'Ossa, a bold-pointed mountain, appeared on our right, and Pelion a low and tame range, was seen to the S. of Ossa. We passed

Ανα τε Πηλιον, ανα τε ψωμιας
Οσσας ιερας ναπας
Νυμφαιας σκοπιας
. . . . . ενθα παλης
Ιππολας τρεφεν Ελλαδι φως
Θελιδος εναλιον βονον
Ταχυποδον ποδ' Ατρειδαις.

Thro' Pelion and the forests deep,
Which wave o'er Ossa's purple steep,
Where rural nymphs their vigils keep:
Where Peleus nurs'd his infant child—
Him sea-born, swift of foot and wild;
Of Greece the tutelary light,
And strength of the Atridæ's fight.

"'These two mountains form steps to Olympus, Pelion being the lowest of the three; and the view of their relative heights called to our recollection

recollection the fables of the Poets, that by these mountains the giants attempted to scale the Heavens:

Οσσαν επ' Ουλυμπῳ μεμασαν θεμεν, αυλαρ επ' Οσσῃ
Πηλιον εινοσιφυλλον, ιν' ουρανος αμβαλος ειη.

On the Olympian summit thought to fix
Huge Ossa, and of Ossa's tow'ring height
Pelion with all his forests; so to climb
By mountains heap'd on mountains to the skies.—COWPER.

" 'In about three hours and a half we came to the Peneus, a shallow stream, very serpentine in its course; its banks adorned with trees and shrubs, and enlivened by numerous herds of cattle. Olympus appeared in the back ground. For about half an hour we passed through thick copses of the verbena, a plant formerly regarded with religious reverence, and suspended on the altars:

Ex arâ hinc sume verbenas.

" 'The plain contracts as it approaches the roots of Olympus and Ossa. The bases of these two mountains approach very near each other; the river Peneus flows between them, and on its banks, in this defile, is situated the celebrated Vale of Tempe. The small Turkish village of Baba (which is probably near the position of the ancient Gonnus) stands at the entrance of the vale. This delightful place has attracted the praises of many celebrated poets; but the most luxuriant imagination would find its boldest conceptions realised amid the scenes which nature here offers to the sight. The sublime, the beautiful, prospects of pastoral tranquillity, and views of grandeur and magnificence, succeed each other in wild variety. The widest part of the valley is a little beyond Baba, where it expands to the breadth of a mile and a half. A wood of large and flourishing planes, the most beautiful I ever beheld, spreads along the banks of the Peneus, and on the the right, about two-thirds on the assent to the summit of Ossa, appears the village of Ambelakia, romantically situated. The mountains which surround this part of the vale, are covered with low wood, broken occasionally by small crags. After passing this pastoral spot, the scenery presents one continued range of sublimity for an extent of about six miles, where it terminates in a plain. The cliffs, precipitous and rugged, alternately approach and recede from each other, sometimes leaving only a narrow passage for the Peneus, sometimes retiring into deep glens, which penetrate far into the mountains. Amidst the crags, shrubs and trees grow luxuriantly, affording just sufficient vegetation to obviate the appearance of barrenness, without diminishing the general effect of grandeur. The cliffs which rise on each side for the most part descend boldly into the stream, and close to the edge are frequently to be seen larger natural caves, the haunts of the God of the river, in the language of the poet:

Hæc domus, hæ sedes, hæc sunt penetralia magni
Amnis, in hoc residens facto de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat Nymphisque colentibus umbras.

The river Peneus winds along in a gently serpentine course, beneath impending rocks. Its banks are covered with trees of uncommon beauty, planes, poplars, and oaks, that dip their branches in his waves, and bow their heads to taste his

waters. Their forms, unchecked by the hand of art, and wantoning in all the luxuriance of native wildness, present a variety of fantastic appearances; some half-torn up by the roots: some covered with vines, which spread to their summits; some withered, and stretching round their bare arms stripped of their foliage. Intermixed with the trees, and ascending the sides of the mountains, are thick copses of bay, wild fig, and pomegranate. The river Peneus rolls on his waters below, in general silently, but sometimes gurgling over a bed of pebbles, or dashing down a gentle declivity. The foliage of the trees on his banks was adorned with a variety of colours; the dark green of the elm, the vivid verdure of the plane, and the red tints of decaying leaves, were all blended together in the most grateful harmony. Close to the brink of the stream are frequently seen small trees, covered with wild creepers, which form an impenetrable bower. About half way through the valley we passed a rocky glen, formed by steep impending cliffs, piercing far into the recesses of Ossa. After riding about two hours we reached the termination of the vale; the rocks gradually diminished in size, and by degrees were lost in a range of low hills which rose on each side of a rich and extensive plain reaching to the sea.'—Journal.

"I shall transcribe the description which Ælian has given us of this valley, as it is equally beautiful and accurate.

"The Thessalian Tempe is a place situate between Olympus and Ossa, which are mountains of an exceeding great height, and look as if they once had been joined, but were afterwards separated from each other by some God, for the sake of opening in the midst that large plain which stretches in length to about five miles, and in breadth a hundred paces, or in some parts more. Through the middle of this plain runs the Peneus, into which several lesser currents empty themselves, and by the confluence of their waters swell it into a river of great size. This place is abundantly furnished with all manner of arbours and resting places; not such as the arts of human industry contrived, but which the bounty of spontaneous nature, ambitious, as it were, to make a shew of all her beauties, provided for the supply of this fair residence, in the very original structure and formation of the place. For there is plenty of ivy shooting forth in it, which flourishes and grows so thick that, like the generous and leafy vine, it crawls up the trunks of tall trees, and twining its foliage round their arms and branches, becomes almost incorporated with them. The flowering smilax also is there in great abundance, which running up the acclivities of the hills, and spreading the close texture of its leaves and tendrils on all sides, perfectly covers and shades them; so that no part of the bare rock is seen, but the whole is hung with the verdure of a thick interwoven herbage presenting the most agreeable spectacle to the eye. Along the level of the plain there are frequent tufts of trees and long continued ranges of arching bowers, affording the most grateful shelter from the heats of the summer; which are further relieved by the frequent streams of clear and fresh water continually winding through it. The tradition goes that these waters are peculiarly good for bathing, and have many other

other medicinal virtues. In the thickets and bushes of this dale are numberless singing birds every where fluttering about, whose warblings take the ear of passengers, and cheat the labours of their way through it. On the banks of the Peneus, on either side, are dispersed irregularly those resting places before spoken of; while the river itself glides through the middle of the lawn with a soft and quiet lapse; overhung with the shades of trees planted on its borders, whose intermingled branches keep off the rays of the sun, and furnish an opportunity of a cool and temperate navigation upon it.'—Hurd's Translation.

"To this accurate description of Ælian, I shall add another, which, though more concise, is equally characteristic.

"'Præter angustias per quinque millia, quâ exiguum jumento onusto iter est, rupes utrinque ita abscissæ sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quâdam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam vallem fluentis Penei animas.'

"I do not know whence the common idea originated that the vale of Tempe is of a tame and mild character. It is described by the ancient writer just quoted, as a deep gorge or defile of a sublime and terrific appearance. From not attending to these and other classical descriptions, most modern travellers have been unable to decide to their own satisfaction, where the valley of Tempe was situated; and hence has arisen much unnecessary doubt and disquisition.

"The part of Thessaly in which Tempe is situated is often mentioned by the ancient poets. Euripides thus characterises it:

Την Πηνειω σεμναν χωραν,
Κρηπιδ' Ολυμπω καλλιστον
Ολβῳ βριθειν φαμαν ηκω-
σ' ευθαλει τ' ευκαρπια.

I have heard that at Olympus' base the vale
Most beauteous, water'd by Peneus tide,
Wafts sweetest odours unto every gale,
And bows beneath the golden harvest's pride.

"Appollonius Rhodius notices the well watered vallies of Ossa and Olympus. Theocritus speaks of the beauty of Tempe. Ovid has painted from his imagination, and not from a knowledge of the place.

Est nemus Æmonia prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylva; vocant Tempe, per quæ Penëus ab imo
Effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis:
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
Impluit, et sonitu plus quam vicina fatigat.

"Though the romantic wildness of the vale of Tempe has caused it to be principally known as the subject of poetical praise, yet the mention of it occurs sometimes in history. The strength of the pass between Olympus and Ossa, more than once pointed it out as a place well calculated for military operations.

"'Xerxes (says Herodotus) seeing from Thermé the mountains of Thessaly, and particularly Olympus and Ossa towering above the rest, and hearing that there was a narrow defile between them through which the Peneus flowed; and being at the same time informed that there was a passage by this way into Thessaly, was desirous of sailing to see the mouth of the Peneus.'

"The Thessalians proposed to the

Greeks assembled on the Isthmus of Corinth, to defend the passes of Olympus against Xerxes and his army; and a force of 10,000 men was actually sent to Tempe for that purpose. It retired, however, before the approach of the Persians.

"Philip of Macedonia was cited by the Romans to appear at Tempe, to answer for his conduct.

"At a subsequent period it was fortified by L. Cassius Longinus, as appears from an inscription still legible on the rocks of the valley."

Delphi and the surrounding Scenery.

[From the Same.]

"THE scenery of Delphi has been sketched by the pen of Homer:

Ικτο δ' ες Κρισσην υπο Παρνησον νιφοεσσαν,
Κνημον προς Ζεφυρον τετραμμενον· αυλαξ υπερθεν
Πετρη υποκρεμαται, κοιλη δ' υποδεδρομε βησσα
Τρηχεια·

You came
To Crissa, underneath the snowy peaks
Of bleak Parnassus, to the western gales
Inclin'd. Above, the gloomy crags impend,
And a deep rugged valley skirts its base.

"The description of Delphi by Heliodorus is striking.

"η πολις διαιτημα κρειττονων εδοξε και απ' ηκιστα τη φυσει της περιοχης, οιον δαρ φρενιον· ατεχνως και αυτοσχεδιος ακροπολις ο Παρνασσος απαιωρειται, προ ποδων δαδοσι την πολιν εγκολπιοαμενος.'

"'The town appeared to me the abode of superior being, principally owing to its situation. For Parnassus, like a rampart, or citadel placed there by nature, impends over it, and protruding its sides, embosoms the whole city.'

"Delphi (now Castri) is situated on the S. side of Parnassus, at a considerable elevation above the base of the mountain. Two precipitous peaks, whose rugged sides are stained with the tints of age, and partially overhung with shrubs and wild flowers, rise abruptly over the town. They appear as if separated by some violent shock, and through the intervening chasm descends the fountain of Castalia. The prospect is shut in on every side by a stupendous amphitheatre of rocks, a χωριον θεατροειδες, as it is called by Strabo, except towards the south, where an opening discovers a most beautiful view of the Plain of Crissa, the Sinus Corinthiacus, and the mountains of the Peloponnesus. Delphi, from its ancient celebrity, and its present romantic appearance, is one of the most interesting places in Greece.

"Parnassus is, I believe, the highest of the Grecian mountains. Euripides alludes to its great elevation, when he describes the aërial height of the Parnassian cliffs.

"Pindar calls it ὑψιμεδων; and Nonnus remarks its proximity to the

the clouds, and its covering of snow:

ὑψοθι Πυθιας ακρη
Αιχνιφης νιφοεσσι ροῳ κυμαινετο πεπλῳ.

High-reaching to the clouds, the Pythian steep
Was whiten'd o'er with a broad surge of snow.

"Pausanias says that its highest summit was concealed by the clouds, and Wheler is of opinion that it is not inferior to Mount Cenis amongst the Alps.

"Snow lies upon it through the whole year, and hence it is called νιφοεντα and νιφοβολος by the ancient Poets.

"Its modern appellation is Liakura, a name apparently derived from the ancient town Λυκωρεια, which was built on the mountain, and from which Apollo took his title of Lycorean.

"Parnassus was anciently held in great veneration. Strabo observes that the whole of the mountain is sacred, and that it has caves and other places which are religiously respected. The summit, owing to the obscurity in which it was frequently involved by the clouds which gathered round it, was esteemed particularly holy, and hence Bacchus was supposed there to perform his sacred orgies with his attendant Bacchanalians;

Ινα Βακχιος αμφιπυρσος ανεχων
Πευκας λαιψηρα ποδι
Νυκτιπολοις αμα συν Βακχαις.

Where waving on the midnight air
The torches livid glare,
The youthful Bacchus bounds along
Before his Bacchanalian throng.

"Amongst the sacred caves which Strabo mentions, the Corycian was held pre-eminent. The Corycian nymphs were the daughters of the river Pleistus. They were the objects of peculiar veneration.

Σιβω δε νυμφας ενθα Κωρυκις πετρα
Κοιλη φιλορνις, δαιμονων αναγροφη.

"Wheler supposes that the Corycian cave is just above Castalia; but it is evident, from Pausanias's account, that it is situated much higher up the mountain.

"The rocky bed of Castalia is composed of immense cliffs, which rise perpendicularly on each side, and blacken with their overhanging gloom the waters of the fountain. The stream when I saw it in September was insignificant in size, but in winter it is swelled to a considerable torrent. Instead of inspiring poetic visions, it now serves as a washing-place for the women of Castri; and the waters in which the virgins of the temple used to lave their long hair, now purifies the garments of the degenerate dwellers on Parnassus.

"The ministers of the temple bathed in the pure stream of Castalia before they entered upon their daily functions.

Αλλ' ω Φοιβε Δελφοι θεραπες,
Τας Καστα[illegible]ας αργυροειδεις
Βαινετε δινας, καθαραις τε δροσοις.
Αφυδρανατε σωματα ναους.

Descend, ye ministers of Phœbus' shrine,
Unto Castalia's silver wave;
Your bodies in its limpid waters lave,
Then seek the fane divine.

"'About a quarter of a mile lower down the hill, and near the channel by which Castalia falls in its passage to the plain below, amidst a grove of olive trees, is situated the monastery of the Madona. It corresponds nearly with the site of the the Gymnasium, as described by Pausanias. Within, is a small oblong stone, adorned at the top with a rude sculpture of leaves and volutes, and bearing beneath the inscription

ΑΙΑΚΙΔΗ ΧΙΑΡΕ.

Neopto-

Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and great grandson of Æacus, was killed at Delphi. This inscription may probably allude to that event. There are some other remains of antiquity in this monastery, amongst which is a pillar, with a rude kind of capital. It is placed with true Turkish taste in an inverted position, and made use of to support a roof. A short way below the monastery are ancient walls, and farther to the east others of considerable extent.

" 'The river Pleistus flows near the Gymnasium, down to the plain, and passes near the rugged mountain Cirphis, which rises opposite to the town of Delphi.

" 'Returning from the monastery, and crossing the stream of Castalia, we enter the village Castri. Above the middle of it, immediately under the cliffs, and near a large chasm, is the fountain Cassotis, anciently supposed to confer on women the gift of phrophecy. I observed that it did not fall from the chasm above, but appeared to issue from the rock below.

" 'This Pausanias has remarked. Above the fountain Cassotis was a house called Lesche, in which was the celebrated picture of the tale of Troy, by Polygnotus.

" 'A short distance below this fountain, in an outhouse filled with straw, we were shewn the ruins of an ancient wall. The stones that compose it are large, and many of them covered with inscriptions, which are a good deal mutilated. I copied part of one of them. It is too imperfect to be worth transcribing, but the words

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΩ ΠΥΘΙΩ,

which appeared very legible in the fourth line, convinced me that the wall formerly made a part of the celebrated temple of the Pythian God.' Journal.

" It corresponds accurately with the position assigned by Pausanias for the temple, who says that it was above the city.

" Though the extent of the sacred precinct of Delphi was anciently very large, as may be inferred from the remains of walls still visible to a considerable distance on each side the town, yet the number of inhabitants was small, as appears from several passages in the Greek writers. The population most probably consisted entirely of the ministers and attendants of the different temples.

" Strabo says that it was sixteen stadia, about two miles, in circumference.

" An attendant of the temple describes all the inhabitants of Delphi as collected at a banquet in a tent, so that the number could not be very great.

" The large excavations in the rock, which are visible by the road side to a considerable distance to the E. and W. of the town, are no doubt ancient sepulchres. Some of them are about six feet wide and six high. Similar sepulchral caves I saw in many towns of Greece and Sicily, as at Athens, under the hill of Musæus, and at Syracuse, in a very curious ancient street near the theatre.

" The most ancient sepulchres were caves. Abraham asks the sons of Heth to sell him the cave of Machpelah, for a burying-place.

" M. Hardouin has collected every thing on the subject of Delphi in his learned Dissertations. See Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. iii. p. 137."

DISSERTA-

Dissertation on the Charms of Ancient and Modern Greece.

[From the Same.]

"'THE art of dancing is still cultivated very assiduously by all orders of Greeks. I will describe some of the most remarkable dances which I saw performed.

"'1. The Χορος. This I saw danced by ten females. The number, however, is, I believe, unlimited, and men sometimes dance it along with the women. They hold each other by the hand, and move with a slow step in a circular figure round the room. The first and second in the dance are the chief performers: the first holds the right hand of the second in her left, and extends between both hands a handkerchief, the position of which she continually varies. The two first are occupied in setting to each other, but with little variety of steps. After some time the first female resigns her place, which is taken by the second, and so on till the whole party has led in succession. The dance is tedious from its uniformity. Any variety that can be introduced, depends upon the invention of the first female. The Χορος is mentioned as a dance by Homer and by Euripides. It was a circular dance, and hence is called Χορος αμφιλαφης. by Callimachus. It was anciently accompanied with songs.

"'2. The Συρτος. This resembles very much the Χορος. The only difference which I observed, was that the leader, instead of conducting the others always in the same figure round the room, varied it at pleasure; sometimes passing under the joint hands of the other dancers, sometimes suddenly turning back, &c. It is danced as well as the Χορος, by men and women together.'—Journal.

"This dance, according to tradition, was first performed by the youths and virgins of Delos on the return of Theseus from his successful expedition to Crete, and the leader of the dance was supposed to represent Ariadne. The different twinings and evolutions of the dance are meant to express the windings of the labyrinth. Callimachus has described it:

With many-twinkling feet the female band
Glide o'er the marble floor, hand join'd in hand:
Long flow'ry chaplets carelessly entwine
Cythera's statue and her sacred shrine,
Which Theseus erst from Creta's rugged shore
Amidst the rescued youths and virgins bore.
They from the lab'rinth's maze, and roarings dread
Of fierce Pasiphaë's son, in safety fled,
Twin'd Goddess, at thy feet, to lyric strain,
The circling dance, and Theseus led the train.

"Callimachus calls it the Χορος, and so indeed does Homer, in the following

following beautiful description; it however answers more exactly to the modern Συρτος.

To these the glorious artist added next
A varied dance, resembling that of old
In Crete's broad isle, by Dædalus compos'd
For bright-hair'd Ariadne. There the youths
And young alluring maidens hand in hand
Danc'd jocund, ev'ry maiden neat attir'd
In finest linen; and the youths in vests
Well-woven, glossy as the glaze of oil.
These all wore garlands and bright falchions those,
Of burnish'd gold in silver trappings hung—
They, with well-tutored step, now nimbly ran
The circle, swift, as when before his wheel
Seated, the potter twirls it with both hands
For trial of its speed, now crossing quick
They pass'd at once into each other's place.—COWPER.

" ' 3. The Πανωκαλω. This is danced by two persons. They stand opposite and at some distance from each other. They each hold a handkerchief with both hands, the position of which they change continually; keeping it however generally above the head. They advance and recede from each other with a very slow step, sometimes joining hands. There is not much beauty in this dance.

" ' 4. The Αρναυτικος. This is a military dance, and requires great exertion and activity. Αρναυτος, from which its name is derived, signifies an Albanian soldier. I saw it danced by one, and by ten or twelve. The single dancer displayed a great deal of strength and agility. He began in a slow time, gradually encreasing the celerity of his motions. He held a handerchief in his hand, dropped frequently on his knee, and shewed his force and dexterity in a variety of attitudes. This dance has a finer effect when performed by several. I saw it once performed by twelve Albanians.

" ' The different motions of the body in this dance, and the rapidity of the changes seem intended to represent the various positions of a warrior in battle, and in this respect it resembles the Pyrrhic dance of the ancients (which the Lacedæmonians performed to the strains of Tyrtæus) and the war-dance of the American Indians. Seuthes, king of Thrace, is described by Xenophon, to have leaped in the dance as if he was avoiding a dart.

" Μετα ταυτα εισηλθον κερασι τε αυλευτες, και σαλπιγξιν ωμοβοιναις ρυθμους τε και οιον μαλαδι σαλπιζοντες. Και αυτος Σευθης αναστας ανεκραγε τε πολεμικον, και εξηλατο ωσπερ βελος φυλαττομενος, μαλα ελαφρως.

" ' After this came in some blowing horns, and sounding upon the trumpets made of raw hides, a melody not unlike that of the *magadis*. Then Seuthes, starting from his seat, shouted aloud the war-cry, and leaped with great agility, as if avoiding a dart.

" ' Another dance, called the Αρναυτικος, but of a different description from the former. It is performed by a female, and is uncommonly elegant. I saw it danced by an Athenian lady. She began very slowly, walking round the room to a measured step, with her eyes fixed on the ground and her hands placed on her sides: she gradually quickened the time, still preserving the same figure. She then threw herself into a variety of the

the most beautiful attitudes, changing continually the position of the arms, which were sometimes placed on her sides, sometimes on her head, or waved about at random with much grace and elegance.'—Journal.

"Meursius has given us a catalogue of two hundred dances that were performed by the ancients.

"M. Burette has written two elegant dissertations on the ancient dance, which will be read with pleasure."

Picturesque View of Arcadia.

[From the Same.]

"THE southern parts of Arcadia, which border upon the ancient districts of Laconia, Messenia, and Elis, present a continual succession of scenery equal to any thing which has been described or imagined in poetic song. Luxuriance and beauty may be pronounced to be the general characteristics; flowery vallies, winding streams, and hills shrouded nearly to their summits with wood, are the objects which commonly awaken our admiration. Sometimes, however, the features assume a bolder cast, and in the vicinity of Caritena craggy mountains, abrupt precipices, and the dark river roaring beneath the gloom of aged trees, inspire the mind with feelings of sublimity. In order to give as correct an idea as I am able of the general appearance of Arcadia, and also to justify the accuracy of the picture which I have endeavoured to draw in the text, I shall make a long extract from the journal of my tour through that country.

"'Oct. 12. We left Tripolizza at half past ten for Leondari, where we arrived after a ride of six hours. The line of our journey was through a part of the district of ancient Mænalia. In about an hour after leaving the town we began to ascend from the plain by a rugged path amongst the mountains, and looking back had a fine view of the country through which we had passed, and the hills beyond Tripolizza. For the next three hours nothing remarkable nor interesting presented itself; but the scenery for the last two hours before we arrived at Leondari, afforded me great pleasure. On all sides appeared views of pastoral beauty; we ascended and descended gentle eminences covered with oak trees, and beheld extensive plains stretched out before us to a great distance, richly adorned with vineyards, Indian corn, and wood. The plains were bounded by high mountains, the forms of some of which were clearly visible, whilst others were veiled in impenetrable clouds. Their sides to a considerable height appeared shaded with trees, and indeed wherever we turned our eyes the face of the country was ornamented with luxuriant wood. The leaves

eaves had begun to change their colour, and arrayed in the different tints of green, red, and yellow, were blended in the most grateful harmony. The day, though rather too cloudy, and inclined to rain, was more favourable to the beauty of the scenery than a broad glare of sunshine. The clouds sometimes entirely and sometimes half concealed the fine mountainous forms which rose around us. Their shadows passing over the plain afforded all the agreeable varieties of gloom and brilliance; and from their openings gleams of light shot down frequently and rested on the sides of the hills and the summits of the woods. Every thing presented the appearance of pastoral tranquillity. No towns were visible in the prospect to diturb its general stillness and repose. The peasants, habited in their picturesque dress, a coloured turban, a linen jacket, and a petticoat of snowy whiteness, and carrying in their hands a wooden crook, were quietly employed in following their large flocks of goats and sheep; or watched them as they fed, reclining under the shade of an ancient tree, and playing on their pipe of reed the rude airs of their country. The scenes forcibly recalled to my mind the passages of the poets who have celebrated the beauties of Arcadia, and I acknowledged at every step the justness of the taste which fixed upon it as the residence of rural happiness, and the abode of the sylvan gods. Pan was the favourite deity of Arcadia, and Mænalia the district which he was supposed principally to inhabit:

Ω Παν Παν, εἴ τ' ἐστι κατ' ὠρεα μακρα Λυκαιω
Εἶλε τυ γ' αμφιπολεις μετα Μαιναλον.

Ἰκεο δ' αὐλιν
Αρκαδικην ἐπι Πανος· ὁ δε ῥεα λυσκος ἱλαται
Μαιναλιης.——————

Ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycæi
Pan ovium custos, tua si tibi Mænala curæ
Adsis, O Tegæe favens.

"'The situation of Leondari is romantic, on the side of a hill in a defile. It looks down below on an extensive plain. It is a small village, the houses, however, appeared rather better than those of most Turkish towns, being built chiefly of stone, and having some fine cypress trees intermingled with them.

"'Oct. 13. We set out to view the ruins of Megalopolis distant two hours ride. The country displayed scenery similar to what I had so much admired the day before. From some woody eminences which we passed over on leaving the town, we had a view of a very extensive plain expanded before us. It was not a perfect flat, but agreeably broken by small knolls and gentle elevations, covered with trees. Mountains surround this plain of different altitudes, some bold and lofty, others rising gently from the level: their sides well wooded, and the whole view rich and magnificent. For about an hour we rode along a plain, occasionally through woods of oak, or through dingles filled with plane trees. At the small village of Sinani we procured a guide to conduct us to the ruins of Megalopolis, distant about a quarter of a mile. Remains of this once magnificent town are visible on both sides of the river Helisson, which falls into the Alpheus. To the S. of the river, the theatre, which Pausanias says, was the largest in Greece,

Greece, is easily traced: part of the walls, the semicircular form, and the marks of the seats still existing. It is situated on a small eminence rising from the river. Near it to the S.E. a piece of ground of an oblong form is visible, perhaps the stadium. The river is serpentine in its course; its banks shaded with plane trees and willows. Its bed is wide and deep, and in winter probably full, though when we saw it, it did not contain much water. In the bed of the river and on its N. side are large blocks of stone still adhering together, the remains most probably of a bridge. On the N. bank of the river are the ruins of the temple of Jupiter. Part of the peribolus still remains, and near it are fragments of large stones and broken fluted columns. The traces of several other buildings are visible. The whole ground to some distance is strewed with broken fragments, which the peasants are collecting and laying in heaps. The situation of Megalopolis is very magnificent. It is in the middle of a plain, rich, fertile, and adorned with wood. Mountains of beautiful forms appear on every side, and to the S.W. is Mount Lycæus, celebrated in the fables of the poets as sacred to Jupiter:

Δικλαιον αειτομεν τε Λυκαιον.

" 'Oct. 16. We left Leondari for Caritena. The road lies the whole way along the plain in which Megalopolis is situated. The plain is rich and woody, watered by the Alpheus, along the banks of which we rode for a considerable distance. The bed of it is broad, and shaded with plane trees. There was great magnificence in the landscape during the whole of our ride, and we passed through some beautiful pastoral scenes, enlivened and adorned with the figures of peasants carrying crooks in their hands, and driving large flocks of sheep and goats. In four hours we reached Caritena, crossing the river (I think Alpheus) which here rolls over a rocky bed, by a bridge of five arches. Caritena is romantically situated on the sides of two rocky hills, on the summit of one of which are the ruins of a fortress. The scenery round it is wild and mountainous.

" 'Oct. 18. From Caritena we proceeded to Andruzzena, distant five hours ride. The views during the first part of the way was uncommonly grand and picturesque. We passed through deep and narrow glens surrounded with high mountains, the sides of which are covered with wood. At the bottom, over a rocky bed, flows a river, beneath the shade of wide-spreading plane trees. We ascended and descended steep paths, rugged and dangerous. The glen afterwards expanded, and we had extensive views of mountains receding behind mountains to a great distance. The situation of Andruzzena, which stretches up the side of a hill adorned with trees and vineyards, is striking. On our arrival we procured a guide to conduct us to the ruins called the Στηλαι, or columns, supposed to be the temple of Apollo Epicureus at Phygalea. Our path passed along glens filled with luxuriant oaks, and the hills, which rose around us on every side, were richly ornamented with wood: magnificent mountains appeared in the distance, and the scenes during the whole ride presented an uncommon profusion of the grand and beautiful. As we approached the temple we

we rode up a very narrow craggy path embrowned by trees, apparently the course of a winter torrent. The temple is most romantically situated on the brow of a steep hill, which descends abruptly into a woody valley. Beyond the valley rises a bold chain of mountains; their summits are bare, and the sides partially clothed with wood. Beyond these another range of high mountains appears in the distance heaped together in the wildest confusion. The temple itself seated on the brow of the hill, is a most picturesque object. Thirty-four columns remain standing. They are of the Doric order, and fluted; of a dark-grey stone, which is much worn and stained by the effects of the weather. The whole area of the temple and the parts adjacent are covered with loose broken stones and pillars. A more retired spot, and one more fitted for the purposes of devotion and meditation cannot be imagined. No sign of a human habitation or of human labour appears to break the solitude which reigns around. We viewed this delightful scene under very favourable circumstances. The sun was nearly setting in a clear and transparent sky, and darted his level streams of light upon the tops of the trees and against the shafts of the columns.

" 'The tract of country through which we passed from Andruzzena to the columns is part of the district of ancient Parrhasia, the fabled birth-place of Jupiter. It was the scene also of Diana's hunting; there was the river Celadon, and the hill of Ceryneus.

" 'Oct. 19. We left Andruzzena. The first part of the road presented nothing remarkable, winding among mountains of moderate height. In about three hours descending the side of a woody hill we had a very beautiful view of a fine valley, completely filled with shrubs of arbutus and myrtle, and with fir, Spanish chesnut, and plane trees. The woods in many places extended up the sides of the mountains nearly to the summit. The end of the valley was closed up with great majesty by a single mountain, whose sides, bare, rugged, and precipitous, formed a fine contrast to the richness and luxuriance of the vale below. In about five hours and a half we ascended a very steep road up the side of a hill, and from the summit had a magnificent prospect, reaching over the country of ancient Elis. It was a view of which it is difficult to give any conception, except by a drawing. It was very extensive, consisting of large vallies, well-wooded lines of hills traversing a vast tract of country in different directions, and beyond these a long range of lofty mountains terminating in numberless peaks. Our road lead us through close copses of myrtle and arbutus, interspersed with fir and plane trees. The arbutus presented a most beautiful appearance, with its leaves of vivid green, and its branches laden with the fruit now ripe, and of a deep red colour. This kind of scenery continued for two hours, when we stopped at the small Turkish village of Mandrusa for the night'—Journal.

" Pindar characterises Arcadia by its hills, and many-winding vallies:

Αρκαδιας απο δικ-
ραν, και πολυκαμπτων μυχων.

" He also alludes to its being a pastoral country, abounding in flocks:

Ευμηλοιο Αρκαδιας."

On

On the Modern Greek, or Romaic Language.

[From the Same.]

" 'THE rules of the Romaic language are by no means fixed, and in consequence, the modern authors of Greece vary much in the terms of expression which they use in their writings. The Italian construction of sentences is closely imitated in their prose works, and the ancient method of inversion, which gave such beauty and harmony to the Greek language, is laid aside. Words, however, not found in the Romaic lexicon, are frequently borrowed by the best writers from the ancient Greek, when their affinity to the modern language is such as to make them easily intelligible to the generality of readers.

" 'There are three different languages in use through Greece.

" 'I. The ancient Greek Ἑλληνικη, in which the service of the church is written. It is used solely in ecclesiastical affairs. The letters of the patriarchs to the archbishops and bishops, their proclamations and excommunications are written in this language, corrupted, however, by the introduction of a few modern expressions.

" 'II. The Μιξο-βαρβαρος or Ἁπλο-Ελληνικη, a language possessing not the purity of the ancient, nor the corruption of the modern Greek. The authors of the Byzantine History wrote in this idiom. This work ends in 1462, nine years after the taking of Constantinople.

" III. The Ρωμαικη, called also Πεζη or Ἁπλο-Γραικικη, which is at present in general use in writing and conversation.

" 'It is only within these twenty-five or thirty years that the Greeks have begun to pay attention to their ancient language. The tyranny of the Turks having about that time become more oppressive, compelled great numbers to take refuge in Germany, Venice, Hungary, &c. This intercourse with the natives of those countries naturally enlarged their ideas, and led them to cultivate learning. Few of them return, and the most learned of the modern Greeks are to be sought for out of their own country.

" 'With regard to the present style of poetry, and race of poets: it is impossible for a person accustomed to the harmony of the ancient Greek verse to endure the productions of the Romaic bards. The accent being almost always laid on a different syllable from what an Englishman has been used to, has a most disagreeable effect; in addition to which, all the modern Greek poetry is written in rhyme, in verse of different metre, so that instead of the beautiful harmony and regular cadence of the ancient Greek verse, we have in the modern compositions the jingle of an English ballad. I have talked with some Greeks, of learning and information, on their method of reading, and have endeavoured to persuade them that

it must be wrong, for this reason, that it makes no distinction in rhythm between prose and poetry. A page of Demosthenes and of Homer, according to their pronunciation, conveys the same effect to the ear. The rules of ancient metre are totally repugnant to the system of accents, and the Greeks understand nothing of the laws by which the verses of their old poets are constructed; so that when they read an Hexameter verse they make as many false quantities as there are feet. As may be expected, they are not willing to give up their method of reading, and laugh at the idea of an Englishman coming to teach the Athenians Greek. The only point that I could bring them to allow was, that it was certainly a defect in their manner of pronunciation, not to make a sufficient distinction between the rhythm of prose and poetry.

"'I shall make an extract from the preface to a translation of Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds, by Κοδρικας, an Athenian at present resident in Paris, and formerly Dragoman to the Turkish ambassador at that court. It contains some information respecting the decay of the Greek language, and its present state: it is also exceedingly curious, as shewing the feelings of a Greek of the present day at the view of the degradation of his country; and, lastly, it deserves notice as exhibiting a lamentable proof how much the ancient simplicity of style has degenerated.

"'Unhappy Greece, that most favoured climate, the habitation of the arts, and the soil of erudition, from the time that she began to fall from her former glory and splendour, foresaw her own ruin in the fate of other nations, or rather in the unavoidable connection of different circumstances; and by degress lost her glorious liberty, her arts, her manners, her writings, and with them her ancient nobleness of language. The successive inroads and subjections which she endured from different nations, from the Macedonians, the Romans, and the Goths, brought upon her (according to that certain law of our nature by which the slave imitates the master) a savageness of manners, a barbarity of customs, and a debasement of language. These nations, and particularly the Romans, in order to profit by the subjugation of Greece, not merely for political purposes, as far as regarded the mere capture of her towns, but also in a moral point of view, by the possession of her science and knowledge, made themselves masters, as much a possible, of the language, the manners, arts, customs, erudition, and laws of the unhappy Greeks, her captives. This was the way in which the conquered vanquished their conquerors, a species of triumph preserved only amongst civilised nations, except indeed in the last subjugation of Greece; a triumph indeed consoling to the vanquished, if any consolation can be found for the slavery which now oppresses a noble nation. The Grecian language, transported from Greece to Rome, and in a manner joined with its mistress the Latin, in part changed its construction, according as the fancy and disposition of its masters adapted it to the expression of their ideas; adding a multitude of terms, and varying the phrases, either for the explication of some political custom, or of some new Roman discovery. Thus was produced that monstrous

monstrous compilation, the half-barbarous language. This, in different places, was differently spoken and written, and mixed a good deal with the language of the Venetians, who were spread over the islands of the Ægean sea, and established even in the centre of the Roman power, which had been transferred into Greece, and afterwards divided. These Venetians, arriving at that time, conferred, necessarily, as conquerors, their manners, ideas, terms, and expressions. In consequence of this, the Greek tongue was divided into as many provincial idioms as there were towns and provinces, of which any one may be satisfied who reads the Byzantine History, the work of a number of authors, who were natives of various cities.

" 'In this manner the Greek language being mutilated and changed, as was also its sovereign, the Roman power, there succeeded the most shameful captivity, the most grievous scourge of Heaven, the inevitable effect of the inconstancy of Roman power, which advancing with a two-edged sword, and establishing its dominion with chains and fetters, slew and subjugated the navies, burnt the libraries, and lastly, overturned from its foundation the whole empire, and forcibly debased that noble race of the Romans. Our unhappy nation then lost, together with its ancient splendour and dignity, its revered freedom, and its knowledge, its arts, manners, and writings. All disappeared, all vanished; and as a worthless slave has only one care how he may best satisfy the wish of his master, and thus lighten the burthen of his chains, so from that time Greece bade farewell to her lofty speculations, her noble studies, her free discussions and exercises, and considered it her only happiness to be bound with a chain of gold or silver, and to bear the lightest fetters possible, whilst her thoughts were enthralled in servitude.

" 'Alas! for such a destiny. Where are now the Grecian gymnasia? where the learned academies? where her seminaries of instruction? where her teachers? where, in short, is the Grecian language? All must obey the will and pleasure of the conquerors. Other names, another way of life, other customs, other garments and habitations, other ideas must be adopted, and all must be expressed and named in the language of the conquerors. From this sprung that monstrous compound, the Romaic language, composed, like a dog-kennel, of different foreign words and phrases, unknown to the Greeks, and of which we cannot make use, because the generality of readers do not understand them, and all are disgusted at a jargon to which they have not been accustomed.

" 'With such a corrupt language,' which is hardly sufficient to explain the most trite ideas, how can any one translate books of science, express noble conceptions, or explain the principles of systems, political doctrines, or moral theories? A chaos overwhelms him on all sides; a vacuum receives him at every thought, and every period is to him a new labour and difficulty.'

" The author then proceeds to defend his own style of writing, and replies to the supposed arguments of those who wish him to write in the common terms and language of the vulgar. He afterwards proceeds thus:

" 'But I would ask, which man-

ner of writing an author must select out of the various methods which the inhabitants of Constantinople use; since not only every part and division of that city has a different method of expression, but even the most celebrated of our nation vary in their language and conversation. One inclines to the ancient Greek style, another to that of the Turks, another consults entirely his own fancy. Besides these varieties, there is a great and irreconcilable difference between the conversation of the men and women, and still more between that of one female and another. What style, then, of composition must the unhappy author choose, since in whichever way he writes, he will have critics and revilers.

* * * * *

" 'But must we then despair that this language, changed from its original purity, can never be again restored to beauty? Can we never hope to have one common style, in which all, equally labouring, may advance with equal success to benefit their country, and compose according to fixed rules and general principles? Certainly not—Even the style which we now use is somewhat polished, thanks to the blessed Nicholas Vaivoda Keratza, who in the Romaic language, deficient as it is (but by him brought back as much as possible to its parent the Greek), wrote easily, translated skilfully, and explained elegantly every subject. This style is adopted by all the modern chiefs and princes of our nation, and, in imitation of them, by the greater number of the Archontes, who in this idiom compose the chief part of their correspondence.'

" Thus far Codricas.

" The state of public instruction is considerably improved within the last half century. For the encouragement of ancient literature, a school was established about forty years ago in the isle of Patmos, to which scholars are sent from different parts of Greece. Their number, on an average, is about one hundred. It was established by some Greeks of Constantinople, called Γναφαδες, from the trade they exercised as pelisse-makers.) They pay the master about 1000 piastres (£50) per annum. The scholars maintain themselves, but pay nothing to the master. They remain five years. Their course of study is the grammar of the ancient Greek, the Fables of Æsop, the Dialogues of Lucian, Xenophon, Thucydides, and afterwards the poets. They are exercised in the writing of ancient Greek, and two or three times a week the master gives a portion of some Romaic author, to be turned by his scholars into that language.

" There are also two public schools in the isle of Scio, kept at the expense of the town of Scio, to which scholars are sent from all parts of Greece.

" In Constantinople there are two large schools established by the Greeks. The Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia maintain twelve scholars in each. The Patriarch of Constantinople pays the salaries of the masters, about 3000 piastres per annum (£150.) One of these schools is appropriated to the teaching of the ancient Greek, and the other to the sciences, logic, physics, and mathematics. There are twenty-four scholars in each school maintained and instructed at the public expense;

expense; the rest are instructed, but not maintained.

"There are some Ioannina merchants, by name *Ζώσιμα*, brothers, settled at Leghorn, who give great encouragement to Romaic literature, printing books at their own expense, and distributing them gratis.

"At Athens there are two public schools for the ancient Greek. One was founded by Giovanni Deka, an Athenian, who has left a fund in the bank of Venice for the payment of the master, and the support of twelve scholars. This payment has however been stopped since the occupation of Venice by the French. At present it is maintained by the Convent *των ταξιαρχων*, i. e. of the Angels Michael and Gabriel. This convent, instead of paying a tax as it formerly did to the city, now supports the master and twelve scholars. The master has six hundred piastres per annum, and for every scholar six killows of grain and his caratch.

"The other school in Athens had its pension also from Venice, which was left by an Athenian, named *Ταρονηλι*. At present it is supported by the city, and 250 piastres per annum are given to the master. Each school has a library. The one which I saw did not contain above one hundred volumes, chiefly editions of the old classics.

"Every village has it papas (or priest.) He teaches three or four scholars to read and write Romaic: Instruction however is very sparingly diffused amongst the lower orders. In a village of two hundred houses, twenty persons cannot perhaps be found who know how to read and write. Those who do, are proud of their proficiency, and wear in their girdle a brass ink-stand to shew their accomplishment. The papas are a most ignorant race, taken from the lower orders. The service of the church is written in ancient Greek, and hardly any understand what they read. Not one in ten is able to explain the service. They work in the fields like common labourers; and I have seen a papas engaged, with other workmen, in tiling a house."

On the Origin and Mythology of the Laplanders.

[From Mr. Skioldebrand's Picturesque Journey to the North Cape.]

"THE ancient history of Lapland is involved in the most impenetrable obscurity. As we cannot believe that, like their rein-deer, they are aborigines of the country, out of which neither the one nor the other can long exist, but must search elsewhere for their origin, there is reason to suppose they are descended from the Samoyedes. I will

I will not, however, advance, as a proof, the similarity between the word Sebmelatz, by which the Laplanders denominate themselves, and that of Samoyede; this latter, which is derived from the Russ, is not adopted by the people whom it designates; it nearly expresses the term anthropophagi, and has probably been applied to these barbarians by some mistake of travellers, who, having seen them eat the rein-deer, have thought they fed on human flesh. Decided physical similarity, a conformity of manners, sufficiently strong, considering the different degrees of civilization which the two nations have attained, are the grounds of my opinion, which is also that of Linnæus.

"A knowledge of both languages is necessary to enable one to enter upon an examination of their affinities. Mr. Porthan notices the resemblance between the Lapponic language and those of the nations adjacent to the Samoyedes, from which it may be concluded that the Laplander and Samoyede are the same. Travellers describe the Samoyede as of a stature below the middle size; the body firm and nervous; the structure large and square; the visage flat; the eyes black, with the opening straight and long; the bones of the upper jaw very strong and high; the mouth wide, and the lips thin; the ears large, flat, and extended; the hair black; the complexion of a brownish yellow; the legs short, but thin; the feet very small. All which features suit the Laplanders.

"The customs in common between the two nations are,—a wandering life; rein-deer food; articles of dress; form of habitation; the beds; the practice of purchasing their wives from the parents, and placing near the dead their bows, arrows, and whatever was dear to them; the excessive fondness for spirituous liquors and tobacco; an extreme indolence, interrupted by great exertion, to which they are sometimes impelled by their mode of life and the severity of the climate.

"In general, I think that inquiries as to the resemblance of languages may throw much light on history, and prove as well the affinities as the antient connection between people now far apart, and mutually ignorant of each other.—But, when the origin of nations is the question, if this conformity alone is to be found on one side, and on the other physical relations, as the same characteristic features, the same form, &c. I think one cannot mistake in preferring the conclusions deduced from the latter, as the more probable. The children of a negro and negress, born in a northern latitude, will be always negroes; yet may be unacquainted with their mother's language, and speak that only of the country where they were brought up. The Jews of all countries have peculiar features, which distinguish them from other people, &c.

"It is sufficient then to compare the Laplander with his neighbour, the Fin or the Swede, to be satisfied that they are not of the same race; although two-thirds of the Lapponic tongue appertain to the languages of those two nations; whose respective extractions are nevertheless distinct.

"It is supposed that Mr. Blumenbach,

menbach, who is now engaged in making a collection of skulls from all the nations in the world, will be enabled to explain many doubts as to the physical relations of these nations.

"The traditions of the Fins, and the few which the Laplanders retain, confirm the opinion, that the latter have formerly possessed Finland, and have been expelled by the present occupiers. Thus their domains have receded from the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, beyond the polar circle, and are every way contracted by the colonists, who settle in their countries.

"In an antient history, called Fundin Noregur, treating of the family of Fornioter, (who reigned before Odin in the north, and as it seems in Finland,) it is said that Nora, the son of Thor, having made an expedition to seek his sister Goa, or Gojo, who was privately carried off at a sacrifice, made the tour of the Gulf of Bothnia, and met with a great number of Laplanders, who were inclined to oppose his passage, but were conquered and dispersed. This appears to be the first notice taken of the Laplanders; but the author of this history or fable is unknown, as also the period in which he wrote.

"The words Lapp, Laplander; and Lappmark, Lapland; are not primitive words. The Icelander Sturleson, who has furnished us with the most valuable remains of the ancient history of the north, is positively ignorant of them. This proves, according to Mr. Porthan, that the Fundin Noregur is posterior to his time.—Saxon, the grammarian, is the first author who uses those names; he wrote about the year 1190, that is, one hundred and thirteen years after Sturleson. Before Saxon, these people were called Finna, Fins, or Skridfinnar, from the word Skridda, which describes their mode of skating on the surface of the ice or snow. Independent of the arguments I have adduced, this seems to prove that the Laplanders are descended from the Fins, and the rather, as the Norwegians still call the Norwegian Laplanders by that name. The derivation of the word Lapp is as obscure as that of the people which it designates, and who consider it as a degradation. If it comes from the language of the country, where it signifies an exile, why should all nations, except that to whom it is applied, adopt it? Yet, this is the opinion of many writers. Lappi, in Finnish, signifies equally Laplander and Sorcerer; but, it is uncertain whether the name of the art is derived from that of the people or vice versâ. What is certain is, that no nation was formerly so famous as the Laplanders for the practice of that art, which has been destroyed by the progress of science, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made, from time to time, to revive it. Lapp, in Swedish, signifies rag; from which some infer, that the Laplanders, wanting subsistence in their own country, and going in crowds to beg amongst their neighbours, were so called, on account of their tattered dress.

"These are the only conjectures which appeared to me to deserve attention, and yet it seems to be impossible to draw any certain conclusion from them.

"According to Sturleson, and after

after him Peter Claudi, the Laplanders, Finnar, in the time of Erik Segersäl the Victorious, and Harald Härfager with the fine hair, and before that time, were independent of their neighbours, and were governed by kings of their own nation. He who then reigned, and the only king whose name is known, was called Mottle. A young maid, called Gunilde, was sent by her father, Odzor Huide, to this prince, to instruct him in magic.'

"The first king of Sweden who attempted to conquer the Laplanders was Magnus Ladulas. A wandering people, dispersed through an immense country, uncultivated, and difficult of access, were not easily to be conquered by force of arms. Magnus, that he might not expose his army to perish in the deserts, abandoned the enterprise to the Birkarles, the inhabitants of an extensive district, which comprises a part of that which is now called Westrobothnia. They undertook to subjugate the Laplanders, on condition of remaining masters of their country, on payment of a slight tribute of skins, by way of homage to the crown. At the commencement of the enterprise, one of them placed himself in ambush, near a road, on which a party of Laplanders had to travel from Birkarla. Concealed in the snow, with which he had been covered by his wife, he saw them pass in the night, and recognized fifteen of the most distinguished of the nation. Without loss of time, he got before them by taking a shorter cut, and, as they travelled, he singly, by surprise, slew them all, except the last, who, perceiving at a distance the dead bodies of his companions stretched on the snow, put himself in a posture of defence. He defended himself a long time, and the Birkalese would have failed in the attempt, but for the assistance of his wife. After this blow, the Laplanders having lost their chiefs, were all massacred, or reduced under the yoke of the Birkarlese, who exercised the most despotic power over them, a power which they most cruelly abused during three centuries, until the reign of Gustavus Vasa.—This hero, having delivered his country, re-established order, and entirely abolished oppression. The unfortunate Laplanders having preferred their complaints to him; he deemed them just, and caused the chief of the Birkarlese, Henric Larsson, to be imprisoned at Tornea, and condemned him to pay large damages. Since that time, the Laplanders have paid their tributes directly to the crown of Sweden, and obtained entire freedom of commerce. In the place of the Birkarlese, who had divided amongst themselves the different districts of Lapland, where they assumed the title of Kings, Gustavus established bailiffs, Lappfogdar, Konunga Olmai, that is, men for the king to attend in his name to the receipt of the taxes as well as to the administration of justice. Charles IX. the son of Gustavus I. established that division of Lapland which now subsists, and increased the number of civil officers.

"From the moment that Lapland came under the dominion of the Swedes, repeated attempts have been made to convert them to the Christian faith. About the year 1400, Eric, of Pomerania, ordered he

the chapter of Upsal to appoint them priests; and some ceremonies of the catholic religion may even still be observed amongst them. But their wandering life long rendered these endeavours useless, and paganism was the predominant religion until the reign of Gustavus I.

"The gods worshipped by the Laplanders were the following: Thiermes, who is the same with the Thor of the antient Swedes and the Jupiter of the Greeks, was the god of thunder, and presided over the health, life, and death, of mortals; the rainbow served him as a bow, and with his arrows he exterminated the demons that are obnoxious to the human race. It seems that the notion which the Laplanders had of this god united the principles of good and evil. The history of his birth is remarkable. A young girl, they say, sitting at the foot of a tree, suddenly saw a man, who desired her to fill her pelisse (Lappmudd) with some wood intended for the melting of pitch. She did so; but, perceiving that the wood kindled of itself, and that the man had horns, she was frightened and fled. It was in vain, and she brought forth a son, who wept incessantly, and was never at rest. God took this child, carried him into heaven, and asked if he would take the part of his father or his mother? The child declared himself for the mother, and said that he would persecute his father and all his race. From this time he ranges through the air, and hurls the thunder that cleaves the rocks and burns the trees where demons are concealed. This being, as the son of the devil and the nurseling of God, is, by turns, good and wicked; sometimes he strikes the sacred places, and overturns the idols. The fable proves that the Laplanders have a notion of a being superior to all gods. Every family erected to Thiermes an altar, in the shape of a table, which was placed at some distance behind the hut, and adorned with branches of birch and fir. The path which leads to the altar was scattered with leaves and branches; and the image placed on the altar was the stem of a birch-tree, of the roots of which was formed an almost shapeless head, but having some traits of the human visage.

"Stor-Junkare, the second of these gods, presided over the chase and fishery; from which we may presume the Laplanders were not neglectful of his worship. He was sometimes visible under the figure of a man with the feet of a bird, but otherwise of a majestic shape, clad in black, and bearing a fowling-piece. These apparitions never failed to be lucky in hunting or fishing; and it sometimes happened that the god himself shot the birds on the wing, which was regarded as a miracle. The name Stor-Junkare is derived from the Norwegian Tongur. The governors of provinces were formerly Junkare, and Stor signifies great; thus the name means great governor, or vicar of God. The inhabitants of Lapland Tornea and Lapland Kemi, who had less communication with Norway, called this god Seitä, and gave him the same attributes. In general, the Laplanders represent him by rude stones, or, at the best, by stones clumsily cut into a human shape. Each family had its Stor-Junkare,

or

or its Seitä, who was placed on the top of a mountain, or a rock, and sometimes on the bank of a lake or a river. The boundaries of the territory consecrated to this god were accurately marked, and no marriageable woman durst approach them, for they believed that death or the greatest misfortunes would be the result of such a sacrilege.

"At the place where the river of Tornea issues from the lake of that name, and forms a large cataract called Darra, there is an isle, difficult of access from the rapidity of the waters that surround it. In this place Regnard found five idols of stone, of which mention is made by Scheffer. One, of the height of a very tall man, was the god Seitä; the others, of less size, were his wife, his son or his daughter, and his domestics. Regnard, in defiance of the imprecations of the Laplanders, carried off the latter, but Seitä was too heavy. All these images had nearly the human form, with a sort of hat upon the head. Otherwise, they were nothing but rude and shapeless stones.

"The third Lapland deity, which they have in common with most idolaters, was Baïve, or the sun. Next to the idea of an immaterial God, nothing can be more sublime than that of this luminary vivifying nature by his beneficent heat. The Laplanders experience its most striking effects when the sun, after a long absence, returns to visit their atmosphere, and seems to delight in retarding his own progress, to hasten that of vegetation.—They call him the mother of all living beings; and his worship is nearly similar to that of Thiermes.

"The sacrifices principally consist of the bones and horns of rein-deer. Women were never admitted to them. The men, on approaching the sacred place, began by uncovering the head, and bowing often and profoundly; then they prostrated themselves, and advanced, creeping on their hands and knees, towards the feet of the idol, where they left their offerings. Great care was taken, on these occasions, to drive away the dogs. If unfortunately one of these animals should carry off the least portion of the bones of the victim, he would pay for it with his life, and the corresponding bone of the dog would be presented to the idol in lieu of that which he had stolen. These sacrifices were observed at particular periods of the year; and others were celebrated in consequence of vows made in distress, or to stop the course of particular maladies amongst men or rein-deer. On those occasions, goats, sheep, cats, or cocks, which were bought in Norway, were immolated.

"Hogström relates, that a Laplander, whose rein-deer had been attacked by an epidemic disorder, having made many sacrifices to his wooden idol without success, appointed him a certain day against which he wished to be heard, and threatened, that, if he was not, he would throw him into the fire as an impostor. The day being come, without any cessation of the disorder, the Laplander made a great fire round the idol, and put it in. Many of his countrymen, informed of this sacrilege, collected together to expiate the crime, by killing the Laplander, and burning him, in honour of the idol; but he laid the case before them with so much eloquence,

eloquence, that they agreed with him that the idol was good for nothing, and that he had treated it as it deserved.

" Besides these deities, the Laplanders worship other inferior gods, as the Kuowa manno, to whom they offered hay, and invited him to eat, by making a noise against their sledges, or ackias: the Jauloherra, or gods of Christmas, whom they propitiated by presenting them with little boats, about two feet long, stained with blood, and marked with crosses: (these offerings were generally placed upon the branches of the loftiest firs, a little before the feast of Christmas, when they usually kill the reindeer:) the Ruotta, a formidable being to the women, whom they conciliate by little bags made of the birch-tree bark, filled with small pieces of each of the dainties on which they regale on Christmas eve and Christmas day, such as milk, cheese, fish; but never flesh.

" Thomas von Westen, a Danish missionary, says that the Laplanders worship the Supreme Being under the demomination of Saragads, or the creator. Högstrom, a missionary, and the curate of Gellivare, in Swedish Lapland, made inquiry upon the subject; but he never found a Laplander who knew even the name. The notion of angels, and their appearances, of which the Laplanders say so much, is probably a consequence of the attempts made at present to introduce Christianity into Lapland.

" Such was the antient religion of the Laplanders: and yet, in the time of Högström, that is from 1743 to 1751, a great part of the nation secretly worshipped idols, though publicly professing the Christian religion; yet paganism is now almost entirely eradicated, though more by persuasion than force. The whole of Lapland is divided into parishes of convenient size, in each of which are priests and churches. Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1619, instituted a school at Pitea, which he afterwards removed near to the church of Lycksele, in Lapland Umea. At present, there are six schools distributed in the different provinces.

" The art of magic is almost wholly lost in Lapland, and several priests who have grown old in the country assured me that not one of those drums which were formerly the instruments of witchcraft is now to be found. I shall briefly describe them, and the manner in which they were used. The magic drums, called Quobdas, or Kannus, were made of the trunks of trees growing on particular spots, and the fibres of which, beginning from the roots, formed a spiral line from right to left, corresponding with the sun's course. The upper part of the trunk was hollowed out in nearly an oval form, and covered with a skin, on which was delineated, with the bark of the alder, which yields a reddish colour, a variety of figures, as rein-deer, birds, foxes, bears, wolves, the sun, moon, stars, and many other objects. The sorcerer, chaunting magic songs, threw some brass rings upon the skin of the drum, which he struck with a hammer made of rein-deer's horns, and then predicted good or ill from the figures on which the rings fell: sometimes seized with sudden swoons, these magicians saw the past, the present, and the future.

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The principle of all superstition is, that, to see clearly the eyes must be closed, and, to think justly, the reason must be enslaved. This notion of a state of supernatural swooning is very antient. It is mentioned in the Edda that Odin was subject to it, and that he had then the same revelations as the Lapland magicians.—But I fear that I have too long detained the reader's attention to objects, the sole use of which is to evince the great weakness of the human mind; and, unfortunately, it is not necessary to go amongst savages to prove it.

ARTS,

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

Journal during an Aerial Voyage from Hackney to East Thorpe, Essex, August 2, 1811. By Henry Beaufoy, Esq.

[From Dr. Thomson's Annals of Philosophy.]

"As the balloon ascended I was totally unconscious of the motion; it appeared as if the balloon was the only point stationary, and that the earth and the people were suddenly sinking away. The rapidity with which it ascended was such that it prevented every sensation of giddiness, the whole country appearing in the course of a few seconds as one prodigious map. The almost instantaneous transition from the shouts of the spectators, and from the absolute tumult in which we had been engaged, to the death-like stillness that reigned in the upper regions, only broken at intervals by the report of a cannon at Walthamstow, filled the mind with indescribable sensations. It appeared difficult to persuade the mind that it was a reality; and the mixed sensations of delight and astonishment completely deprived me of the power of expressing my wonder at the scene beneath the eye. It seemed a dream, and hardly possible to be a reality.

"A few moments, however, were all that I allowed myself to feast on the delightful scene; for the confusion that had taken place around the car had compelled those that had taken charge of the instruments to use very great exertions to convey them to us in the car. They were accordingly lying in a distressing state of confusion at the bottom of the car; though, on examination, fortunately without having suffered the smallest injury. As soon therefore as the usual ceremony of waving the farewell flag could be dispensed with, I threw off my hat, and proceeded to arrange and suspend the instruments. To effect this it was necessary to have both hands at liberty. I was desirous of disposing of the flag I held in my hand, and accordingly thrust the staff through the back of the car; but as I was obliged to stand upon the seat to fix the barometer sufficiently high, the flag fell from its situation, and was afterwards picked up at about a quarter of a mile from the place of ascent,

ascent, though neither of us missed it until some considerable time after the accident. The instruments being fixed in their respective situations, the next care was to regulate the gauge of the barometer; all which several occupations consumed the first ten minutes of the voyage.

"After having made the first set of observations, I had an opportunity of viewing at leisure the prospect from the balloon. The first and most striking object was the Thames, which was seen meandering in endless gigantic sinuosities through the long line of country down as far as the Nore. The ships, and even boats, were distinguishable on its mirror-like surface with astonishing minuteness; and I have no doubt that, had the ascent been made with reference to that particular object, the number of shipping afloat in the river and wet docks might have been most accurately counted.

"The sun shone full upon the river, and presented at once the grandest and most delightful sight imaginable. It would be fruitless to attempt the description of the scene, though in candour it must be acknowledged that it agreed precisely with the idea that I had preconceived, and differed in no respect whatever from the view from the summit of a lofty situation; except that it was infinitely more extended in its range; the eye embraced a larger field within its scope; and then that listless sensation of delight which is derived from the nature of the voyage itself. In short, as has been already stated, the gratification arising from the situation is altogether indescribable, but to such as have experienced it themselves. Though moving with such wonderful velocity, the travellers are themselves totally unscious of any motion whatever. They feel themselves floating in a most delightful acriform fluid, and seeming to convey a most exquisite idea of unlimited elasticity. The extreme elasticity, indeed, was found on this occasion to be materially against the accuracy required in all barometrical observations. The slightest motion on the part of either of us causing a vibration of the quicksilver, in the tube, of an inch, a half, and two inches, which required to be steadied with the hand to bring it to any thing like a stationary point. Finding this to be the case, I noticed each time the two extreme divisions of vibration, and took the mean as the sum to be placed in the barometer column. In no one instance was the barometer stationary; for even when we were both of us perfectly still, the barometer ebbed and flowed with great rapidity, though not to such an extent as in the case already mentioned.

"In looking over the country, it gave the idea of an immense map, executed with uncommon neatness; the fields presenting a much livelier and brighter green than the trees. The colours of objects were not in the least changed or affected in any instance that came under observation. In passing over Epping Forest, I was particularly struck with its appearance; it seemed to consist of a vast number of clumps of something of a very dark green, certainly conveying an accurate idea of what it really was—a forest; but so much fore-shortened as to preclude any idea of comparative elevation. It occurred to me at the very

very moment of my noticing it, that although Captain Snowdon had been much joked for having described Epping Forest as looking like a gooseberry bush, the error really existed by no means in the point of fact, but in the unfortunate selection of words in which he had chosen to express himself; for had he said that Epping Forest looked exactly like a large plantation of gooseberry trees of a gigantic size and width, he would have conveyed a very accurate idea of the fact. I particularly noticed that the forest presented to the eye a tract of dark green detached patches; where the turf (as I supposed) was visible, there seemed to be an edging of varied extent of courses of a green of a much brighter colour. All objects, of whatever kind, ceased to give any idea of comparative height, unless when seen at a considerable angle, before the balloon became in a vertical situation. I observed that white objects, as Chigwell and Ongar Church, Wanstead House, and the Town Hall at Chelmsford, conveyed a much better idea of our elevation above the surface of the earth than any other objects I observed. The small rill of water that runs through the main street of Chelmsford sparkled with peculiar brilliancy; much more so indeed than either the Thames or any other water that caught the eye in the course of the voyage. Such of the roads as took the attention seemed all of one uniform colour, and that an orange-yellow; and, at the elevation at which the balloon was at the time, conveyed the idea of fine gravel walks. In one instance, in which a flock of sheep were passing in a direction from London, the dust they left behind them was very distinguishable, and this at an elevation of nearly 3000 feet. All sounds seemed to be transmitted with distinctness to us aloft, at a distance in which we could not make ourselves heard by those under us. This was to be expected, as there could be no objects near enough to the balloon to assist in reflecting the sound; whereas to those beneath us this objection did not apply; the hills and hollows all tending to influence the propagation of sound on the earth. It did not appear that any change in the state of the atmosphere affected the propagation of sound. This was contrary to my expectations. For some years since, when Colonel Beaufoy was out on a shooting party on one of the Swiss mountains, in company with the late Sir Harry Mildmay, they were enveloped in a very dense cloud; by accident Sir Harry's fowling-piece went off, and the report was instantly followed by a complete roll, like that of thunder. The experiment was repeated again and again with similar results. Col. Beaufoy waited there some time, till the cloud had cleared away, and the ordinary clearness of the atmosphere was restored. He again tried the effects of the discharge of his piece; but now, no roll followed.

Time

	Time.			Barometer.		Therm.	Kater's Hygrom.		Electrometer.	Compass.
	Min.	Hours.		Inches and Tenths.	Feet.	Degrees.			Divergency.	Course of Balloon.
Obs. 1	20	b	3	30 1	—	65	4	30	None	S W wind
2	10	b	3	26 7	3411	68	4	32	None	N E
3	5	b	3	26 7	3411	61	4	38	None	N E
4			3	26 5	3529	59	4	40	None	N E
5	5	a	3	26 3	3741	56	4	56	None	N E
6	10	a	3	27 0	3052	66	4	55	None	N E
7	15	a	3	28 2	1812	60	4	59	None	N E
8	20	a	3	27 5	2519	61	4	62	None	E
9	25	a	3	26 4	3771	59	4	65	None	Stationary
10	30	a	3	25 6	4494	56	4	67	None	Stationary
11	25	b	4	24 3	5861	54	4	75	2 Tenths	E S E
12	22	b	4	24 4	5727	54	4	85	1 Tenth	N E
13	15	b	4	26 0	4032	56	4	90	None	N
14	10	b	4	26 2	3820	56	4	90	None	E
15	7	b	4	26 0	4032	57	4	87	None	E
16	5	b	4	27 0	2986	56	4	86	None	E
17			4	27 1	2887	57	4	84	1 Tenth	N E
18	5	a	4	28 5	1501	59	4	83	2 Tenths	N E
19	10	a	4	Descended in the parish of East Thorpe, near Colchester.						

Remarks made at the different Periods of the above Observations.

"*Observation* 1 made at Hackney Wick; at the moment the balloon was seen rising over the trees, and as the data from which the experiments were to be made during the voyage. The first 10 minutes were occupied in fixing the instruments, and regulating the gauge of the barometer. Mr. Sadler directed me to attend solely to the observations, and that he would himself look to the management of the balloon. Assisted in putting to rights and coiling away rope, grapnel, &c. &c. which were lying in a confused heap in the bottom of the car. Stuck the flag-staff through the back of the car, and threw off hat.

"*Obs.* 2.—Threw out two bags of ballast, and soon after a third. A most enchanting view. Mr. Sadler pointed out some high chalk cliffs, which he said were the Nore.

"*Obs.* 3.—The balloon had a rotatory motion, which tended to confuse any very distinct idea of situation. This motion most probably caused by some accidental twirl in the confusion in which the balloon was launched.

"*Obs.* 4.—Sent off one of the pigeons, marked No. 7, which the instant it was at liberty flew boldly from the car in a circle, and then towards the earth at a very considerable

derable angle. View clear and distinct.

Obs. 5.—Mr. Sadler uncorked a bottle of Champaigne, and we drank the health of the Prince Regent, and afterwards that of Sir Daniel Williams, followed by All Friends at Hackney. Did not perceive any alteration in the senses of taste or smell, either in the wine, or in some sandwiches. On removing the cork, the fixed air escaped from the bottle in the form of a rather denser kind of smoke, and the wine sparkled with more vivacity than I had remarked on uncorking champaign on other occasions. It appeared that the gas escaped with greater facility under the diminished pressure of the atmosphere at this elevation.

"*Obs.* 6.—Observed that the least motion caused by us occasioned an amazing vibration of the quicksilver in the barometrical tube, sometimes considerably more than an inch. The compass-needle not at all altered from its horizontal position.

"*Obs* 7.—Mr. Sadler tried the effect of the valve, to ascertain whether it was in good order. The gas made its escape through the valve with a noise precisely similar to that of weak steam rushing through the valve of a steam boiler.

"*Obs.* 8.—The balloon was now in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, which was presently changed into a violent hail-storm. The sound produced by the battering of the hail and rain against the upper surface of the balloon, contrasted with the general stillness that otherwise reigned around the balloon, was very striking. Threw out a board which had been taken up to answer the purpose of a table, but not used, because the weight of the load caused the angle formed by the ropes, by which the car was attached to the netting, to become more acute, and we were apprehensive that the edges of the board would cut the ropes. Threw out the wicker basket. The effect of the rain and hail on the balloon was exhibited in a copious discharge of fluid through the neck of the balloon, arising probably from a condension of the warm hydrogen gas, by the constant succession of cold fluid pouring in torrents on the upper surface of the balloon. This fluid appeared to have dissolved a portion of the varnish; for wherever it fell on the clothes or hat it left a permanent stain of a whitish-looking gummy appearance. At this time we experienced a very strong current of air or wind, not only cold and chilly to the feelings, but apparently blowing from no one particular point of the compass, as it rushed sometimes from one, at another moment from a directly opposite direction. This current of air caused the balloon to acquire a rotatory vertical motion, which made the compass traverse as nearly as I could guess, for I did not note it by the watch, once in about 20 or 30 seconds. The confusion round the car at the launching was here productive of inconvenience: for the car did not hang perfectly parallel. I was at the lowest end, and therefore found this vertical motion exceedingly inconvenient. The car was lowest on my right hand; so that it was not only lowest towards that end, but was lop-sided on my right. The motion of the balloon was from my left towards my right hand. The wind made no noise, and would not have been perceptible but for the freshness of the air

on the face, and the singular motion of the balloon.

"*Obs.* 9.—Mr. Sadler now announced to me that the balloon was passing through the clouds; and almost immediately after the clouds were seen beneath, presenting the appearance of fleecy masses. On throwing some small pieces of silver paper over the side of the car, the rapidity with which they appeared to be precipitated downwards convinced us that the balloon was rapidly ascending. The rain still continued, and the air damp and chilly to the feelings. We seemed to be stationary, as far as progress over the country went, but still ascending with rapidity.

"*Obs.* 10.—At this time placed a pigeon, No. 3, on the edge of the car: the poor animal seemed excessively alarmed, standing on the edge of the car and looking round. The earth was concealed from the view by the clouds beneath. After some little time I precipitated the pigeon gently from its perch, when it fell like a stone, until lost in the haze, which was almost in an instant. As long as it remained in sight it did not make any attempt to assist itself with its wings. The rain still came down heavily, and the fluid continued to pour down as before through the neck of the balloon.

Obs. 11.—Mr. Sadler inquired of me the heat by the thermometer, and on his receiving the answer, directed one of the bottles to be emptied of its water, for the purpose of collecting air: Mr. Sadler observing at the same time that he thought we were now at as great an elevation as we should be able to accomplish in the course of the voyage. At this elevation I could not divest myself of the idea that I heard sounds as of persons cheering from the earth, though it was not possible that it could arise from any such cause, as the balloon was still above the clouds, and we could not distinguish any thing but the dense white clouds, which now appeared precisely like a thick October fog. The air felt damp and chilly, and the rain still continued, though less violently than before. The breath was particularly visible; and from the circumstance of my having been without a hat during the whole of the excursion, it is most probable that the sounds I fancied I heard was merely a ringing in the ears, the effect of the damp. Tried the experiment repeatedly of looking towards the earth, and shouting as loudly as possible to ascertain whether the sound would be returned by echo or reflection from below; but no such effect followed. Got into a clear atmosphere, the white clouds remaining as before beneath; but on looking upwards, there was a mixture of blue and white clouds, though with a great preponderance of blue, just as is usual in a moderately clear day below.

"*Obs.* 12.—The blue sky seemed to be of a dark and clearer blue than I had generally seen. Mr. Sadler now proposed descending into a clearer atmosphere, for the sake of getting a view of the earth, it being still concealed from the view by the dense white clouds below. This was in consequence of our noticing that 22 minutes before four the wind had reverted to the old point, and Mr. Sadler's experience led him to conclude that the balloon could not be now far distant from the sea; judging from the rate at which we had traversed over the country, as long as objects were

were distinguishable. Turned off a pigeon, No. 4, and it would not leave the car, but continued to look about as if frightened, and then turned its head inward, without attempting to escape. When pushed off the side of the car, it fluttered, and used the most violent exertions to regain the car; but as notwithstanding all its exertions it continued to sink rapidly below the car, it at length extended its wings, keeping them apparently immovable, and darted towards the earth, at an angle considerably inclined, with the rapidity of a hawk making his swoop. It was very remarkable that almost at the same moment a common house fly, apparently much benumbed, and scarcely competent to common exertion, crawled from beneath my seat, and without any difficulty flew with facility upwards, and settled on the lower part of the net of the balloon, a good deal above our heads. It appears curious that so small an insect, and that too partly incapacitated, should be able to fly up to the balloon with the same rapidity as usual, when a far more powerful animal should have sunk from the car almost like a piece of wood thrown overboard. Mr. Sadler now pulled the string of the valve; the gas rushed out with somewhat less noise and violence than before, but the balloon was evidently rapidly sinking: it was a sinking perfectly sensible to the feelings, even had we not been informed by constant reference to the barometer. In ascending, there is a sensation of lifting, or more properly of pressure on the soles of the feet and the under side of the thighs; whereas, in sinking, this sensation disappears. On opening the valve there was a copious discharge of water through the balloon, as before; but it did not appear of so glutinous a nature as that before spoken of: it was probably merely the rain which had lodged on the upper side of the valve.

"*Obs.* 13.—At this time I felt a trifling pressure in the ear, and some little deafness; but this most probably was the effect of the damp atmosphere, and being without a hat; which is by the bye a great inconvenience in such situations, on account of the ropes.

"As soon as the balloon descended into a region from which the earth was perceptible, Mr. Sadler's conjectures proved just; as we saw, apparently at no great distance from us, the wide expanse of the Northern Ocean. The sensation of deafness did not go off for more than a quarter of an hour afterwards, even notwithstanding the balloon had greatly decreased in point of elevation. Until this trifling deafness, there did not appear to be the smallest difference between the intensity of sound at the greatest elevation, and at the surface of the earth. We conversed in our usual tone of voice, and any casual operation, such as drawing the cork of the champaign, &c. was heard just as usual. If any thing, the universal stillness invited rather a lower tone of voice than ordinary.

"*Obs.* 14.—Released the pigeon, No. 1, and placed it on the edge of the car, which like the former did not attempt to escape till pushed off from the car.

"*Obs.* 15.—Sent off the pigeon, No. 6: saw a flock of sheep very distinctly in the turnpike-road, going in a direction from London.

"*Obs.* 16.—Sent off the pigeon, No. 5; Mr. Sadler now announced that it would be necessary to look

out for some convenient spot at which to attempt a landing; saw people below at plough; called out to them; but they did not seem to be within hearing, as they did not appear to be aware of the balloon.

Obs. 17.—Mr. Salder now cautioned me that the instruments must be removed, and directed that they should be taken into my lap. He told me likewise to be prepared, on his giving the word, to heave overboard every thing that would admit of it, with a view of breaking the force of the descent. Mr. Sadler and myself were also to place our feet against the corners of the opposite seat, and then raise ourselves as much as possible with our hands by clinging to the ropes, taking care to raise our hands as high as possible above our heads.

"*Obs.* 18. - Turned off the pigeon, No. 2: this last flew away immediately, but afterwards returned to the balloon, and flew round it several times, but without attempting to settle on the car. The live stock being thus reduced down to one, the bag that contained it was tied to one of the cords of the car, and I then hastened to cut away the ligatures by which the different instruments were secured. In the mean time Mr. Sadler was lightening the balloon of part of a bottle of champaign, and emptied out the remaining bottle of water.

"The balloon was approaching the ground fast, when Mr. Sadler gave the order to lighten, while he held the valve with both his hands to keep it open. I threw overboard the whole of the remaining ballast, and some two or three other useless articles. Mr. Sadler, when he gave the word for lightening the balloon, at the same instant let go the grapnel. The grapnel continued to drag for a few hundred yards, and I had just time enough to place myself as directed to do, with the instruments secured in the best way the hurry of the moment would admit, when the car bounded from the ground, and after passing over a hedge, and dragging a few feet more, it lay along on its side. We continued firm in our situations, without attempting to stir, until some persons, who were working close by, in a field over which the balloon had passed in its descent, came to our assistance. The balloon was soon secured, and we were released from the possibility of any farther bumping. The descent was considered by Mr. Sadler as being particularly favourable; though, to speak candidly, I formed a very decided opinion as to the uneasy situation of a descent, which Mr. Sadler, after his long experience, would deem dangerous; for the rapidity with which the car descended through the last 50 or 100 feet on this occasion, and the extraordinary sensation occasioned by the first bound, which is not unlike the dislocating shock of a galvanic battery, very much exceeded my pre-conceived idea as to the nature of a descent. The balloon grounded in a fine grass meadow, in the parish of East Thorpe, near Colchester, and was secured by the assistance of the proprietor of the farm, Mr. Thomas Ely, who was the first person that arrived to lend his friendly aid, and to whose house we, together with our apparatus, proceeded.

"On questioning some of the country people who lent a hand in securing the balloon, they told us that they had heard us calling and cheering them as we passed over their heads; and that they had very distinctly seen the water that

was

was emptied out of the bottle, which appears by the journal to have been about five minutes after four. They described it as appearing like a stream of smoke or vapour issuing from the car.

"Almost as soon as the balloon touched the ground, a man brought the bottle of champaign unhurt, which had been thrown out by Mr. Sadler at an elevation of full 1000 or 1500 feet. The man said he picked it up in a ploughed field. The bottle was about two-thirds full, and loosely corked. One of the most remarkable circumstances that I observed was, that the balloon, whether in ascending or descending, provided the change in elevation was effected with rapidity, invariably formed an umbrella over our heads. The lower part, instead of hanging down, as might have been supposed on a first view of the matter, was raised upwards, and formed a concave circle over our heads; the convex side of the arch corresponding with that of the crown of the balloon. This, on reflection, seems to have been caused in both cases by the pressure of the atmosphere. In the descent, the weight below the balloon tended to compress the air against the lower side of the bag, and thus the parachute was formed by the compression of the air, because it could not escape with sufficient ease by flowing over the edges. In the ascent, on the contrary, it is probable that as the upper side of the balloon displaced a much larger portion of air than the lower extremity, in proportion as the balloon when in the air assumes nine times in ten a pear shape, and not a sphere, unless at very considerable elevations, the air which has been so displaced by the upper part of the balloon in ascending, rushes from all directions to re-occupy the space left in the wake of the bag, and therefore it seems that the parachute thus formed in ascending is merely the effect of the eddy caused by the rapid displacement of the air.

"I paid particular attention to this, because it struck me as something curious, which I had not heard mentioned by former voyagers; and I found that, in cases wherein the balloon was nearly stationary in point of vertical change of position, the lower side of the balloon hung down just as would be the case under usual circumstances.

"In this voyage we experienced the inconvenience which so often occurs in aerostatic trips in insular situations; the wind being generally in such a situation, with regard to the position of London, as to carry the balloon towards the sea, and not inland. The balloon too that was used on this occasion was only 35 feet in diameter, and had been repeatedly used, and appeared to have not only suffered in the texture, but also to have gained much additional weight, from repeated varnishings.

"That it was not at all calculated for the purposes of experiment seemed sufficiently proved by the exceedingly unpleasant smell of hydrogen gas which accompanied us throughout the voyage, and which it was concluded arose from its escape through the little cracks and orifices in the silk and varnish. There is no doubt that any voyage undertaken for the purpose of making experiments should be in a balloon of much greater power than that used on the 29th of August. The utmost elevation attained on this day was very little more than a mile, which is a difference of altitude

titude not capable of exhibiting any variation from general laws sufficient to make it worth while to incur the expense of a journey. That experiments should be made correctly, if they be made at all, no one will be prepared to deny; and therefore it should be considered as a point settled, that not less than two persons should ascend together. The management of the balloon is quite sufficient to engage the attention of one person; and if any thing would tend to shake one's confidence in the extraordinary reports of some aerial travellers, it would be the very fact of their having been alone, and therefore, it is inferred, not by any means so much at their ease, or their undivided attention so much at command, as would have been requisite to read off, for example, the barometrical heights to the nicety they have pretended. It is unnecessary to point out the particular points in which we found that our observations differed or confirmed the reports of others, as most of the excursions undertaken either for amusement or information are pretty generally known. It does not appear, however, that the vertical rotation experienced in the course of this voyage, when the balloon encountered the storm and current of air has been mentioned by any former travellers, with the exception of Count Zambeccari, who made an ascent with Admiral Sir Edward Vernon, at London, 23d March, 1785."

Essay on Dew, and Several Appearances connected with it. By Wm. Charles Wells, M. D. F.R.S.

[From the Same.]

"DR. Wells was induced, in consequence of a rude experiment made in 1784, to think it probable that the formation of dew is attended with the production of cold. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Six entertained the same opinion; and Dr. Wells, in the course of his reading, met with many facts that appeared to confirm it; but he made no experiments on the subject till the autumn of 1811. The facts then observed induced him to begin a series of observations in 1812; these were prosecuted in 1813, and gradually led to a knowledge of the facts contained in this publication, which may be considered as a theory of the formation of dew—a theory which appears to me both satisfactory and complete.

"The essay is divided into three parts. In the first we have an account of the phenomena of dew. It appears only in calm and serene nights. In cloudy nights the quantity is small, and the same observation applies to windy nights; and when the night is both cloudy and windy, no dew whatever is deposited. It usually begins to make its appearance on grass towards the decline of the day, when the sun has ceased to shine on it; but it does not appear in any considerable quantity till after sun-set. It continues to be deposited during the whole of the night till after sun-

rise,

rise, supposing no change in the weather to have taken place. There is usually a greater quantity deposited between midnight and sun-rise than between sun-set and midnight. Supposing every thing else the same, the deposition of dew is more abundant the more the atmosphere is loaded with moisture.

"Whatever has a tendency to diminish the aspect of the sky to any body dimishes at the same time the quantity of dew deposited on it. Thus, a flat board was placed in a horizontal position four feet above a grass plat; 10 grains of wool placed on the under surface of it gained only four grains of weight, while the same quantity placed on the upper surface gained 14 grains. In another trial the wool on the under side gained six grains, while that on the upper side gained 19 grains. In another trial the wool on the under side gained two grains, while that on the upper side gained 11; and in another the wool below gained four grains, while that above gained 20. This difference was not owing to the moisture falling from above in a form similar to that of rain, otherwise the wool on the under surface would have acquired no increase of weight. Besides, a quantity of wool placed at the bottom of a tall stone-ware cylinder, open at top, acquired just as little increase of weight as the wool on the under surface of the board.

"When wool is laid upon a large horizontal body, as a board, it acquires more dew than when suspended in the air at a distance from other bodies. Dew is not deposited indiscriminately upon all bodies. More is deposited on grass than upon gravel or soil. Polished metals have but little deposited on them, so that they are often found dry when other bodies in their neighbourhood are wet with dew. Between metals themselves there is a difference in this respect: some being more readily wetted with dew than others. Platinum is one of the easiest. Iron, steel, zinc, and lead, are more easily wetted with dew than gold, silver, copper, and tin. Dew is deposited in towns as well as in the country, but not so copiously, owing to a variety of causes which may be easily conceived. Thus, Dr. Wells found dew deposited in London, but in much smaller quantity than in a garden in Surry, about a mile and a quarter from town.

"If we examine the temperature of those substances on which dew is deposited we shall find them colder than the air in their neighbourhood. Thus, grass wet with dew was found 7°, 8°, 9°, 10°, 11°, and even 12° colder than the air four feet above it. This difference of temperature begins soon after the heat of the day has declined: but this difference only holds in clear and serene weather. In cloudy and windy nights the grass was not colder than the air; sometimes it was even warmer; but on such nights no dew was deposited. If the sky become cloudy during the night, the temperature of the grass rises. Thus, on such a night, the grass which was at first 12° colder than the air became only 2° colder. During a fog this increase of temperature sometimes takes place, sometimes not; showing clearly that the change does not depend upon the fog, but the cloudiness of the sky.

"The quantity of dew deposited upon bodies is proportional to their coldness, when compared with that of those in their neighbourhood. Thus, wool on the upper surface of a board

a board was 9° colder than wool upon the under surface of the same board, and it condensed more than three times as much dew. Much more dew is deposited upon grass than upon a gravel walk. On one night in which this difference was very striking, the grass was 16½° colder than the gravel walk. The same observation applies to garden mould, which does not condense so much dew, nor become nearly so cold as grass.

"On dewy nights the temperature of the earth an inch or an inch and a half under the surface is much warmer than that of the grass. In one case the observed difference was from 12° to 16°.

"The heat of metals is not correctly ascertained by placing the naked bulb of a thermometer on them. Unless the bulb be covered by a coating of gilt paper, or something similar, it indicates a much greater degree of cold than the metal really has.

"Bright metallic plates on dewy nights are much warmer than the grass on which they are placed, and usually as warm as the air four feet above them: but when dew forms on them, they are always colder than the air. But metals do not become so cold as other bodies by exposure: they were never observed more than 3° or 4° colder than the air; and the most readily dewed metals are the ones which become coldest soonest.

"The quantity of dew deposited depends not merely on the difference between the temperature of the air and of those bodies on which the dew condenses; it depends likewise, and in a very considerable degree upon the quantity of moisture which exists in the atmosphere.

"When wool is equally exposed it becomes colder than grass; while silk, cotton and flax, become colder than wood. Swandown becomes still colder than any of these bodies. Fresh unbroken straw, and shreds of white paper were found, likewise, to become colder than wool. Of powders, fine river sand became the least cold; glass, and chalk, in powder, became more so; and charcoal, lamp-black, and brown calx of iron became coldest of all. Glass, brick, cork, and oak wood were inferior to filamentous substances. Snow likewise became a good deal colder than the air; but in this respect it is inferior to swandown.

"Such are the phenomena observed by Dr. Wells to accompany the formation of dew. In the second part he treats of the theory of the formation of dew. Aristotle supposed that dew was a species of rain, formed by the moisture of the atmosphere being condensed by the cold of the night; an opinion still adopted by Mr. Leslie. The discovery by Muschenbroek, that metals will be free from dew while other bodies attract it copiously, led to the conclusion that the formation of dew is an electrical phenomenon; that it is deposited on non-conductors, but not on conductors. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Six conceived that its formation was accompanied by the evolution of cold; an opinion at first embraced by Dr. Wells: but subsequent observations led him to doubt its accuracy, and he afterwards ascertained, by direct experiment, that the temperature of bodies sinks before any dew is deposited on them; that the subsequent deposition of dew is the consequence of this coldness; and therefore that the deposition of dew

has

has precisely the same cause as the appearance of moisture on the outside of a glass, or metallic vessel, when a liquid considerably colder than the air has been poured into it shortly before.

"But why, it will be asked, do bodies become colder than the air with which they are in contact; and why do some bodies acquire a greater degree of cold than others in their vicinity? These questions could not have been answered in a satisfactory manner previous to the discoveries of Mr. Leslie and Count Rumford respecting heat. But in consequence of these discoveries we are able to answer them in a satisfactory manner. All bodies have the property of radiating heat. During the day, the heat lost by radiation is more than supplied by the sun; so that the temperature of bodies during the day, is increased instead of being diminished. But the contrary is the case during the night. The heat radiated by the bodies on the surface of the earth penetrates into the sky, and does not again return to them. Hence their temperature must be constantly diminishing from radiation; and as air is a very bad conductor, the heat thus lost cannot be supplied by the ambient atmosphere. Therefore the temperature of bodies at the surface of the earth will become and continue colder than the air during the whole night. But this will happen only when the sky is clear, and the atmosphere still. If the sky be covered by clouds, these opaque bodies will radiate back as much heat as they receive from the bodies on the surface of the earth; so that the temperature of these bodies will not sink. If the night be windy, the agitation of the atmosphere will in some measure make up for its bad conducting power. New and warmer portions of air coming continually in contact with the bodies on the surface of the earth will be continually supplying them with heat, and thus prevent their temperature from sinking from radiation.

"Thus we see a sufficient reason why the temperature of bodies on the surface of the earth in clear and calm nights becomes considerably lower than that of the surrounding atmosphere. But what is the reason that the temperature of some bodies becomes much lower than that of others in their immediate vicinity? The discoveries of Mr. Leslie enable us to answer that question in a satisfactory manner. It is because some bodies radiate much more heat than others. Metals are the bodies which radiate heat worst, of course they will be less cooled by radiation than other bodies, and less dew will of course condense on them, as is the matter of fact. Gold, silver, copper, and tin, are the metals that radiate heat worst, and they are the metals upon which dew is least apt to form. Filamentous substances, paper, grass, radiate heat copiously: hence they become speedily colder than the air, and dew forms upon them in abundance.

"Such is the theory of the formation of dew given by Dr. Wells, and, to me at least, it appears perfectly satisfactory and complete. He employs it to explain a great number of facts, some of which he had mentioned in enumerating the phenomena of dew, and others are noticed for the first time here. I would with much pleasure run over this enumeration of facts, and the luminous explanation of them given by Dr. Wells, which in most cases is perfectly satisfactory; but want

of

of room obliges me to refer the reader to the Essay itself: and I do this with the less reluctance, because most of the phenomena explain themselves as it were spontaneously by the mere application of the theory to them.

"The third part of this Essay treats of several appearances connected with dew. By this, Dr. Wells means several appearances produced by the same cause as dew, but generally ascribed to other causes. These appearances are the following:—

"1. During winter, Dr. Wells observed the panes of the windows of his bed-chamber moist on the inside; but those which had been covered by an inside shutter during the night were much more so than those that had been uncovered. He found upon examination that the covered panes were 3° colder than the uncovered. The cause was this:—The shutter protected the panes from the heat radiated by the walls and furniture of the room, which struck against the uncovered panes: hence the former were colder than the latter.

"2. When we go out of a house into the open air during the night, we are frequently sensible of a considerable chill. This, according to Dr. Wells, is greatest in a clear night, and is more sensible in the country than in town. He conceives it to be owing to the heat radiated from our bodies. To this cause the noxious effects of the night air are probably owing.

"3. Gardeners are in the habit of covering plants with mats in order to prevent the bad effect of the cold. The use of this covering is to prevent the heat from escaping from the plants by radiation. Dr. Wells found grass, over which a thin cambric handkerchief was placed horizontally a few inches above it, several degrees hotter than grass fully exposed to the aspect of the sky. The effect is not so great when the mat touches the body as when it is a few inches distant from it.

"4. The covering of snow upon the surface of the earth during winter in northern regions is chiefly useful by preventing the loss of heat from radiation; which would be sufficient in a few hours to destroy vegetables altogether.

"5. It is believed in the West Indies, and seems to have been admitted by the ancients, that the exposure of animal substances to moonlight promotes their putrefaction. Moonlight nights are always clear, and usually calm: hence dew will be deposited most copiously during such nights. Covering animal substances with dew, in addition to their own moisture, must in hot climates promote their putrefaction: hence probably the origin of the notion.

"6. Ice is formed in Bengal by exposing water in shallow unglazed pans to the air, placed upon dry straw or sugar-canes, and sometimes sunk artificially below the surface of the earth. Ice forms only in clear and serene nights. The formation of ice in these cases has been usually ascribed to the evaporation of water from the outer surface of the pans. But Dr. Wells has shown, both by the clearest arguments, and by experiments, that this explanation is not the real cause; but that the formation of ice is owing to the heat radiated from the surface of the water. The straw serves only to prevent heat from being conducted into the water from the earth. Hence the reason why the process requires

requires a clear and serene night, and why winds and clouds prevent it from succeeding.

"Such is a short analysis of this very interesting performance. Few books have made their appearance of late years containing a greater number of new and important facts; and few scientific theories have ever been presented to the world either in a more satisfactory or luminous manner. It may be proper to mention that there occurs a word in Dr. Wells's essay which I do not recollect to have seen before. I mean the word conduction. The English language was destitute of a single word bearing the meaning which Dr. Wells has affixed to this. I have frequently in writing or speaking on the subject found the inconvenience of such a want, and was obliged to have recourse to the disagreeable mode of expressing my meaning by a circumlocution. Whether the word conduction be the most proper for the purpose must be left to the decision of British philosophers in general. For my own part, I see no objections to the term, and should not scruple to employ it when writing upon heat."

Chemical Analysis of Caviar. By Professor St. John, of Frankfort on the Oder.

[From the Same.]

"CAVIAR, as is known, is formed from the roe of some species of sturgeons, as the Accipenser sturio, A. huso, A. rathenus. It comes in a two-fold state, from Russia, where it was probably prepared, to us in Germany. Two kinds of caviar are distinguished in commerce, namely, the pressed and fresh caviar. Now this last kind, as it consists of the roes of the fish unaltered (some sturgeons yield 200 pounds of this substance), when it is subjected to analysis, will yield a result more to be depended on than the pressed caviar, which is not only mixed with foreign matter, as common salt, but which, by being dried and subjected to pressure, has undergone a real change in its nature. There is a good description of the method of preparing the pressed caviar in Krünitz' Encyclopedia. I employed in the following analysis true Russian caviar, the roes of which had been pressed together in consequence of the distant carriage, but which had undergone no fermentation nor any other alteration.

"I rubbed 420 grains of this fresh caviar with water into a thin pap, and then mixed it with a greater proportion of that liquid. I obtained a solution similar to an emulsion, from which the membraneous part of the caviar gradually precipitated to the bottom of the vessel. It was obvious from the appearance of the solution that it contained an oily matter mixed with it. The whole was poured upon the filter, through which there passed a pretty transparent and colourless solution. The residuum which remained upon the filter was treated with water in the same manner as at first, by which the dissolving power of the water seemed to be exhausted. The solution in water, being evaporated, coagulated, and deposited a white

substance

substance similar to the curdy part of milk. Alcohol, being dropped into the liquid, contributed to the coagulation and precipitation of this substance. This substance being separated by the filter, and dried in a hot place, assumed the form of a transparent, brittle, horny-looking substance, equally insoluble in water and alcohol. Pure caustic potash ley dissolved it, and it was thrown down again by the addition of an acid. This substance, which possesses the properties of albumen, when fully dried, weighed 26 grains.

"The watery solution thus freed from albumen, being properly concentrated, deposited 26 grains of common salt in small cubes, mixed with a little alkaline sulphate. The mother ley contained a portion of slime scarce capable of being weighed. It was mixed with common salt, but easily separated by washing it with water.

"I now allowed the portion of caviar which was insoluble in water to dry, by exposing it to a very gentle heat. In this state it still retained very strongly its peculiar taste. It was repeatedly digested in alcohol, the solution was mixed with water, heated, and allowed to cool again. By this means 18 grains of an unctuous yellow coloured oil were obtained. The residue left by the alcohol undissolved had lost the peculiar taste of caviar. The liquid freed from the oil was found to contain nothing but an atom of common salt.

"What the alcohol had left undissolved was boiled for an hour in pure water. The filtered water, being evaporated to dryness, left only an atom of jelly. The portion undissolved in water weighed, after being dried, 104 grains. It had the colour of caviar, and was indurated albumen. When burnt it emitted a very fetid animal smoke. The coal which remained behind was burnt to ashes. The ashes weighed 1½ grain. They contained no alkali; but consisted of common salt, sulphate of potash, phosphate of lime, and a trace of iron.

"The constituents furnished by the preceding analysis of 420 grains of caviar are the following:

	Grains.
Pure dry albumen from the solution of caviar	26
Unctuous oil	18
Insoluble or indurated albumen	102
Common salt with some alkaline sulphate	28
Jelly, Phosphate of lime, Oxide of iron	3
Water as the deficiency	244
	420

"From the preceding analysis it follows that caviar contains a notable portion of soluble albumen, which constitutes so nourishing an article of food, that the peculiar taste of caviar is to be ascribed to an oil, which is the same as that contained in all the ova of animals, so far as I have hitherto examined them, namely, in those of insects (butterflies

flies and grasshoppers), of amphibia, and of birds in considerable quantity, and, finally, that the albumen in caviar exists in two states, namely, soluble and insoluble in water, but that the insoluble portion is by far predominant, and in a much greater quantity than in any other ova hitherto examined by me."

Process for Preserving the Canvass in Oil Paintings, and repairing Defects. By Mr. William Wilkie.

[From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c.]

"1st. SEPARATE the canvass from the pannel, or straining frame, and lay it on a smooth table, with the painting downwards, and nail it securely.

"2d. Take a piece of tin foil, larger than the canvass, place it on a very smooth table, and make the tin foil as smooth as possible with your hand. Then melt some Salisbury glue, in the same manner as for cabinet-makers' use.

"3d. Warm the tinfoil before the fire, and lay it again on the table, then wash it over with the glue, and place it on the back of the canvass, secured as above, as quick as possible; smooth it perfectly with the hand, and let it remain in a warm room to dry.

"4th. To repair the cracks of the canvass, in an old oil painting, lay it on a very smooth table, the subject downwards; then, with a brush or fine linen, cover the canvass with some melted white wax, and, with a warm flat smoothing iron, rub over the wax, and press it hard, which will draw the colours up to the canvass.

"5th. To varnish the painting, clean the picture well, take some white wax, and spirits of turpentine, with a small quantity of linseed oil and sugar of lead; melt them over the fire, dip a fine linen rag therein, with which wash your painting; then, with a fine linen rag, rub over the varnish till it begins to be polished; let it remain till next day, and then rub it over with a fine waxed cloth, and afterwards with a soft linen cloth, using them alternately, by which means the painting will receive a very fine polish.

"By the above means, the cracks and small holes in old paintings may be closed and repaired, and a coat of tin foil may be afterwards glued on the back of the canvass, as above mentioned.

"A foot square of the tin foil costs about sixpence; when wanted of a larger size it will cost considerably more in proportion. It may be procured in sheets of three or four feet if wanted."

Account of land gained from the Sea. By John Austin, Esq.

[From the Same.]

"In the year 1806, Mr. Austin embanked about three hundred Scotch acres of a swampy marsh, on the lands of Grange, in the county Tyrone, situate on the river Foyle, over which at spring tides the whole surface was covered, and frequently by neap tides also; covering it from one to four, and sometimes five feet deep of water. By the embankments however, and drains from six to four feet in depth, the land was reclaimed, and placed in good cultivation, giving in meadow grass from three to four tons of hay per acre, and the other part producing considerable crops of oats and potatoes. The expense is allowed to have been very great, but yet much less than the improvement would have justified."

On the Culture of Summer Wheat, or Blé Tremois. By C. T. Skurrey, Esq.

[From the Same.]

"This communication was accompanied with a specimen of the real summer wheat (Triticum Ostivum) or Blé Tremois of the French, which Mr. Skurrey had grown with great success for some years at his farm in Devonshire. As its merits had been so fully stated by Sir Joseph Banks, in his Letters on the subject to the Board of Agriculture, this paper is confined to a short account of the method of cultivating it. It is stated that for some years it had produced per acre double the quantity of the common wheat, and was in 1811 remarkably productive. The important considerations offered in its favour are: 1. It may be sown with success so late as the first of May. 2. It requires no extra culture beyond other spring corn. 3. It is a better nurse to clover than barley or oats. 4. It contains more nourishment than common wheat. 5. It yields (on soils unfit for winter wheat) a large increase.

increase. 6. The straw is excellent fodder for cattle, and superior to barley straw.

"Mr. Skurrey cultivates this wheat in the same manner as any other spring corn, and knows it to succeed admirably after turnips. And wherever the contrary has happened, he conceives it to arise from the difficulty of procuring genuine seeds of the true summer wheat; for although there are upwards of forty varieties of this species, some are so inferior as to give little profit to the growers. The grain is not found to be subject to any distempers, nor does the blight affect it like common wheat. Though this wheat thrives well on various soils, yet a loam inclining to stiffness is reckoned the best; but a light soil after turnips eaten off by sheep will produce a good crop; it is usually sown broad-cast from the beginning of April to the first week in May; and the common practice in Devonshire is to sow it after a green crop, and if the land is in heart it requires no manure; it ripens about the same time with common wheat, is not subject to the mildew, and as the straw is slender, is mown with the common scythe. The weight of a Winchester bushel in 1810 was 60 lbs. and in 1811 was 58 lbs. and the average produce per acre twenty-five bushels, though in one instance it was as high as thirty bushels; the price in the markets was as good as that of red lammas wheat, and it was as eagerly bought by the millers.

"In 1809, by way of experiment, part of a field was sown with summer wheat, and the remainder with barley; the land was poor and not well worked; the barley produced seventeen bushels per acre, which at 4s. 9d. per bushel, amounted to 4l. 9d.; the wheat yielded twenty-one bushels of a good sample, and sold for 14s. per bushel, or per acre 14l. 14s. giving a superiority in favour of the summer wheat of 10l. 13s. 3d. per acre. In 1811 the experiment was repeated on better land, with a greater difference, and consequently greater profit in favour of the wheat. In the same year, in a field of eight acres, seven acres were in common wheat, and the other acre in summer wheat; the winter wheat was struck with rust, so as to be scarcely worth harvesting, while the summer wheat produced thirty bushels per acre."

Extensive Bog Reclaimed by Underdraining. By Francis Haggit, D.D.

[From the Same.]

"ON the prebendal estate of this reverend gentleman, about four miles from Durham, was a morass of fifty acres, producing nothing but insulated tufts or hillocks of very coarse grass, and a few stunted sallows, and on which cattle would go only in dry summers; the annual value at most was two shillings and sixpence per acre. The meditated improvement was a long time deferred, on the supposition that a sufficient fall could not be obtained; but a trial was made in January, 1810, and the work completed in about eighteen months. The drains varied in depth from three to seven feet, and were laid in the conduit form, with side stones and a cover, and with flag stones at the bottom wherever it appeared necessary, forming an open space of seven inches by five, for the passage of the water. Where quicksands occurred, in which the stones would sink, planks were laid at the bottom for the side walls to rest upon, with shoulders to prevent the stones from slipping inwards on the boards. The soil, when dry, proved to be a rich strong loam, and the tenant consented immediately to give forty shillings per acre for the new drained ground, which has been since divided by white-thorn hedges, and most of it has been ploughed, and produced good crops of oats or turnips. The whole expense was 847l. 2s. 4d."

Rules for ascertaining the Age of a Horse by inspecting his Teeth.

[From the Farmer's Magazine.]

"THE rules given in the narrative are compressed into the following recapitulation:—At from 2½ to 3 years old, a horse sheds in both rows the two centre teeth, and is then said to be a three-year old.—At from 3½ to 4 years, he loses other four teeth, one on each side of those he lost the preceding year, both in the upper and under jaw, having the four outside or corner teeth remaining; he is now called a four-year-old—At from 4½ to 5 years, the

the four corner foal teeth are cast, and then he passes for a five-year-old; at full five years, the flesh disappears, and the corner teeth become complete shells, hollow within, and the tusks have pierced the gums, and their points may be felt with the finger.—At from 5½ to 6 years, the tusks become of a moderate size, sharp, the insides fluted, and the edge next the gatherers thin: he is now called six-year-old, which is the most valuable age.—At from 6 to 8 years all the gatherers are full, having only a brown speck on the top; the corner teeth have become much thicker, and the tusks longer; but as the speck remains with many horses for several years after, a person who is not a judge, will be told that the horse is not more than six years old.—At 8 to 10 years and upwards: at eight the bean being generally worn out from the teeth of the under jaw, the upper jaw may be examined; at nine the speck of the centre; at nine and a half that of the middle; and at ten, that of the corner teeth is effaced, then the horse is said to be *aged*, and to have lost all mark.—The age can no longer be distinctly known from the teeth, but a probable conjecture may be formed from the length of the tusks."

Apparatus to enable the Blind to learn and teach Music, By Mr. Matthew Cooke.

[From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.

"MR. COOKE styles his contrivance 'The Blind Musician's Guide,' and professes, that it will enable all persons deprived of sight, to become acquainted (on the supposition, however, that they are endued with an exquisite sense of feeling!) with every character of music, in less than a week's time, and that as they progressively improve in the science, they will, with the assistance of a master, more easily acquire a perfect knowledge of music by his machine, than by any hitherto invented.

"Mr Cooke states, that the apparatus displays, at one view, every character in the science of music.

"That by the introduction of numerical figures, the blind person will instantly know what particular finger is to be put on the key of the piano forte, or organ—that their utility, also, is obvious in performing thorough bass, as they form the ground work of that admirable system, and are absolutely necessary to discover to the practitioner from what source the laws of harmony are derived, as without the knowledge and constant use of figures, no person can properly execute on the piano forte, or organ, even the most common tune, in a skilful or scientific manner.

"An accompanying plate exhibits a psalm tune properly figured, and is intended as an illustra-

tion of thorough bass. The notes may be also figured, to shew that a particular finger must be applied to the identical key of the instrument to which the figured note alludes. By this method the blind musician will readily acquire a good habit of fingering, and at length be capable of executing the most difficult passages with ease and freedom.

"Mr. Cooke proceeds to observe, that when the blind pupil has gained a competent knowledge of thorough bass, he must acquire the science of composition. For this purpose the machine exhibits a complete score of the treble cliff, the alto cliff, and the tenor cliff, each displayed in their respective order and situation.

"Mr. Cooke informs us that the usual mode of instructing blind persons in the theory of music, consists in the use of a wooden apparatus, or frame board, with a number of holes filled with moveable pegs, the heads of which are cut into different shapes and forms, to give an idea of musical characters. But he complains of this system, as being peculiarly intricate and perplexing, and that the machine is very limited in its operations, containing about 600 different pieces, with only 18 varieties of character; whereas the apparatus which he has contrived, and for which he has received the gold medal from the Society for the encouragement of Arts, contains 941 pieces, with 71 varieties of character.

This new machine may be packed in a case three feet long, one foot three inches wide, and 4½ inches in depth; and as the characters are made of brass, they will endure any conveyance, either by sea or land without injury. The price of the appartus is 21*l.*

POETRY.

POETRY.

Ode to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

[From Southey's Congratulatory Odes.]

I.

PRINCE of the mighty Isle!
Proud day for thee and for thy kingdoms this,
When Britain round her spear
The olive garland twines, by Victory won.

II.

Rightly may'st thou rejoice,
For in a day of darkness and of storms,
An evil day, a day of woe,
To thee the sceptre fell.
The Continent was leagued,
Her numbers wielded by one will,
Against the mighty Isle;
All shores were hostile to the Red-Cross flag,
All ports against her closed;
Save where, behind their ramparts driven,
The Spaniard, and the faithful Portugal,
Each, on the utmost limits of his land,
Invincible of heart,
Stood firm, and put their trust
In their good cause and thee.
Such perils menaced from abroad,
At home worse dangers compass'd thee,
Where shallow counsellors,
A weak but clamorous crew,
Pester'd the land, and with their withering breath
Poison'd the public ear.
For peace the feeble raised their factious cry:
Oh madness, to resist
The Invincible in arms!

Seek the peace-garland from his dreadful hand!
And at the Tyrant's feet
They would have knelt, to take
The wreath of Aconite for Britain's brow.
Prince of the mighty Isle!
Rightly may'st thou rejoice,
For in the day of danger thou did'st turn
From their vile counsels thine indignant heart;
Rightly may'st thou rejoice,
When Britain round her spear
The olive-garland twines, by Victory won.

III.

Rejoice, thou mighty Isle,
Queen of the Seas, rejoice!
Ring round, ye merry bells,
Till every steeple rock,
And the wide air grow giddy with your joy!
Flow, streamers to the breeze,
And ye victorious banners to the sea
Unroll the proud Red-Cross:
Now let the anvil rest;
Shut up the loom, and open the school-doors,
That young and old may with festivities
Hallow for memory through all after years
This memorable time:
This memorable time,
When Peace, long absent, long deplored, returns:
Not as base faction would have brought her home,
Her countenance for shame abased,
In servile weeds array'd,
Submission leading her,
Fear, Sorrow, and Repentance following close.
Honour in his right hand
Doth lead her like a bride;
And Victory goes before;
Hope, Safety, and Prosperity, and Strength,
Come in her joyful train.
Now let the churches ring
With high thanksgiving songs,
And the full organ pour
It's swelling peals to Heaven,
The while the grateful nation bless in prayers
Their Warriors and their Statesmen and their Prince,
Whose will, whose mind, whose arm
Hath thus with happy end their efforts crown'd.
Prince of the mighty Isle,
Rightly may'st thou rejoice,
When Britain round her spear
The olive-garland twines, by Victory won.

IV.

IV.

Enjoy thy triumph now,
Prince of this mighty Isle!
Enjoy the rich reward, so rightly due,
When rescued nations, with one heart and voice,
Thy counsels bless and thee.
Thou on thine own Firm-Island seest the while,
As if the tales of old Romance
Were but to typify these splendid days,
Princes and Potentates,
And Chiefs renown'd in arms,
From their great enterprise achiev'd,
In friendship and in joy collected here.
Rejoice, thou mighty Isle!
Queen of the Seas, rejoice!
For ne'er in elder nor in latter times
Have such illustrious guests
Honour'd thy silver shores.
No such assemblage shone in Edward's hall,
Nor brighter triumphs graced his glorious reign.
Prince of the mighty Isle,
Proud day for thee and for thy kingdoms this!
Rightly may'st thou rejoice,
When Britain round her spear
The olive-garland twines, by Victory won.

V.

Yet in the pomp of these festivities,
One mournful thought will rise within thy mind,
The thought of him who sits
In mental as in visual darkness lost.
How had his heart been fill'd
With deepest gratitude to Heaven,
Had he beheld this day!
O King of kings and Lord of lords,
Thou who hast visited thus heavily
The anointed head,
Oh! for one little interval,
One precious hour,
Remove the blindness from his soul,
That he may know it all,
And bless thee ere he die.

VI.

Thou also should'st have seen
This harvest of thy hopes,
Thou, whom the guilty act
Of a great spirit overthrown,
Sent to thine early grave in evil hour!

Forget

Forget not him, my country, in thy joy!
But let thy grateful hand
With laurel garlands hang
The tomb of Perceval.
Virtuous and firm and wise,
The Ark of Britain in her darkest day
He steer'd through stormy seas—
And long shall Britain hold his memory dear,
And faithful History give
His meed of lasting praise.

VII.

That earthly meed shall his compeers enjoy,
Britain's true counsellors,
Who see with just success their councils crown'd,
They have their triumph now, to him denied.
Proud day for them is this.
Prince of the mighty Isle!
Proud day for them and thee,
When Britain round her spear
The olive garland twines, by Victory won.

MOONLIGHT.

[By EDWARD LORD THURLOW.]

THEN now, O Muse, alighting from the car
Of that pale traveller, the crescent Moon,
Wakeful Diana, let us sit, and think,
By the bright glow-worm's lamp, that twinkling plays
Upon the dewy grass, what causes lead
The unembodied spirit to appear
In semblance of its person, to dislodge
Clear courage from the startled hearts of men?
Love opes the gate of Erebus; and God
Permits the streaming spirit to ascend,
Impatient of its woe, the while the Moon
Beguiles the over-dreaming Night, and sinks
The fair Creation in a deep repose.
Then walk the silent Spirits to the beds
Of Lovers, on whose lids the tears are wet,
And, waking their o'er-wearied sense, present
The image too belov'd, with gentle hope
And soft assurance of renew'd delight,
When Death shall lead them thro' the World's sad gate.
Revenge, too, and immortal Pity draw
The Spirit from its home, where'er it be;

To

To wander by the glimpses of the Moon,
And overcome the guilty with the sight
Of re-appearance in the form of woe:
Or else to warn the soft and trusting soul,
That in its safety joys, and fondly sleeps
Upon the edge of peril, of new woe,
That shall awake it to eternal doom.
By rivers, and on lawns, in cyprus shades,
In monumental yards, and ivied towers,
Whilst the owl hoots to the uprising fires
Of Hesperus, they haunt, and thence divide
Upon their sev'ral errands, till the lamp,
The harbinger of Morn, awake the East.
Kings, Poets, Virgins, Warriors, whose renown
Has fill'd th' expansive circle of the World,
And Shepherds, that of love disastrous died;
In armour, in soft stoles, in peasant weeds,
Or in the robes of thought, with laurel crown'd;
Touch'd by the dream of Life, they re-ascend
From their oblivious haunt, and feed their sense
With expectation of the matin ray.
Not less in number, than the nascent stars
That shine upon their woe, or the soft crowds
Of Daffodils, that in the early Spring
Awake the hill of Mountfield to delight:
But long ere Morn with her awak'ning trump
Disperse the shadows of thin night, they flee,
Thick as autumnal leaves upon the shore
Of Vallombrosa, at Proserpine's call,
And warn'd by Phosphor to their penal home.
Ah, hapless Spirits! but the day shall come,
When Mercy on that silent shore shall reign,
And that too-troubled dream of endless woe,
In which the senses wander, as a pool,
Conclude in bliss, amid immortal bow'rs!

I question then, O Muse, in love divine,
Where that immortal Spirit* may abide,
That in his just vacation of this world,
With favour of the King, maintain'd the sway
Of jurisprudence in this triple realm?
Well known to thee: that, in his aged thought,
With Homer and great Danté did converse,
And sweet Euripides, whose mournful song
Flows in his numbers, like the silver Po,
In weeping tribute to the Adrian sea. †

* Edward, Lord Thurlow, Chancellor of England.

† This alludes to the Chorus, translated by the late Lord Thurlow, from Euripides; which is printed at the end of this Poem.

For

For since the stars have shed discursive light,
With favour on our globe, no greater mind
E'er sat in judgment on the thoughts of men,
Or brought its noble faculties to bear
With more advantage on the public weal:
In thought, in word, in action, ever just:
Shield of the Poor; and, raising for his King,
Th' upright defender of his awful throne.
Then, oh, may God forsake him not in death!
But that pure Spirit, that on cloudy earth
Stood faithful to his King, and still upheld
His gracious Master's cause, be crown'd with light,
And in the fields of æther sit, enclos'd
With glory, on a sempiternal throne!

Led by his hand, I first essay'd to walk,
O dear Companion of my earliest steps,
With thee, O Muse; and from the beams of Morn
To the pale twilight sought thy converse sweet.
Whate'er in old Greece or Rome was done,
Or else recorded of those actions pure,
From thee I learnt, and from his counsel sage.
Grave was he, and severe; but gentle too,
And underneath a rough exterior hid
A heart, which pity melted into tears.
Farewell, my Master, and my earliest Friend!
But not farewell of thee the memory;
Since all I am in fortune, or in rank,
In thought, or my inheritance of fame,
Eating my nature, to thy care I owe;
I should be viler than the dog, that tears
The hand that fed him from his earliest youth,
If I forsook thee, or thy gen'rous cause:
The Seasons may pass on, and blanch my head,
And wither my shrunk cheek, and paint a map
Of woeful age upon my wrinkled brow;
But till the tomb outshuts me from the day,
And time disparts me from the things that were,
Thy memory shall unimpair'd remain,
Boundless, as I must still be less than thee:
Whilst Spring shall for her blossoms be desir'd,
Or Summer for her sweets; while Autumn pale
With fruitage shall be crown'd, or Winter rule
In storms and tempests the dejected year,
So long, O my first Master, while I live,
Shall I forget not either thee or thine.

Virgil's Ghost.

[From the same.]

I WALK in woods from morning until eve,
From eve to dewy night: and pitch my camp
In the sepulchral forests, where the bird
That fled from Tereus, weeps the livelong day:
And all the starry night she weeps, and sings
Before the gate of Proserpine; a cave
That leads from Dis into this upper world:
There dwell I, whereso'er that dwelling be,
Apart from kings: and with discursive ghosts,
Upon the edge of morning, sweetly talk.
Now pale Böotes on the cavern shone;
And I, forsaking great Malvizzi's page,
Call'd with sweet voice unto that ghostly herd
Which they are wont t' obey, for Maro's soul,
T' uprise, and visit the o'er-wakeful Moon.
I call'd; and Maro at the summons came:
"What would'st thou, Son, with me?" I straight reply'd,
"O Poet, above all divinely wise,
"To whom the sun and moon were strictly known,
"The sprinkled stars, and seasons, that o'er-sway
"This fickle globe, the earth, and what it bears,
"Of fruit, of creatures, of immortal man,
"With all, that in the lower realms of Dis,
"Far underneath the glimpses of the moon,
"Have wakeful being; tell me now, I pray,
"What, in this wand'ring errour of the world,
"Best medicine for sorrow, may be found
"To lull th' oblivious evil into peace?"
I said; and Maro, with sad tears, reply'd;
While, overhead, the wakeful thunder roll'd,
As when it passes o'er oblivion's shore:
"Great is the task, O Son, and various minds
"With various solace lull the poignant woe:
"Some in wild passion steep the troubled breast,
"And some with sweet Nepenthe lull the mind,
"And some with herbs of mere forgetfulness:
"Their potency is much; and men may stay
"The orbit of the moon with herb and song;
"And so the sov'reign reason may assuage:
"But open wide the porches of thine ear;
"Believe it, with the sanction of my soul,

"That

" That worn with study, sought Proserpine's shore;
" *A Pot of Porter, O my Gracious Son,*
" *Shall best resolve thy question, if 'tis drawn*
" *From a sweet tap, where the resort is much.*"
" He said; and vanish'd, like the dews of night.

The FROG-AND-MOUSE-FIGHT. Translated from the Greek,

[By the late Lord Chancellor THURLOW.]

AS with a whirlwind all together come
Into one spot. Two heralds come,
Carrying the signal for the fight: the Gnats,
Holding great trumpets, sound the dread alarm
Of battle; while Saturnian Jove on high
Thunders the signal of diastrous war.

High-croak first wounded Lap-well with his spear;
Among the foremost through the belly pierc'd
In the mid-liver, down he tumbled prone,
And soil'd his soft down: next him Creep-hole spear'd
The son of Mud-born, and his stubborn lance
Fix'd in his breast; him falling sable Death
Surpris'd, and from the body fled the soul.
But Love-beet struck Pot-diver to the heart,
And slew him; Munch-loaf in the belly hit
Loud-clack, who falling prone, the soul forsook
His limbs. When Pool-diver saw Loud-clack slain,
With rock as millstone vast, he by surprise
Struck Creep-hole on mid-neck, and darkness veil'd
His eyes: at him again with glitt'ring spear
Lap-well aim'd right, and in the liver struck.
When Suck-cabbage saw this, he fled, and fell
Down the deep bank; but he escap'd not so;
He plung'd himself into the flood: he fell;
And never more look'd up; the Lake was stain'd
With purple blood; he lay upon the shore
Outstretch'd, his small guts and fat bowels mash'd.
Then Marsh-love slew Scoop-cheese upon the bank;
At sight of Scrape-ham, Calamint took fright:
Flying, he plung'd into the Lake, and threw
His shield away. Water-love slew the King
Gnaw-gammon: with a stone in hand he struck
The fore-part of his head, and through his nose
The brain rill'd; and the earth was splash'd with blood.
Lick-table slew good Mud-bed with his spear,
Assailing him, and darkness veil'd his eyes.

Weed-

Weed-biter spying Hunt-steam, by the feet
Dragg'd him, and strangled in the marsh, his neck
Clasp'd in his hand. Crumb-catch his dying friend
Reveng'd, and wounded Mud-robe in the paunch,
To the mid-liver; prone he fell; his soul
To Pluto went. This Mud-foot seeing threw
A handful, grasp'd, of soil at him, and daub'd
His forehead, and well nigh put out his eyes;
Enrag'd, the other seizing with strong hand
A mighty stone, which lay upon the plain,
The earth encumb'ring, Mud-foot smote with it
Below the knees; the whole right leg was crush'd,
And down he tumbled in the dirt supine.
Hoarse-croak, revenging him, again assail'd
The foe, and smote his navel; the sharp rush
Went all in; on the ground his bowels pour'd
Following the spear, drawn out with violent hand.
When Cate-munch, on the margin of the flood,
Saw this, he limping from the fight retir'd;
Afflicted much, he plung'd into a ditch,
That he might shun by flight a grievous death.
But Nibble-biscuit on the instep smote
Bladder-cheek; wounded quick he fled, and plung'd
Into the Lake: when Nibble-biscuit saw
Him fall half dead, he rush'd on him again
Eager to slay: but Weedy, when he saw
Him fall half dead, pass'd through the foremost rank,
And darted his sharp rush; which could not pierce
The shield through, but his spear point was repell'd.

There was among the Mice a strippling boy,
Above the rest tall, fighting close, the son
Of blameless Snare-loaf; he resembled Mars
Himself, bold Scrap-catch: singly he excell'd
In battle all the Mice: he stood alone,
Aloof from others, by the Lake, elate
Threat'ning to end the race of warlike frogs:
And he had done it, for his might was great,
Had not the Sire of gods and men look'd sharp.
But Jove took pity on the ruin'd Frogs;
And, moving slow his head, pronounc'd this speech:

"Good Gods! important deeds my eyes behold;
"Scrap-catch no little has astonish'd me,
"Beside the Lake, with eager eyes intent
"To cut the frogs quite off: but send me quick
"Pallas, and also Mars in battle strong,
"Bold as he is, to drive him from the field."

So spake the son of Saturn: Mars replied;
" Neither the might of Pallas, nor of Mars,
" Jove! will avail from grievous death to save
" The Frogs: but let us all go to their aid
" Or wield thy own great giant-killing arms,
" Of force impetuous, wherewith the chiefs
" Thou slewest of all the Titans, binding fast
" Enceladus, and those fierce giant-tribes."

He spake; and Jove his fiery light'ning lanc'd:
It thunder'd first, and vast Olympus shook:
But then the dreadful bolt, the arms of Jove,
Whirling he sent; it flew from the King's hand,
And lighting, frighten'd all the Frogs and Mice.

Yet, not so check'd, the Mouse-host press'd still more
To cut the race of warlike Frogs quite off;
But that from Heaven the son of Saturn saw
The Frogs with pity, and straight sent them aid.

Sudden, with anvil-backs, and crooked claws,
Marching awry, they came, in track oblique,
Pincer-mouth'd, Shell-skin'd, bodies all of bone,
Broad-back'd, their shoulders shining forth, Bow-legg'd,
Their joints well-knitted, in the breast their eyes,
Eight-footed, double-headed, many-claw'd,
They are call'd Crabs. Their mouths snapp'd tails of Mice,
And feet, and hands; and back their spears were bent;
Whom the poor Mice shrunk under, nor bore up;
But turn'd to flight. The sun was setting now,
And of this one-day war an end was made.

Genius reclaimed from Melancholy, by the angel-form of Religion.

[From Mr. Gillies's Childe Alarique.]

THE vision fled; but still the melting fall
Of heavenly music linger'd on its way,
In long withdrawing notes,—like those that call
Some sainted spirit to the realms of day;—
And still remained the unextinguised ray
Of that rare talisman, whose heavenly light
Poured a rich lustre 'mid the forest gray,
And emanated through the gloom of night
With soul-exalting influence, most divinely bright.

The

The heavenly strains of soothing music died
Like the soft summer gale in languid mood;
But the bright talisman was left to guide
His homeward steps amid the tangled wood.
The Youth, who, long by Melancholy's brood
Of hideous phantoms haunted night and day,
Felt all the bitterness of solitude,
Now saw the wonted forms in bright array
Arise with sunny smile to cheer his lonely way.

Grovelling and false apostates all are they
Who tell us Nature has no charms to show,
When Winter's heavy clouds deform the day,
And on the woods their darkening shadows throw;
It is the influence dark of worldly woe,
And worldly wickedness that mars the scene:
From Nature's every change can transport flow
To the free mind of Innocence serene,
Alike in groves decayed, or prank't in freshest green.

The soft south-west, pregnant with odours new
From the dank musky matted heaps that rose,
Perfumed the mountain-bowers; and gently drew
With "breezy call" the Childe from his repose,
The while with gratitude his bosom glows
To her who sav'd him from the fiend Despair—
And straight a strain of heavenly music rose,
And, for a moment, that bright form was there,
And with one rosy smile banish'd each lurking care.

O happy, happy Childe! no, not alone
Himself his own dark dungeon as before,
Is Alarique amid the wild-wood gone;
No! there were other brighter joys in store.
Though the sweet self-same Muse he loved of yore
Is absent, yet the talisman is there!
And still, as rapt, he muses more and more
On her who gave the gem of lustre rare,
Again that form he sees that saved him from Despair.

"On man accursed,—whose dire dominion still
O'er all the inhabitants of earth and air
Tortures inflicts, with diabolic skill,—
On man himself, whom agonizing Care,
Whom dread Remorse and Apprehension tear,
And hydra Passion's multiplying brood—
What mind can meditate and not despair,
And feel that nought in earth or air is good—
But all is vice, and woe, and pain—and solitude?

"Who

"Who muses on this rank unweeded field,
Where nought but seeds of sin and grief have grown;
If happy still, the faëry dreams can build,
Must have a heart of iron or of stone:
Contentment here is wickedness alone!
That man is wise and good who quits the scene,
Burst the base trammels of Delusion;
Leaving for lasting joys this "nook" obscene,
Or dies indeed—and rests in endless sleep serene.

"It must be so! when closed the eyes that see,
The ears that hear—and dead and cold the frame—
And, mouldered down, that frame has ceased to be,—
Can sight, and touch, and hearing be the same,
When turn'd to dust the organs whence they came?
And what is *Mind*, but touch, and eye, and ear?"
So wont of old the Sophist to declaim,
But *now* the lustrous geth, with radiance clear,
Far banished from the Childe such dreams of grief and fear.

The spells were broke that had enchain'd his mind,
And he had but to press the jewel bright,
And straight his heavenly guest, with glances kind,
Removed entire the veil from off his sight,
And straight his intellect was filled with light—
The light of Hope and Confidence in Heaven;
No more mid clouds of intellectual night,
His lonely bark on rocks and shoals was driven,
But all again was calm, and all his crimes forgiven.

O pride, O narrowness! O sophistry,
That seeks celestial mysteries to scan,
And deeds of God by human laws to try!
Let man himself first answer, What is *Man?*
Or what is *thought?* what *language?* what the plan,
That rears the simplest bud in Flora's train?

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

But leave awhile each object here below
That custom familiarises—lift thine eye
To sights divine that such delight bestow,
That habit cannot quench our ecstasy
Look on the glories of the vaulted sky—
The sun that pierces now the misty veil—
The moon at even—the countless worlds on high,
And other suns by distance rendered pale,
Amid the mighty sea of boundless space that sail!

Can

Can sights like these be viewed, and shall the mind,
That for a while puts off its base alloy,
And soars to distant regions, unconfined,
Not feel a rising gleam of hope and joy,
A confidence that nought can e'er destroy,
That there shall come a glorious time, when all
The doubts and fears that here the mind annoy,
Shall fade away—as Night's retreating pall,
Before the Morning's ray, and "incense-breathing call?"

"Now blows thou southern breeze! what ecstasy
To meet thy balmy breath with wonted glow—
Now lour, ye dark clouds of the wintry sky—
And on the woods your saddest influence throw—
Unwearied through the wild-wood let me go—
Where the fallen leaves in matted volumes lie—
And the swollen river's turbid currents flow—
For now each varying aspect of the sky
Wakes inspiration new—and meditations high!"

So sung the Childe, while through the groves he strayed,
And former transports all revived again;
Beauties to him even wintry storms displayed,
When swept the driving darkening clouds amain!
The wild heath dark of hue and dank with rain
The desolate lake, the gray and watery sky,
The long grass rustling on the upland plain,
And all the scenes of wild variety
In Winter's mournful reign new rapture could supply.

Even when arose the volumes vast and high
Of snow-clouds riding on the Borean gale,
When groaned the woods, and flocks and herds did fly
For shelter to the deepest rocky vale—
Then cheered by inward joys that never fail,
The happy Childe explored the wonted wood,
Trod the pure snows; and when at evening pale
The tempest raged along in fiercer mood,
Homeward, rejoicing still, the well-known path pursued!

Then was that home enlivened by the lay
Of many a mighty bard; and witchery
Of eloquence that never meets decay,
Lifted resistlessly the soul on high;
And chief the legends wild of chivalry
With eager hand did Alarique unroll,
The while (the wild blast idly sweeping by)
Their mysteries deeply sank into his soul,
And awful transport woke that yields not to controul.

March came; and brought the self-same wicked train,
With song and laughter, to the quiet bower;
The self-same echoing sounds arose again;
But Alarique was not alone that hour—
No! the bright talisman, the heavenly Power,
Were there to save him from the fiends of Hell;
Yet, sooth to say, so fiercely did he shower
Reproach and curses on the demons fell,
That almost had he lost the guide he loved so well.

The while his burning ire was wreaked on them
In fearful menaces and accents wild,
A demon dire had almost seized the gem;
But he was checked by the awakening Childe,
That listened now to precepts meek and mild
Of her who taught him, that the surest way
To quell that sorcerer and his demons vilde,
Was but to hear unmoved all they could say,
Reckless of all their wiles and magical array.

* * * *

'Tis night; but oh what nameless influence reigns;
What soothing balm is floating in the air?
'Tis night;—but are there not celestial strains?
Of power to cure all sadness but despair?
Aye, wandering witch-notes sweet beyond compare
Rising at intervals?—O yes! the lay
Of the gay woodlark from the forest fair,
And the loud blackbird hails the morning ray,
And thousand long-lost dreams the cheering call obey.

Aye, morning dawns; for on the mist-wreaths pale
Faint gleams of rosy light are shed; and lo
The waters faintly gleaming in the vale!
And now, O heaven! behold the orient glow
That o'er the eastern skies begins to throw
Enchanting influence! while the dewy lawn
In diamonds decked unfolds a glittering shew,
And onward moves the glories of the dawn,
And from the landscape fair the vapours are withdrawn.

But yet no foliage in proud canopy
Adorned the grove; but many a budding spray
Gave promise fair of future majesty
Whence odours met the zephyrs on their way;—
'Twas April, season of uncertain sway,
When fields of new-born verdure charm the sight,
And new-born flowers adorn the wanderer's way,
And the gay lark pursues his cheering flight—
O days of soothing hope, and promise and delight!

Yet

Yet though no foliage wontoned in the gale,
To him who long to Pain and Woe the prey,
And haunted long by fiends and spectres pale,
Weary had passed the night, weary the day,
The simplest object in the forest gray,
The simplest note that met his watchful ear,
Brought thousand sunny forms in bright array,
Such as of yore his pathway wont to cheer
When all the scenes were gay and all the skies were clear.

O hues of glory well remembered still;
How break ye on my long bewildered brain!
Effulgent rays that on the purple hill
Your purple tints oft pour'd at Evening's reign!
Forms of magnificence that rose amain,
How had ye all dissolved by chill decay!
How were ye rent and scattered by the train
Of unrelenting fiends, that night and day
Fed on my wasted heart, and wore my life away!

Days, too too little priz'd, of pure delight
That fled on rapid wing, Oh yet again
Shall the same lovely charms salute my sight?
Shall I the same enchanting walks regain?
Shall the same light revisit my parched brain
That shone by fits not duly prized of yore?
Is that the skylark's voice, the blackbird's strain?
Are those the morning's mist-wreaths floating hoar?
And shall these peaceful shades my wonted peace restore?

In lays incondite, thus Childe Alarique
Again his long-lost ecstasy exprest;
The glow of gladness mantling on his cheek,
And new-born ardour rising in his breast,
Through the wild scenes his wonted way he prest,
And watched, entranced, the opening scenes of morn.
O boundless springs of rapture, purest, best,
To minds that Fancy's faëry beams adorn,
By no dire self-reproach or worldly passions torn!

Henceforth, where'er the Childe his path pursued,
Even when through crowded scenes he dared to go,
He dwelt in that surpassing solitude
That few have known, and few shall ever know—
He moved amid the scenes of vice and woe,
To him innocuous, trusting in the power
Of her whose arm had saved him from the blow
Of the fell fiend Despair at midnight hour,
When the loud torrent rage and darkest clouds did lour.

Scarce is it mid the vernal woods more sweet
  Than in the haunts of men, *alone*, to be;—
Where all is vice, woe, folly, and deceit—
  The bosom to preserve serene, and free;
The varying scenes of various life to see,
  Trusting in Heaven, that "all shall yet be well,"
Though now unsearchable is Heaven's decree;
  And feeling that "to doubt is to rebel,"
Onward to go rejoiced—till sounds the warning knell."

And yet, the sooth to say, 'twas sweeter far
  To tread the wild-woodmazes, and to view
The lake-waves glitter to the evening star,
  And renovate the soul enchanting hue
That poesy o'er all the wild-woods threw,
  And meet again that Muse beloved of yore,
While, "purer from the searching fire," he knew
  The soul more vigorous and apt to soar
Through Virtue's flowery paths to heights unknown before.

Ruins of Athens.

[From Haygarth's Greece.]

THRON'D on the brow of thine eternal rock,
  Circled with mountains and expanding wide
Thine olive groves, thy vineyards, and thy fields
To meet the Ocean, Athens, thou art raised
Triumphant o'er the ravages of age.
What though deserted are thy ports and all
Thy pomp and thy magnificence are shrunk
Into a narrow circuit; though thy gates
Pour forth no more thy crested sons to war;
Though thy capacious theatres resound
No longer with the replicated shouts
Of multitudes; although Philosophy
Is silent 'midst thy porticos and groves;
Though Commerce heaves no more the pond'rous load,
Or, thund'ring with her thousand cars, imprints
Her footsteps on thy rocks; though near thy fanes,
And marble monuments the peasant's hut
Rears its low roof in bitter mockery
Of faded splendour, yet shalt thou survive,
Nor yield till time yields to eternity.

Ages have past, and Pow'rs, whose feeble light
Was lost amidst the lustre of thy fame,

Have

Have reach'd the short meridian of their day,
And sunk to night, since thine uplifted arm
Wielded, in sight of crouching satellites,
The sceptre of thine empire; Time, that rais'd
The ample fabric of thy sov'reignty,
The mighty edifice at which the world
Gaz'd fearfully, has dash'd it to the dust,
And spread its fragments to the winds; and thou,
Veiling thy head, and folding o'er thy breast
The robe of mourning, near the ruin'd base
Of mould'ring columns nodding to their fall,
Sit'st bath'd in tears, and with unceasing sighs
Bewail'st the hour of thy sad destiny.

Yet thou wert once the envy of the world,
And nations bow'd before thee; thee they hail'd
First in the lists of fame, in arts and arms
Pre-eminent; upon thy serious brow
Deliberation sat, and from thy lips
Breath'd sounds of sweetest eloquence; thine arm
Harden'd by toil, displayed its sinewy strength,
Wielding the spear, and round the nodding helm
The iron hand of Conquest twin'd a wreath
Dripping with blood; the while thy hardy sons,
Some rob'd in peaceful mantles, some array'd
In all th' habiliments of war, the spear,
The shield, the helmet, crowded round thy throne,
And paid the homage of their fealty.

Genius of Greece! thou livest, though thy domes
Are fallen; here, in this thy lov'd abode,
Thine Athens, as I breathe the clear pure air
Which thou hast breath'd, climb the dark mountain's side
Which thou hast trod, or in the temple's porch
Pause on the sculptur'd beauties which thine eye
Has often view'd delighted, I confess
Thy nearer influence; I feel thy pow'r,
Exalting ev'ry wish to virtuous hope;
I hear thy solemn voice amidst the crash
Of fanes, hurl'd prostrate by barbarian hands,
Calling me forth with thee to tread the paths
Of wisdom, or to listen to thy harp
Hymning immortal strains. Genius of Greece!
Lead me, O lead me to thy deep retreats,
Where the loud savage yell that mocks thy woes
May never reach us! then with aspect mild
Unfold the treasures of thine ample page;
Instruct my reason; guide my fancy's flight,
And bear me back along the stream of time,
To those bright days when thou wert great and free.

The sultry rage is pass'd, and the broad orb
Of day descending in a vap'rous flood
Of golden light, leans on the horizon's verge.
Now whilst the rays of ev'ning slumb'ring rest
Upon the mountain's bosom—whilst her soft
And fragrant moisture floats along the sky,
Let us ascend yon craggy eminence,
And view the glorious scene which opens round
Far as the eye can wander. From the plain
Cecropia's citadel uprears it brow.
Rugged, and crown'd with circumambient walls
And glitt'ring temples; at its rocky base
The shatter'd wrecks of ancient day's repose,
Half-sunk in shadow, capitals and shafts,
Porches and monuments, the sculptur'd pomp
Of pediments, tow'rs, and triumphal arcs,
And marble fanes, and mould'ring theatres.
Imagination, kindling at the view,
Throws o'er the varied prospect the clear light
Of former ages; the still solitudes
Once more are peopled, and the sacred bands
Of poets and of sages seek again
Their shady groves and marble porticos.
Here, from the rocky Pnyx, the eloquence
Of Athens lighten'd over Greece, and wing'd
Her thunders; I behold her orators
Gath'ring their robes, and pointing to the shores
Whose billows lave the tombs of those who bled
For liberty. Here ling'ring on the banks
Of pure Ilissus, underneath the shade
Of aged planes, the philosophic few
Apart retire, to hang upon the lips
Of Wisdom's son. There, on the marble steps
Of the vast stadium's mound, range over range,
Assembled multitudes gaze silently,
In breathless expectation, on the throng
Of combatants striving for mastery
In fight, in wrestling, or in fervid course.
There soars Hymettus, flinging far around
His dark dark arms to the main, whilst at his feet
I trace a gleaming line of steeds and cars
And mailed warriors guiding with their spears
The serried phalanxes to Marathon.
Now westward turn your gaze, and see amidst
Yon olive woods, whose broad and verdant belt
Invests the plain, the consecrated groves
Of Academus, where Philosophy,
With finger press'd upon his wither'd lip,
Leads by the hand a stole-clad group to hear

From

From Plato's mouth his heavenly eloquence.
Thence further glancing, let your eye repose
Upon the distant mountains whose dark range
Bounds the wide prospect, and exulting flash
When on yon pointed peak, Ægaleos,
It views, or seems to view, the Persian king
Thrice leaping from his throne, as he beholds
His shatter'd navy dark'ning the broad wave
Of Salamis. Now strain your utmost sight
To Corinth, and the hills of Pelops' isle,
Which on the amber sky of ev'ning float
Like summer clouds, thence homeward turning, view
The wide Saronic sea, broken in capes,
In headlands, and in gulphs, Piræus' Bay,
And bleak Munychia; mark its golden breast
Studded with purple isles, and overhung
With marble temples, to the level ray
Of sunset gleaming, till it melts in gloom
Beyond the shadow of Ægina's rocks,
Amidst the dark Ægean's distant surge.

With what a troubled and tumultuous tide
Of pleasure and of pain do ages past
Rush on the mind amidst such scenes as these!
Like light and shadow in a cloudy gale
Coursing alternate o'er the furrow'd wave.
Joy for a moment plays upon the lips,
But the deep throb of melancholy shoots
A sterner feeling to the heart, and dulls
The transient smile. Here as I stand and view
The solitary and dejected state,
Queen of cities, and muse on what thou wert,
And what art now, I feel a secret pang
To think that thou, my country, though thy throne
Seems fix'd and rooted in th' eternal deep,
Must fall, and all thy glories, all thy pow'r,
Pass like the mem'ry of a dream away.
The time must come when thou shalt lie as low
As Pallas's great city, when thy walls,
Thy senate-house, thy theatres, thy fanes,
Shall be a shelter for each wand'ring bird
And noisome reptile; and thy crowded ports,
Now thund'ring with the iron din of war,
Re-echo only to the beating wave.
Yet not unhonour'd or unwept shalt thou
Yield to the storm of destiny; the youths,
Whom the broad gleam of science cheers at length
In distant climes and under sultry suns,
When they shall hear accorded to the harp

Of

Of history and song thy solemn voice,
Shall seek thy shores, and muse with pious awe
Amidst the ruins of thy fall'n pow'r.

The hoarse wind sighs around the mould'ring walls
Of the vast theatre, like the deep roar
Of distant waves, or the tumultuous rush
Of multitudes; the lichen creeps along
Each yawning crevice, and the wild flow'r hangs
Its long festoons around each crumbling stone.
The windows arch and massive buttress glow
With time's deep tints, whilst cypress-shadows wave
On high, and spread a melancholy gloom.

Who shall again awake the sacred sounds
Of tragedy, with which these walls were wont
To echo? who into the verse shall breathe
Precepts of wisdom, or in choral strains,
Of mightiest pow'r, to awe the guilty soul,
Sing justice and revenge, and the dread frown
Of retribution? Who again shall paint
The self-devoted wife, falt'ring a last
Farewell to all she lov'd; the watchful maid,
Bending in sorrow o'or her brother's bed,
And calming with her voice the agonies
Of phrenzy? What exulting bard in view
Of the dark shores near which he triumph'd, sing
The dreadful scene of shatter'd fleets, and waves
Rolling in blood-stain'd foam, and all the pride
Of Persia blasted by his country's arm?
Or what inspired orator amidst
The bending circle here again shall rouse
The patriot multitude to enterprise
Of danger and of war, when he beholds
The cloud of conflict rolling from the East?
Silent, for ever silent is the voice
Of Tragedy and Eloquence; in climes
Far distant, and beneath a cloudy sky
The echo of their harps is heard, but all
The soul-subduing energy is fled.

For what are they who now possess the seats
Of their forefathers, who with servile steps
Press Freedom's land, and with unconscious gaze,
Mutt'ring the pray'r of superstition, pass
The awful temple and the ruin'd tomb!
Shades of the heroic dead, behold your sons,
Not arm'd for battle, not in glory's school
Contending for the wreath of victory;

Not

Not with the clenched palm and furrow'd brow
Of thought, reasoning with Philosophy,
Or guiding with persuasion's open hand
Passion's wild tumult; but low crouching down
Beneath a master's scourge, and with the sounds
Of friendship on their lips, tainting its bright
And spotless lustre with the mildew'd breath
Of dark deceit and sordid perfidy.

And lo! he comes, the modern son of Greece,
The shame of Athens; mark him how he bears
A look o'craw'd and moulded to the stamp
Of servitude. The ready smile, the shrug
Submissive, the low cringing bow, which waits
Th' imperious order, and the supple knee,
Proclaim his state degen'rate: pliant still
And crouching for his gain, whether in vest
Of flowing purple, and with orange zone,
And saffron sandal, and a coif of fur,
He apes the Archon's state; or pressing on,
And elbowing the crowd, with slipper'd feet,
And cap of scarlet dye, curl'd locks, and dress
For speed succinct, he ranges the bazar,
And earns the paltry recompence of toil.

Where then shall we the father's genius seek?
Shame to the sons, amidst the song and dance,
And midnight revelry; these have outliv'd
The bold but transient features, these survive
The glow of fancy and the strength of thought.
The feast is spread, and the recumbent guests,
Inclining o'er their tripods, quaff the wines
Of Zea or of Samos; mirth goes round,
The laugh, the jest, dispel their gloomy thoughts,
And yield a momentary happiness.
The strain begins—the mandoline, awak'd
By rudest touch, preludes the measure wild,
Whilst the responsive song, by none refus'd,
Successive passes round th' applauding guests,
Phrosyne's mournful dirge, or thy soft air
O beautiful Haïdee! The tambour beats—
And Athens' daughters, starting at the sound,
In loosely-cinctur'd robes of crimson hue,
With ringlets darkly shadowing their breasts,
Throw back their snowy necks upon the air,
And wave their rosy-finger'd hands, and lead
The sprightly chorus, or the mazy round
Which Theseus first beheld, when he return'd
Victor from Crete, by Delian virgins twin'd.

Regardless

Regardless of these sounds of revelry,
Silent and dull, and meas'ring ev'ry step,
With solemn air, the Moslem stalks along;
His look, his gait, his habit, all proclaim
The supercilious despot of the land.
The muslin turban, coil'd around his head
In spiral folds, shades his wan cheek; his brow
Low'rs gloomily upon his half-rais'd eye;
And from his arched nose, and lip, with smile
Contemptuous curl'd, his shaggy beard descends.
The tawdry splendour of his garb declares
His Eastern origin; a silken vest
Of varied colours loosely veils his limbs,
And round each ankle floats; a purple belt
Invests his ample waist, bearing the load
Of pistol and of studded yatagan.
One hand sustains his pipe, and one adjusts
The yellow robe, which from his shoulders broad
Sweeping in graceful folds, now shows and now
Conceals the manly texture of his form.
'Tis his delight beneath a canopy
Of interwoven vines, upon his mat
To pass the sultry hours, inhaling fumes
Of fragrant leaf, and sipping the dark stream
Of Mocha's berry; he, so occupied,
Recks not of toil, of danger, or of war,
And hears unmov'd how Russia's hardy sons
Launch their red thunders o'er the Danau's wave.

Ancient Philosophy.

[From the same.]

YE venerable woods of Academe,
Which wave your dark shades near Colonos' rock,
Me fainting with the noon-day's sultry heat
Receive into your bow'rs. I do not come
To break the silence of your solitudes
With Bacchanalian riot, tossing high
The frantic thyrsus, but I seek your groves,
The votary of science, and of peace.
Let me recline where yonder olives spread
Their antique arms, emboss'd with moss-grown knots
O'er cool Cephissus' stream; let me repose
And listen to the shrill cicada's note,
And distant water's melancholy sound,
Falling at intervals upon the ear.

How

How solemn this unruffled breadth of shade,
Like the wild ocean slumb'ring in a calm!
How graceful this umbrageous canopy
Dimly recedes into a lengthen'd aisle
Of mingling boughs! How firm each massive trunk
Props on the basement of its pillar'd strength
This sylvan temple! Here Philosophy
With Plato dwelt, and burst the chains of mind;
Here, with his stole across his shoulders flung,
His homely garments with a leathern zone
Confin'd, his snowy beard low clust'ring down
Upon his ample chest, his keen dark eye
Glancing from underneath the arched brow,
He fix'd his sandal'd foot, and on his staff
Lean'd, whilst to his disciples he declar'd
How all creation's mighty fabric rose
From the abyss of Chaos; next he trac'd
The bounds of virtue and of vice; the source
Of good and evil; sketch'd the ideal form
Of beauty, and unfolded all the pow'rs
Of mind by which it ranges uncontroll'd,
And soars from earth to immortality.

Masters of ancient wisdom! who of old
Linger'd amidst these groves, or wand'ring hence,
Roam'd in Lyceum's spacious walks, and shades
Of Cynosarges, I behold with awe
These scenes, as if your venerable forms
Themselves appear'd slow moving through the vale.
Much do we owe to you, teachers profound
Of moral law, though in our pride of heart
We oft forget our masters, and the heights
Once vanquish'd, scorn the friendly arm which propp'd
Our upward steps. To search the hidden pow'rs
Of thought; to trace each secret spring that gives
An impulse to its energies; to tear
The mask from Vice, and shew its hideous form
Contrasted with the native loveliness
Of Virtue; to unfold the varied chain
Of social order, and observe the links
Whose strong dependencies bind man to man,
Was your exalted task; and though ye droop'd
Ofttimes, and loiter'd in dim Error's maze,
Yet still ye labour'd in the paths of truth,
And saw the twilight of that day, whose light
Beams with a clear effulgence upon us.

Story of Alexi and Teresa.

[From the same.]

O VALE of Ladon, which so oft has rung
With shout and song of rustic revelry,
When Mirth, with vine-leaves wreathing his dark hair,
Sat at the festive board, or led the nymphs
In mazy dance along thy flow'ry meads
How are thy echoes chang'd, and ev'ry breeze
That sweeps the bosom of the thymy hills,
Charg'd with the notes of sorrow, to bemoan
Th' untimely fate of an Arcadian pair,
Who on yon bier, by friendly hands compos'd,
Lie side by side, united ev'en in death.
Sad is their tale; and Pity from the domes
Of monarchs, where in gorgeous pomp arrray'd
She pours the solemn mockery of tears,
For slight or fancied pangs, shall turn aside
And heave the unbidden sigh of real woe
Upon the peasant's grave. In Ladon's vale
The young Teresa liv'd—when in the games
Of rural festival she shunn'd her swain,
With light step bounding o'er the dewy herb;
When the anxiety of feign'd alarm
Gave brighter colours to her cheek, and shades
Of deeper sadness to her eye; when loose
Her ringlets wanton'd o'er her snowy breast,
And the wild breeze just rais'd her floating veil,
Or wand'ring thro' the mazes of her robe,
Display'd the just proportion of her form,
She seem'd the loveliest of Arcadia's nymphs,
Fairer than Syrinx, when she fled from Pan
By Ladon's stream. The young Alexi saw,
And woo'd the beauteous maid: for her he led
Beneath the aged oak the rustic choir,
Shepherd and shepherdess with myrtles crown'd
To pipe and tabor moving; on her door
He hung fresh flow'ry garlands at the blush
Of May's first morn; and when the midnight moon
Pour'd thro' her lattice the soft silver ray,
He struck his mandoline, and rais'd his song,
Glowing impassion'd with Teresa's charms.
The fair one heard, nor did she bend her lip

With

With cold disdain, nor with the frown of scorn
O'ercloud the sunshine of her brow; she smil'd
Consenting; and with downcast looks, half hid
Beneath her veil, confess'd the mutual love.
Now beams each eye with gladness; ev'ry voice
Joins in the note of joy; the attendant group
Of nymphs crowd eager round the timid fair,
And as their flying fingers twine the thread
Of varied dye, or lead the ductile gold
In waving lines around the bridal vest,
Each cheek with mirth is dimpled, and each eye
Glistens with laughter's tears. Happy, alas!
In ignorance, enjoy, whilst yet ye may,
Your bliss; those tears of transport, ah! too soon
Must change to sorrow's moan! and the rich robe
Which now ye weave for Hymen's softest hour,
Will be the shroud upon Teresa's limbs,
Stiffen'd in death.—Be happy while ye may,
Carol your jocund lays, nor hear the dirge
Which, ere to-morrow's eve, will pour its strain
Sad and reluctant o'er Teresa's tomb.
E'en now indignant at his slighted vows,
His love transform'd to hate, and the desire
Of dark revenge deep rankling in his breast,
Demetri breathes into the Vizier's ear
His treach'rous tale; and with such art commends
Teresa's matchless charms, her youthful grace
And simple elegance, paints with such force
Each glance of beauty, that the tyrant's eye
Gleams joyful, and the frown which hangs upon
His swarthy visage brightens to a smile,
In expectation of his destin'd prey.

The wish'd-for morn arriv'd—the sacred rites
Were solemniz'd, and to Alexi's cot
Slow mov'd the festive train. Link'd hand in hand
Nymphs to the soft guitar led on the dance,
In graceful circles twin'd. The marriage torch,
High rais'd, beam'd bright before the wedded pair,
Crown'd with the flow'ry chaplets. From the gaze
Of the admiring crowd the bride retir'd
Beneath her nuptial veil, and o'er her breast
Cross'd her fair arms, and fixed her timid eye
Upon the ground in maiden bashfulness.
Now rose the star of Hesper—cheerful songs
Hail'd his approach; and the gay syrtos, led
By youths and virgins, swell'd the evening pomp
Of the hymenæal feast. But who are they,
Whose fierce eyes glaring thro'-the dusk, beneath

Their

Their snowy turbans, dart a sudden fear
On ev'ry breast; whom do they seek with scowls
That search each shrinking fair! "Fly, hapless bride!
"The tyrant's satellites are come to bear
"Thee from thy spouse; the gaunt wolves are let loose
"To seize their prey; e'en now they raise their arms
"To clasp thy form, and with a smile that mocks
"Thy shrieks and cries of agony, rush in
"To tear thee from me. This alone remains—
"This, this shall free thee."—With these parting words
The lover pierc'd the breast of his belov'd,
Hung for a moment o'er her faded form
To look a last farewell, then plung'd his knife
Deep in his faithful bosom and expir'd.

Beneath the mountain's shadow, in the gloom
Of the dark cypress, on a bank inlaid
With azure harebell and the laurel-rose,
Their grave is open'd, and a weeping train,
Slow winding thro' the thickets of yon vale,
Chaunt to the ev'ning air the fun'ral dirge
That mourns Alexi's and Teresa's love.

Restoration of Greece to her ancient Splendour.

[From the Same.]

WHAT scenes of beauty deck Achaia's shores!
The long extended line of rugged coast;
The woody headland; the retiring bay;
The river pouring its impetuous foam
From mountain-cliff; the wide expanded gulph
Spread like a silv'ry lake, with latteen sail
Of boat, white gleaming 'gainst its purple banks;
Parnassus' snow-wreath'd bosom shading dark
The ocean's yellow wave, and Helicon
In softer lines descending to the plain,
Successive charm, whilst Corinth's rocky height,
Half-veil'd in distance, bounds the spacious view.

Hard is his heart, O Corinth! who beholds
Thee bow'd to dust, nor sheds one pitying tear;
For here the graphic art essay'd its pow'rs,
And on thy walls the love-sick maid first drew
The human form, the image of the youth

Torn

Torn from her arms; and at Piréne's fount
The Muses here have often bath'd their lips
In inspiration; this endears thee more,
Than that each pow'r proclaim'd thee to the world
Wealthiest of Greece's children, 'midst thy games,
Thy theatres, and temples; that one hand
Was stretch'd to grasp the treasures of the East;
And that thy double sea resounded far
With shouts of mariners, unfurling wide
The bellying canvas of thy laden fleets.
This still endears thee, though the wretched cot
Stands where the sumptuous palace once was seen;
Though thy long walls are shatter'd, and in place
Of marble fanes, those mould'ring shafts survive,
Sole relics of thy former pomp and pow'r.

And yet thou art not cast for ever down;
Thro' the dark night of time the Muse beholds
Thy glorious second morn; thy lofty rock
Gilded by liberty's returning day,
Shall be the point to which awak'ning Greece
Shall turn her anxious eye; upon thy shores
Battle shall wave his banners, and with shouts
Of martial preparation call thy sons
To burst their chains, and meet the foe in arms.
Then on thy Isthmus, where thy chieftains sat
In sleepless council, when the Persian host
Pass'd like a pestilence along thy plains,
Thy warriors shall keep watch, thy massive wall
Again shall stretch its line from sea to sea,
And ev'ry name of thy heroic dead,
Shall be a watch-word for the gath'ring war.

And, O my country! let thy voice be heard
Amidst the din of battle, like the cry
Of the wild eagle in the tempest's roar;
When Hellas rises to assert her rights,
Be not far from her: let thy chieftains sage
Direct the onset, and thy hardy sons
Be foremost in the fight which Britons love,
The fight for liberty. When tortur'd Greece
Raises her supplicating eyes to thee,
Turn not away, nor let thy virtuous name,
Pledg'd to a faithless hoard of infidels,
Be made the safeguard of her tyrants—No—
Rather let your united legions guide
The bolt of vengeance, that the Cross may shine
Once more upon the Hellespont, and pray'rs
Of Christian sanctity again be heard

Within

Within Istambol's domes. To raise thine arm
Between th' oppressor and oppress'd, to break
The fetters of the captive, and declare
That the poor slave who treads thy shores, is free,
Has always been thy high prerogative;
Hence thou art happy, and whilst Europe seems
One dismal dungeon, circled in with walls
Of steel, and watch'd by sleepless centinels,
The natives of thy soil still feel the breath
Of Freedom fan their cheeks. Thou stand'st alone
With thy few warriors in the narrow pass,
The world's Thermopylæ; and whilst one hand
Waves the red sabre of thy righteous cause,
The other proffers to a sinful world
The Gospel, and lets fall the healing dews
Of charity upon the fester'd wounds
Of suff'ring mortals; hence my bosom glows
With gratitude that I was born thy son;
And these thy deeds of mercy and of peace,
Shall more avail thee in the dreadful hour
Of peril, than that thine unconquer'd fleets
Have borne their thunders o'er the distant wave,
Where keel ne'er plough'd before; or that a host
Of Eastern potentates, with bended knee,
Crouch at the footstool of thy gorgeous throne.

Yes, wretched Greece! beneath my country's shield
Thou still may'st vanquish and be free again;
Oppression's hand is faint with tort'ring thee,
And droops it palsied strength. Thou hast aton'd,
By a long age of agony and grief,
For all thy former vices, and the tears
Pour'd down thy bosom, in the bitter hour
Of thy captivity have wash'd the stains
Of guilt which sullied thy historic page.
The storm has spent its rage, an eve of peace
Breaks o'er the bosom of thy troubled sea.
Thy Moslem tyrants totter on their thrones,
And soon would fall, but that the deadly feuds
Of Christians (shame to Europe and her sons)
Have propp'd the crumbling fabric of their pow'r.
Yes, wretched Greece! thy sons may still be free—
The manly brow, though daunted, not subdu'd,
The hyacinthan locks that clust'ring hang
O'er their broad shoulders, the well-moulded limb,
The graceful form, the dark eye, flashing fire,
Attest the progeny of those who bled
At Marathon, and promise future deeds
To rival the achievements of their sires.

I hear

I hear the echoes of the rustic pipe
Warbling the pleasures of a past'ral life;
I listen to the spirit-stirring ode
Calling on Sparta's children to be free.
O liberty and rural peace! what more
Can mortals pray for? The awak'ning Muse,
Bursting the leaden slumbers which so long
Have quench'd the fire of her divinity,
Snatches her shell to sing these joyful themes,
And sweeps the chords, bending with heav'nly smile
To catch the well-known sounds. A barb'rous jar
Of jingling dissonance grates on her ear,
At which she starts confus'd, and from her hand
Her lyre drops unsupported to the ground.

But she shall seize it in some brighter hour,
When her long night of tyranny is past,
And the deep moanings which now swell around,
Fall faint and fainter on the passing breeze.
Then a new race of bards shall rise; the harps
Long silent, shall once more with measur'd strain
Join in the lofty chorus; skies as clear
As in their happiest age, and scenes as grand
As their own Homer once transported view'd,
Shall aid their raptures and inspire their song.
The Arts shall raise their mournful eye, the tear
Of sorrow shall be dried, save when it falls
In silent sympathy of pictur'd woe.
Again the voice of Freedom shall be heard
Amidst her cavern'd fastnesses, and hosts
Embattled round her spear shall guard their vales
From hostile insult. Greece shall smile again,
And the fair wreaths which for her youth she wove
Shall twine fresh tendrils round her aged brow.

COUNT LARA.

[From LORD BYRON'S LARA. A TALE.]

IN him inexplicably mix'd appear'd
Much to be loved and hated, sought and fear'd,
Opinion varying o'er his hidden lot,
In praise or railing ne'er his name forgot;
His silence form'd a theme for others' prate—
They guess'd—they gaz'd—they fain would know his fate.
What had he been? what was he, thus unknown,
Who walked their world, his lineage only known?

A hater

A hater of his kind? yet some would say,
With them he could seem gay amidst the gay;
But own'd, that smile if oft observed and near,
Waned in its mirth and withered to a sneer;
That smile might reach his lip, but passed not by,
None e'er could trace its laughter to his eye:
Yet there was softness too in his regard,
At times, a heart as not by nature hard,
But once perceiv'd, his spirit seem'd to chide
Such weakness, as unworthy of its pride,
And steel'd itself, as scorning to redeem
One doubt from other's half withheld esteem;
In self-inflicted penance of a breast
Which tenderness might once have wrung from rest;
In vigilance of grief that would compel
The soul to hate for having lov'd too well.

There was in him a vital scorn of all;
As if the worst had fall'n which could befall.
He stood a stranger in this breathing world,
An erring spirit from another hurled;
A thing of dark imaginings, that shaped
By choice the perils he by chance escaped;
But 'scaped in vain, for in their memory yet
His mind would half exult, and half regret:
With more capacity for love than earth
Bestows on most of mortal mould and birth,
His early dreams of good outstrip'd the truth,
And troubled manhood followed baffled youth;
With thought of years in phantom chace mispent,
And wasted powers for better purpose lent;
And fiery passions that had poured their wrath
In hurried desolation o'er his path,
And left the better feelings all at strife
In wild reflection o'er his stormy life;
But haughty still, and loth himself to blame,
He called on Nature's self to share the shame,
And charged all faults upon the fleshly form
She gave to clog the soul, and feast the worm;
Till he at last confounded good and ill,
And half mistook for fate the acts of will:
Too high for common selfishness, he could
At times resign his own for others' good,
But not in pity, not because he ought,
But in some strange perversity of thought,
That swayed him onward with a secret pride
To do what few or none would do beside;
And this same impulse would in tempting time
Mislead his spirit equally to crime;

So

So much he soared beyond, or sunk beneath
The men with whom he felt condemned to breathe,
And longed by good or ill to separate
Himself from all who shared his mortal state;
His mind abhorring this had fixed her throne
Far from the world, in regions of her own;
Thus coldly passing all that passed below,
His blood in temperate seeming now would flow:
Ah! happier if it ne'er with guilt had glowed,
But ever in that icy smoothness flowed!
'Tis true, with other men their path he walked,
And like the rest in seeming did and talked,
Nor outraged Reason's rules by flaw nor start,
His madness was not of the head, but heart;
And rarely wandered in his speech, or drew
His thoughts so forth as to offend the view.

With all that chilling mystery of mien,
And seeming gladness to remain unseen;
He had (if 'twere not nature's boon) an art
Of fixing memory on another's heart:
It was not love perchance—nor hate—nor aught
That words can image to express the thought:
But they who saw him did not see in vain,
And once beheld, would ask of him again:
And those to whom he spake remembered well,
And on the words, however light, would dwell:
None knew, nor how, nor why, but he entwined
Himself perforce around the hearer's mind;
There he was stamp'd, in liking, or in hate,
If greeted once; however brief the date
That friendship, pity, or aversion knew,
Still there within the inmost thought he grew.
You could not penetrate his soul, but found,
Despite your wonder, to your own he wound;
His presence haunted still; and from the breast
He forced an all unwilling interest;
Vain was the struggle in that mental net,
His spirit seemed to dare you to forget!

Midnight at Lara Castle.

[From the same.]

IT was the night—and Lara's glassy stream
The stars are studding, each with imaged beam:
So calm, the waters scarcely seem to stray,
And yet they glide like happiness away;
Reflecting far and fairy-like from high
The immortal lights that live along the sky:
Its banks are fringed with many a goodly tree,
And flowers the fairest that may feast the bee;
Such in her chaplet infant Dian wove,
And Innocence would offer to her love.
These deck the shore; the waves their channel make
In windings bright and mazy like the snake.
All was so still, so soft in earth and air,
You scarce would start to meet a spirit there;
Secure that nought of evil could delight
To walk in such a scene, on such a night!
It was a moment only for the good,
So Lara deemed, nor longer there he stood,
But turned in silence to his castle-gate;
Such scene his soul no more could contemplate:
Such scene reminded him of other days,
Of skies more cloudless, moons of purer blaze,
Of nights more soft and frequent, hearts that now—
No—no—the storm may beat upon his brow
Unfelt—unsparing—but a night like this,
A night of beauty mock'd such breast as his.

He turned within his solitary hall,
And his high shadow shot along the wall;
There were the painted forms of other times,
'Twas all they left of virtues or of crimes,
Save vague tradition; and the gloomy vaults
That hid their dust, their foibles, and their faults;
And half a column of the pompous page,
That speeds the specious tale from age to age;
Where history's pen its praise or blame supplies,
And lies like truth, and still most truly lies.
He wandering mused, and as the moonbeam shone
Through the dim lattice o'er the floor of stone,
And the high fretted roof, and saints, that there
O'er Gothic windows knelt in pictur'd prayer,

Reflected

Reflected in fantastic figures grew
Like life, but not like mortal life, to view;
His bristling locks of sable, brow of gloom,
And the wide waving of his shaken plume
Glanced like a spectre's attributes, and gave
His aspect all that terror gives the grave.

'Twas midnight—all was slumber; the lone light
Dimm'd in the lamp, as loth to break the night.
Hark! there be murmurs heard in Lara's hall—
A sound—a voice—a shriek—a fearful call!
A long, loud shriek—and silence—did they hear
That frantic echo burst the sleeping ear?
They heard and rose, and tremulously brave
Rush where the sound invoked their aid to save;
They come with half-lit tapers in their hands,
And snatch'd in startled haste unbelted brands.

Cold as the marble where his length was laid,
Pale as the beam that o'er his features played,
Was Lara stretch'd; his half drawn sabre near,
Dropp'd it should seem in more than nature's fear;
Yet he was firm, or had been firm till now,
And still defiance knit his gathered brow;
Though mix'd with terror, senseless as he lay,
There lived upon his lip the wish to slay;
Some half form'd threat in utterance there had died,
Some imprecation of despairing pride;
His eye was almost seal'd, but not forsook,
Even in its trance the gladiator's look,
That oft awake his aspect could disclose,
And now was fix'd in horrible repose.
They raise him—bear him; hush! he breathes, he speaks,
The swarthy blush recolours in his cheeks,
His lip resumes its red, his eye, though dim,
Rolls wide and wild, each slowly quivering limb
Recalls its function, but his words are strung
In terms that seem not of his native tongue;
Distinct but strange, enough they understand
To deem them accents of another land,
And such they were, and meant to meet an ear
That hears him not—alas! that cannot hear!

Sleep.

[From the same.]

THE crowd are gone, the revellers at rest;
The courteous host, and all-approving guest,
Again to that accustomed couch must creep
Where joy subsides, and sorrow sighs to sleep,
And man o'er-laboured with his being's strife,
Shrinks to that sweet forgetfulness of life:
There lie love's feverish hope, and cunning's guile,
Hate's working brain, and lull'd ambition's wile,
O'er each vain eye oblivion's pinions wave,
And quench'd existence crouches in a grave.
What better name may slumber's bed become?
Night's sepulchre, the universal home,
Where weakness, strength, vice, virtue, sunk supine,
Alike in naked helplessness recline;
Glad for a while to heave unconscious breath,
Yet wake to wrestle with the dread of death,
And shun, though day but dawn on ills increased,
That sleep, the loveliest, since it dreams the least.

Morning.

[From the same.]

NIGHT wanes—the vapours round the mountains curl'd,
Melt into morn, and Light awakes the world.
Man has another day to swell the past,
And lead him near to little, but his last;
But mighty Nature bounds as from her birth,
The sun is in the heavens, and life on earth;
Flowers in the valley, splendour in the beam,
Health on the gale, and freshness on the stream.
Immortal man! behold her glories shine,
And cry, exulting inly, "they are thine!"
Gaze on, while yet thy gladdened eye may see,
A morrow comes when they are not for thee;

And

And grieve what may above thy senseless bier,
Nor earth nor sky will yield a single tear;
Nor cloud shall gather more, nor leaf shall fall,
Nor gale breathe forth one sigh for thee, for all;
But creeping things shall revel in their spoil,
And fit thy clay to fertilize the soil.

The Fall of Count Lara.

[From the same.]

COMMANDING, aiding, animating all,
Where foe appear'd to press, or friend to fall,
Cheers Lara's voice, and waves or strikes his steel,
Inspiring hope, himself had ceased to feel.
None fled, for well they knew that flight were vain,
But those that waver turn to smite again
While yet they find the firmest of the foe
Recoil before their leader's look and blow;
Now girt with numbers, now almost alone,
He foils their ranks, or reunites his own;
Himself he spared not—once they seemed to fly—
Now was the time, he waved his hand on high,
And shook—why sudden droops that plumed crest?
The shaft is sped—the arrow's in his breast!
That fatal gesture left the unguarded side,
And Death hath stricken down yon arm of pride.
The word of triumph fainted from his tongue;
That hand, so raised, how drooopingly it hung!
But yet the sword instinctively retains,
Though from its fellow shrink the fallen reins;
These Kaled snatches: dizzy with the blow,
And senseless bending o'er his saddle-bow,
Perceives not Lara that his anxious page
Beguiles his charger from the combat's rage:
Meantime his followers charge, and charge again!
Too mix'd the slayers now to heed the slain!

Day glimmers on the dying and the dead,
The cloven cuirass, and the helmless head;
The war-horse masterless is on the earth,
And that last gasp hath burst his bloody girth;
And near yet quivering with what life remain'd,
The heel that urg'd him and the hand that rein'd;

And some too near that rolling torrent lie,
Whose waters mock the lip of those that die;
That panting thirst which scorches in the breath
Of those that die the soldier's fiery death,
In vain impels the burning mouth to crave
One drop—the last—to cool it for the grave;
With feeble and convulsive effort swept
Their limbs along the crimson'd turf have crept;
The faint remains of life such struggles waste,
But yet they reach the stream, and bend to taste:
They feel its freshness, and almost partake—
Why pause?—No further thirst have they to slake—
It is unquench'd, and yet they feel it not;
It was an agony—but now forgot!

Beneath a lime, remoter from the scene,
Where but for him that strife had never been,
A breathing but devoted warrior lay:
'Twas Lara bleeding fast from life away.
His follower once, and now his only guide,
Kneels Kaled watchful o'er his welling side,
And with his scarf would staunch the tides that rush
With each convulsion in a blacker gush;
And then as his faint breathing waxes low,
In feebler, not less fatal tricklings flow:
He scarce can speak, but motions him 'tis vain,
And merely adds another throb to pain.
He clasps the hand that pang which would assuage,
And sadly smiles his thanks to that dark page
Who nothing fears, nor feels, nor heeds, nor sees,
Save that damp brow which rests upon his knees;
Save that pale aspect, where the eye, though dim,
Held all the light that shone on earth for him.

The foe arrives, who long had search'd the field,
Their triumph nought till Lara too should yield;
They would remove him, but they see 'twere vain,
And he regards them with a calm disdain,
That rose to reconcile him with his fate,
And that escape to death from living hate:
And Otho comes, and leaping from his steed,
Looks on the bleeding foe that made him bleed,
And questions of his state: he answers not,
Scarce glances on him as on one forgot,
And turns to Kaled:—each remaining word,
They understood not, if distinctly heard;

His

His dying tones are in that other tongue,
To which some strange remembrance wildly clung.
They spake of other scenes, but what—is known
To Kaled, whom their meaning reach'd alone;
And he replied, though faintly, to their sound,
While gazed the rest in dumb amazement round:
They seem'd even then—that twain—unto the last
To half forget the present in the past;
To share between themselves some separate fate,
Whose darkness none beside could penetrate.

Their words though faint were many—from the tone
Their import those who heard could judge alone;
From this, you might have deem'd young Kaled's death
More near than Lara's by his voice and breath,
So sad, so deep, and hesitating broke
The accents his scarce-moving pale lips spoke;
But Lara's voice though low, at first was clear
And calm, till murmuring death gasp'd hoarsely near:
But from his visage little could we guess,
So unrepentant, dark, and passionless,
Save that when struggling nearer to his last,
Upon that page his eye was kindly cast;
And once as Kaled's answering accents ceas'd,
Rose Lara's hand, and pointed to the East:
Whether (as then the breaking sun from high
Roll'd back the clouds) the morrow caught his eye,
Or that 'twas chance, or some remember'd scene
That rais'd his arm to point where such had been,
Scarce Kaled seem'd to know, but turn'd away,
As if his heart abhorred that coming day,
And shrunk his glance before that morning light
To look on Lara's brow—where all grew night.
Yet sense seem'd left, though better were its loss;
For when one near displayed the holy cross,
And proffered to his touch the holy bead
Of which his parting soul might own the need,
He look'd upon it with an eye profane,
And smil'd—Heaven pardon! if 'twere with disdain;
And Kaled though he spoke not, nor withdrew
From Lara's face his fixed despairing view,
With brow repulsive, and with gesture swift,
Flung back the hand which held the sacred gift,
As if such but disturbed the expiring man,
Nor seemed to know his life but *then* began.

The life immortal, infinite, secure,
To all for whom that cross hath made it sure!

But gasping heaved the breath that Lara drew,
And dull the film along his dim eye grew;
His limbs stretch'd fluttering, and his head droop'd o'er
The weak yet still untiring knee that bore;
He press'd the hand he held upon his heart—
It beats no more, but Kaled will not part
With the cold grasp, but feels, and feels in vain,
For that faint throb which answers not again.
"It beats!"—Away, thou dreamer! he is gone—
It once was Lara which thou look'st upon.

He gaz'd, as if not yet had pass'd away
The haughty spirit of that humble clay;
And those around have rous'd him from his trance,
But cannot tear from thence his fixed glance;
And when in raising him from where he bore
Within his arms the form that felt no more,
He saw the head his breast would still sustain,
Roll down like earth to earth upon the plain;
He did not dash himself thereby, nor tear
The glossy tendrils of his raven hair,
But strove to stand and gaze, but reel'd and fell,
Scarce breathing more than that he lov'd so well.
Than that *he* lov'd! Oh! never yet beneath
The breast of man such trusty love may breathe!
That trying moment hath at once reaveal'd
The secret long, and yet but half-conceal'd;
In baring to revive that lifeless breast,
Its grief seem'd ended, but the sex confest;
And life return'd, and Kaled felt no shame—
What now to her was Womanhood or Fame?

And Lara sleeps not where his fathers sleep,
But where he died his grave was dug as deep;
Nor is his mortal slumber less profound,
Though priest nor blessed, nor marble deck'd the mound;
And he was mourn'd by one whose quiet grief
Less loud, outlasts a people's for their chief.
Vain was all question ask'd her of the past,
And vain e'en menace—silent to the last;
She told nor whence nor why she left behind
Her all for one who seem'd but little kind.

Why

Why did she love him? Curious fool!—be still—
Is human love the growth of human will?
To her he might be gentleness; the stern
Have deeper thoughts than your dull eyes discern,
And when they love, your smilers guess not how
Beats the strong heart, though less the lips avow.
They were not common links that form'd the chain
That bound to Lara Kaled's heart and brain;
But that wild tale she brook'd not to unfold,
And seal'd is now each lip that could have told.

JACQUELINE.

[From Mr. ROGERS's POEM of this name.]

'TWAS Autumn; thro' Provence had ceased
The vintage, and the vintage-feast.
The sun had set behind the hill,
The moon was up, and all was still,
And from the Convent's neighbouring tower
The clock had tolled the midnight hour,
When Jacqueline came forth alone,
Her kerchief o'er her tresses thrown;
A guilty thing, and full of fears,
Yet ah, how lovely in her tears!
She starts, and what has caught her eye?
What—but her shadow gliding by?
She stops, she pants, with lips apart
She listens—to her beating heart!
Then, thro' the scanty orchard stealing,
The clustering boughs her track concealing,
She flies, nor casts a thought behind,
But gives her terrors to the wind;
Flies from her home, the humble sphere
Of all her joys and sorrows here,
Her father's house of mountain-stone,
And by a mountain-vine o'er-grown.
At such an hour in such a night
So calm, so clear, so heavenly bright,
Who would have seen and not confessed
It looked as all within were blest?

What

What will not woman, when she loves?
Yet lost, alas! who can restore her?—
She lifts the latch, the wicket moves;
And now the world is all before her.

Up rose St. Pierre, when morning shone;
—And Jacqueline his child was gone!
Oh what the madd'ning thought that came?
Dishonour coupled with his name!
By Condé at Rocroy he stood;
By Turenne, when the Rhine ran blood.
Two banners of Castile he gave
Aloft in Notre Dame to wave;
Nor did thy cross, St. Louis, rest
Upon a purer, nobler breast.
He slung his old sword by his side,
And snatched his staff and rushed to save;
Then sunk—and on his threshold cried
"O lay me in my grave!
"—Constance! Claudine! where were ye then?
"But stand not there. Away! away!
"Thou, Frederic, by thy father stay.
"Though old, and now forgot of men,
"Both must not leave him in a day."
Then, and he shook his hoary head,
"Unhappy in thy youth!" he said.
"Call as thou wilt, thou call'st in vain;
"No voice sends back thy name again.
"To mourn is all thou hast to do;
"Thy play-mate lost, and teacher too."

And who but she could soothe the boy,
Or turn his tears to tears of joy?
Long had she kissed him as he slept,
Long o'er his pillow hung and wept;
And, as she passed her father's door,
She stood as she would stir no more.
But she is gone, and gone for ever!
No, never shall they clasp her—never.
They sit and listen to their fears;
And he, who thro' the breach had led
Over the dying and the dead,
Shakes if a cricket's cry he hears!

Oh! she was good as she was fair.
None—none on earth above her!

As

As pure in thought as angels are,
To know her was to love her.
When little, and her eyes, her voice,
Her every gesture said "rejoice,"
Her coming was a gladness;
And, as she grew, her modest grace,
Her down-cast look 'twas heav'n to trace,
When, shading with her hand her face,
She half inclined to sadness.
Her voice, whate'er she said, enchanted;
Like music to the heart it went.
And her dark eyes—how eloquent!
Ask what they would, 'twas granted.
Her father loved her as his fame;
—And Bayard's self had done the same!

Soon as the sun the glittering pane
On the red floor in diamonds threw,
His songs she sung and sung again,
Till the last light withdrew.
Every day, and all day long,
He mused or slumbered to a song,
But she is dead to him, to all;
Her lute hangs silent on the wall;
And on the stairs, and at the door
Her fairy-step is heard no more!
At every meal an empty chair
Tells him that she is not there;
She, who would lead him where he went,
Charm with her converse while he leant;
Or hovering every wish prevent;
At eve light up the chimney-nook,
Lay there his glass within his book;
And that small chest of curious mould,
(Queen Mab's, perchance, in days of old,)
Tusk of elephant and gold;
Which, when a tale is long, dispenses
Its fragrant dust to drowsy senses,
In her who mourned not, when they missed her,
The old a child, the young a sister?
No more the orphan runs to take
From her loved hand the barley-cake.
No more the matron in the school
Expects her in the hour of rule,
To sit amid the elfin brood,
Praising the busy and the good.
The widow trims her hearth in vain:
She comes not—nor will come again;

Not

Not now, his little lesson done,
With Frederic blowing bubbles in the sun;
Nor spinning by the fountain side,
Some story of the days of old,
Barbe Bleue or Chaperon Rouge half-told
To him who would not be denied:
Not now, to while an hour away,
Gone to the falls in Valombrè,
Where 'tis night at noon of day;
Nor wandering up and down the wood,
To all but her a solitude,
Where once a wild deer, wild no more,
Her chaplet on his antlers wore,
And at her bidding stood.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE,

FOR THE YEAR 1814.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism, Theological Criticism, Sacred Morals, Sermons and Discourses, single Sermons, Controversial Divinity.

THE Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have opened the year with a work that has a claim to notice in the commencement of the present chapter. It is entitled "The Holy Bible, &c. with the Apocrypha, according to the authorised version: with notes *explanatory* and *practical*: marginal references are added, together with appropriate introductions, tables and indexes, maps by Arrowsmith; and with plans and copper-plate engravings by the best artists. Dedicated, by permission, to the most Rev the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: by the Rev. George D'Oyly, B.D. and the Rev. Richard Mant, M.A. his Grace's domestic Chaplains." The work is printed on a good medium paper, is publishing both in numbers and in parts: the numbers make their appearance weekly, and contain, on an average, two sheets and a half of letter-press, price 6d. each: the parts contain eight numbers in each, and are published every two months, price 4s. each. The whole will be completed in about a hundred numbers, making two handsome quarto volumes.

In an explanatory prospectus, we are told that "this publication has no pretensions to the character of a *learned* work. Such pretensions would be inconsistent with its avowed purpose of general utility. Critical and curious disquisitions therefore will not form a part of the accompanying commentary, but will be studiously excluded from it. At the same time much advantage, it is presumed, may be afforded to the ordinary reader, by communicating to him the *results* of the inquiries of learned men, without giving a detailed exposition of the inquiries themselves. By this and such other methods as appear best calculated to *explain* and *illustrate* the sacred volume, the present publication is intended to convey *general scriptural* information. More particularly the great end of it is to furnish the well-disposed and serious reader with a body of annota-

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tions to which he may confidently have recourse upon all important matters of Christian *faith and practice*. On the one hand therefore such *practical* reflections will be continually interspersed as may tend to enforce the lessons of holy living, supplied by the precepts and examples of Scripture: and on the other, the great *doctrines* of our holy religion will be drawn out from the declaration of Scripture with that particularity which their paramount importance demands. And with respect to both of these most important subjects it will be carefully endeavoured that the reader may be furnished with such remarks as may enable him, under the blessing of Almighty God, as well to meet the *popular objections* of the enemies of revelation, as to correct the *ill-founded* opinions of those who have erroneous notions of it."

We are sure the excellent Society to which the public are indebted for the work thus announced, could not be engaged in a more useful employment; nor could they well have made choice of editors better adapted to superintend and conduct the undertaking with success: Clergymen whose talents as good theologians and biblical critics are sufficiently established in the opinion of the world, and who certainly will lose no part of the fair fame they have already acquired by their present labours, provided (of which we have no doubt) the same judgment and extensive research characterise the remainder of the publication which is so conspicuous in the first four parts, or thirty-two numbers, which is the whole that has yet reached us.

The original remarks of the editors themselves are but very few: for the notes are expressly intended to be selected from works in actual existence and of approved weight. The merit of the selection must therefore depend upon the merit and veracity of the writers who have furnished the materials, and in the opinion of the editors have acquired a sufficient authority: and that our readers may be fully informed upon this subject, we have endeavoured to track the editors over the ground they have travelled, and find, that the following are the list of names they seem to have drawn out for reference and quotation, in the progress of their work, beyond which, we believe, it will seldom be found that they have trodden: and beyond which, perhaps, it will not often be necessary to tread. *Archbishops* Usher, Secker, Wake, Tillotson, Tenison. *Bishops* Latimer, Hall, Patrick, Wilson, Andrews, Stackhouse, Conybeare, Beverage, Ridley, Sanderson, Waterland, Horsley, Pretens, Tomline. *Doctors* Hales, Wells, Wall, Robertson, Kennicot, Leland, Lightfoot, Graves, Gray, Jortine, Berriman, S. Clarke, J. Clarke, L. D. Clarke, Barrow, Delancy, J. Ward. *Messrs.* Lewis, Wogan, Reading, Locke, Bryant, Gilpin, Gisborne, Harman, Jones of Nayland, Seldon, Poole, Pole, Whiston. Besides whom, we have a few occasional references to Lord Clarendon, Deans, Alix, Prideaux, and Spencer, Archdeacon Paley, Sir William Jones, and Doctor Mede: as also to the Universal History, Bibliotheca Biblica, Scriptura Illustrated, and Church Homilies. The *Travellers* chiefly consulted appear to be Shaw, Bruce, Chardin, Chandler, Pocock, Maundrel. *Foreigners* have not often been turned to for contributions: the principal that have occurred to us are Calmet, Thevenot,

Thevenot, Le Clerc, Bochart, Osterwald, Honbigant, and on one or two occasions Michaelis, and Volney.

The reader will here perceive that the catalogue is rich as well in learning as in number; that it is especially drawn, as unquestionably in the present case it ought to be, from the most eminent writers of the established Church; but that there is no mean or pitiful spirit of exclusion: the laity being occasionally had recourse to as well as the clergy, and those not of the establishment as those that were professedly so.—As the work proceeds we shall, no doubt find other names introduced as Arnold, Whitby, Lowth; on the book of Job, Stock, Good, and Miss Smith; and on the New Testament, Burkitt, Doddridge, and Campbell. Among the foreigners consulted, we are somewhat surprised at not meeting with the name of the Pere Simon; and cannot avoid thinking that Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum ought by no means to have been neglected, as he appears to have been. We could also have wished, not merely that the *names* of the authorities should be given, but the *places* in their respective works: for the annotations are frequently nothing more than mere hints, which it might be useful for persons to follow up who are in possession of the works referred to. This would have produced very little additional trouble to the learned editors, and still less additional extent to the work itself: as the break in the terminating line would, in most instances, allow of such addenda, without running into another line. In truth without this special reference, the names, in point of authority, are often of no more value than that of the editors themselves; for excepting in such cases as the order of the text itself indicates, it must be impossible to trace the quotation, and hence the authority must be taken for granted upon the assertion of those who quote it. In works of rigid criticism this is altogether unallowable; and from the advantage of pursuing the subject in a more enlarged manner in its original source we think it should have been as little allowed in the present instance.

From these sources, however, the Bible, in the work before us, is admirably explained and illustrated, so far as we have received it. This view of popular elucidation seems to be the chief aim of the editors, and to this it must appeal for its chief hope of success, for it is certainly less full and complete as a book of *doctrinal* deduction or *practical* exhortation. Indeed we do not see how, within the space to which they have limited themselves, they could have touched very explicitly upon all the topics they at first proposed, and we by no means blame them for having sacrificed one or two points pretty well secured by other Family Bibles, for points that have hitherto been left open, and which require far more learning, reading, and judgment to fill up than those which have hitherto been chiefly treated upon.

We are pleased at noticing that among the views retained they have in frequent cases applied themselves to the *popular objections* of the enemies of revelation, of which, among other instances, we may mention the origin of language, Gen. ii. 20. which on various grounds they contend to have been a preternatural endowment: and the destruction of the Amalekites, 1 Sam.

xv. iii. We wish, however, this head of annotation had been pushed somewhat further; as for example, the proofs afforded in the structure of the earth itself, that it was produced not instantaneously, but by successive periods; and the reconciliation of Gen. chap. ii. 7, compared with chap. i. 26, 27: (a mere repetition of the former fact) with the natural history or physiology of the chief divisions of one common species of man; since the two passages have been appealed to for many ages, and especially in our own day, as a justification of those who pretend that mankind have been derived from more stocks than one, and consequently would infer that the stock of blacks is inferior in mental powers to that of whites, and ought to be in subjection to the latter.

In their citations from expositors, critics, and travellers, the editors have discovered considerable caution. Yet there are a few instances in which a little more circumspection might have been advantageous. Let us justify this remark by an example or two: we have not room for more. In Gen. x. 1, we are told that "the late excellent Sir William Jones has very satisfactorily traced the origin of all the peoplé of the earth to the three roots Shem, Ham, and Japheth, according to the account given in this chapter.—*Bishop Tomline.*" Now, from the very crude reference here given to this learned prelate's writings, it is impossible for us to know from what part of them the editors have drawn this paragraph or opinion. But it should have occurred to them that one part at least of Sir William Jones's general argument upon this subject was derived from a fragment given him by certain learned Bramins whom he was acquainted with, and which seemed to establish the fact in their own sacred history, by an introduction of the names of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as the common progenitors of mankind: but that this fragment, and consequently that this part of the argument was afterwards acknowledged by the same persons to have been a forgery invented by themselves, and consequently a gross deception upon this admirable scholar; who, however, was so generally on his guard that it was only in two other instances that he appears to have been imposed upon. The editors will find the imposition admitted by himself; and, if we recollect aright, noticed by Lord Teignmouth, in Sir William's Life; if we be not now referring to a work, that the learned editors have some scruple of dipping into. Of the fact of the derivation of all mankind from the three main divisions here adverted to, we have no doubt; but as to those who have, it would have been better not to have quoted in support of it such an authority as the present, notwithstanding the great name of the original writer, and we have no hesitation in adding the plausibility and strength of the remainder of his argument, when separated from this successful deception.

So Exod. viii. 21. "Perhaps this (the threatened plague of flies) is the insect called Zimb in those countries. As soon as the plague appears, and its buzzing is heard, all the cattle forsake their food, and run wildly about the plain till they die, worn out with fatigue, fright, and hunger."—*Bruce.* Now if we may trust Mr. Salt, who, we are ready to admit, is often too severe upon

upon Bruce, the existence of any such fly as the zimb, here described, and again explained from Bruce in the ensuing verse, is exceedingly doubtful. We cannot enter into the controversy, but while it remains unsettled, it would have been better either to have omitted the quotation, or to have given Salt's observations upon Bruce's account of it. These remarks we offer in the full spirit of candour; not to depreciate the work, but to enable it to acquire additional perfection by additional care and caution. We heartily wish it success, for it amply deserves it. The ornamental part, consisting of maps, plans, and historic engravings, are well selected: the last from productions of the best masters, of which they are bold and spirited etchings, or sketches upon yellow paper. Finished prints we should undoubtedly have recommended, if the price charged for the work would have allowed: but we by far prefer the present well executed outline to the ill executed or unfinished stroke engravings which are given with various other works of the same kind. In point of price the editors, or the Society for whom they act, have exhibited a liberality that is highly creditable, and for which they are entitled to the best thanks as well as the unrestricted support of the public: for "it is a fact," as they tell us in the close of their prospectus, and of which we have not the smallest doubt, "that whatever advantage the reader may derive from the purchase of this publication, he will receive it at the least possible expence: the price of the the book having been fixed, according to a very low estimate of the cost of the letter-press; and the maps, plans, and other engravings being literally *given* in addition, partly by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and partly by several members of the Society who are friends to the undertaking.

"Remarks on the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts, adopted by Griesbach, in his edition of the New Testament: by Richard Laurence, L.L.D. &c. 8vo. price 5s. 6d." In our Retrospect for 1809, we noticed at some length the learned and valuable work here referred to, and added our feeble praise to the general current which has flowed to the indefatigable author from, we believe, every quarter of Christendom, for his candour, patience, precision, and unwearied spirit of research upon a subject the most important to the best interests of man. So numerous and diversified are the manuscripts which this most excellent biblical scholar collected from all parts of the world, that without some kind of arrangement it would have been impossible for him to have made any intelligible reference to them, or to have apportioned in any degree their respective authorities. In the formation of this arrangement, as well as in appreciating what ought to be received as genuine readings, Dr. Griesbach thought himself compelled to regard the manuscripts before him, and the different editions made up from copies of them, as equally entitled to his attention: so that he has taken no one edition as a standard authority: his object being to support or question the readings of each as they coincide with or oppose each other; and where opposition is encountered, to determine the genuine wording from the greater number of evidences, not, indeed,

as collected from the entire mass, but from those, to which, in his classification he has assigned a superior degree of weight.

To this system of classification the reverend and learned critic before us offers a serious objection. He conceives that some edition or other ought unquestionably to have been taken as a standard text, and that the various manuscripts consulted cannot be allotted their proper and relative bearings without such a basis, or rather that such bearings must have very different tendencies in various instances from what they otherwise would have discovered.

"The various readings," says Dr. Laurence, "of a manuscript in its departure from the received text, might, indeed, afford the surest basis for a classification, were the received to be considered as the *standard text*, with which all manuscripts generally accorded, but from which they occasionally, and only occasionally, deviated. Upon this supposition the character of such occasional deviations would seem to form the sole object of investigation. But Griesbach allows the existence of no standard text, and argues that the received, as principally conformable with the Byzantine, is the worst of the three. When, therefore, he stepped out of the path trodden by the preceding critics, and annihilated the credit of the preceding text as a common standard, even asserting its inferiority to every other, ought he not likewise to have departed from their accustomed mode of solely contemplating in manuscripts their variations from this: because the object of his research simply appears to have been not the character of particular deviations from any individual text, but the general coincidence of a manuscript with one text above another? But I may be told that by confining his calculations to the various readings of the received text, he did not mean to represent that text as a standard, and that the result would have been the same had he taken into consideration the various readings of any other text. To this, however, I cannot assent. For, putting out of the question every idea of excellence in the use of the word *standard*, still I maintain that, had he limited his observations to the various readings of another text instead of the Byzantine, the result would have been very different." The author then proceeds to justify this opinion by an experiment with the Alexandrine, which, in his judgment, Dr. Griesbach ought to have selected for this purpose, from his belief that it is the most ancient and valuable. The experiment is ingenious, but to us not quite satisfactory: we regret that we have not space for copying it. In whatever way we proceed, however, there cannot but be a difficulty; yet a system of classes there must be upon such a subject as the present, or the whole would be inextricable confusion. Dr. Laurence himself, indeed, neither wishes to destroy all system nor even to diminish the number of the classes as adopted in the Griesbach prolegomena. "I shall not, therefore, I trust, be misconstrued, as wishing unnecessarily to diminish the number of classes adopted by him, from an overweening fondness for any preconceived opinion of my own, to which his allotted number might be deemed inimical. On the other hand, I sincerely wish that it could be augmented, convinced that the rule of classification would afford

afford no inconsiderable advantages to textual criticism, could it in those instances be satisfactorily exemplified." Yet so doubtful does he appear to be on this last point, that we cannot avoid suspecting that this learned divine does not in his heart conceive any great benefit is likely to arise from any system that the wit of man is capable of devising, and consequently that the world may ever reasonably hope to see carried into execution. "The idea," says he, "of a classification of manuscripts on an extended scale is doubtless captivating, fraught with hope, and pregnant with promise: but the moment we commence its reduction to practice, difficulties start up on every side, and conjecture begins to supply the place of conviction. By an intricate and involved analysis we are tempted to exalt possibilites into probabilities, and probabilities into certainties: we raise class over class in a system, as children picture castle rising over castle in a stormy cloud, soon to be immerged in gloom and obscurity. But although the prospect before us affords enough to satiate, there is, I fear, little in it to satisfy. We find ample scope for the sportive gambols of imagination, but no very solid footing for the soberer exertions of reason: while we fancy ourselves to be walking in the broad light of day, we may prove to be but wildly wandering in the dark, and stumbling at every step."

"Sequel to Ecclesiastical Researches, in which the origin to the introductory Chapters in Matthew and Luke is brought to light from Josephus; and in which the *peculiar articles* of the Orthodox Faith are traced to the System of the Gnostics who opposed the Gospel in the days of Christ and his Apostles. By John Jones," 8vo. price 10s. 6d. In our Retrospect for the last year we noticed the fanciful and elaborate attempt of Sir William Drummond to convert into fiction by the means of deep and extensive learning, and a warm and active imagination, many of the most important parts of the *Old Testament*, as commonly received and acknowledged. In the work before us we have to notice a similar attempt, by another scholar of splendid talents and erudition, to convert into fiction, by the same sort of powers and process, many of the most important parts of the *New Testament*, as commonly received and acknowledged. Yet we have no hesitation in saying, that there is far more ingenuity and plausibility in the visionary speculation of Mr. Jones than in that of the learned Baronet; at the same time we have none of the offensive, and we fear not to say blasphemous wit, which so frequently contaminates the Œdipus Judaicus. Mr. Jones, we have no doubt, widely differing as we do from him in opinion, is an open and conscientious searcher after truth; and in the very extraordinary work now before us, only endeavours to lop off from the tree of life branches which he believes to be an injurious graft, a spurious deformity: while the direct object of Sir William appears to be, as far as we are able to comprehend it, to transmute the whole solid structure of the Mosaic history into fable, and its real characters into allegorical. So far, however, as they proceed, there is a striking resemblance between them. Sir William objects to the literal truth of certain chapters in Genesis, the book of Joshua, and that of Judges; Mr. Jones to cer-

tain chapters in St. Matthew and St. Luke, as well as to various texts in other books. Sir William fancies himself able to *prove* that Abram was a type of the sun, and Lot of the moon, Chedorlaomer a symbol expressive of the zodiac; the salt sea a symbol of the hemisphere. Mr. Jones fancies himself in like manner able to *prove* that the Virgin Mary, so far as relates to the *story* of her miraculous conception, was a type of a Roman lady of exquisite beauty, called Paulina, who was persuaded to believe that the god Anubis had fallen in love with her; in consequence of which she consented to visit his temple on some evening, and there found to her cost, that the priests of Isis had been bribed by a young Roman of the equestrian order to let him personate the amorous deity. The eastern Magi, Mr Jones, in like manner, conceives to be a type of Josephus and three friends of his: the apprehension of Herod, which so much troubled him concerning the child Jesus, to be derived from the forged verses of the Sybils, from which Virgil drew his fourth Eclogue; the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem an anachronism and misnomer for the severe treatment of the Jewish youth by Tiberius; our Saviour himself to be synonymous with the long expected Pan, the son of Mercury, of the heathen world, and hence alluded to both by the Sybils and Virgil; the earliest and purest of the Christian churches to be that of the Essenes; Josephus and Philo to be ranked among its first and purest converts, and its most authoritative historians, empowered by their writings to settle all the discrepancies and anomalies in the Gospels; and he conceives also that the above impositions of fictions for facts, or facts of one kind for facts of another; the doctrine of the miraculous conception, that of the union of the two natures, and of the Trinity, were the invention of the Gnostics, the most inveterate enemies the Christians had to encounter; who, after having devised these cunning conceits, and identified them with the history of our Savior, for the mere purpose of ruining the Christian cause, by rendering it ridiculous in the eyes of all men, had by some means or other, it seems, the address to make the simple professors of this cause swallow the lies they thus dressed up for their destruction, solemnly introduce them into their creed, and hand them down to posterity as truths upon which the salvation of the world depends.

Such is a brief, and as we believe a correct sketch of the marvellous views unfolded in the present work; which our readers will, therefore, easily see, whatever its learned and worthy author may have intended, is a direct continuation of the principle commenced in the Œdipus Judaicus; proceeds with equal spirit to unhinge the reality of the documents appealed to by all the larger classes of the Christian Church, and to transform the whole into fable and fancy, the thin fabric of a vision, by the necromancy of abstruse learning, and the *discordia concors* of histories, allegories, mythologies, and sacred truths that have no natural connection with each other.

It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Jones should be desirous of enlisting Josephus, and Philo, and the Essenes under the banners of the Christian Church, for if they could be thus enlisted at all, they must necessarily

necessarily fall into the ranks of the Unitarian persuasion. Yet we cannot upon this point avoid making two observations. First, whatever degree of credit the discovery that these persons were really members of the Christian community, may bestow upon himself, who has now for the first time traced, or pretended to trace it out; it reflects an equal degree of discredit upon all other Unitarian scholars that they should so long and so generally have overlooked a point of such high importance to them, and which has been daily staring them in the face for nearly two thousand years. Our second observation is this: if Josephus, and Philo, and the Essenes should be suffered to remain, and that too by the larger part of the Unitarians, as we suspect they will be, in the respective characters they have so long been allowed to possess; the two former, as candid witnesses and reporters of what they saw and heard, without having taken any part in the Christian faith themselves; and the last as a sect of abstinent and honest recluses, who had no more to do with Christianity than with stoicism, who were in existence, perhaps, ages before the birth of our Saviour, and who are never once mentioned or apparently alluded to in the Christian Scriptures; it must follow that this hunt for new proofs in favour of the doctrines of Unitarianism, and that, too, by men who are so well able to appreciate the strength of those by which they are at present supported, must evince that they who thus eagerly engage in the chace, are not quite satisfied with the basis on which the building has hitherto been suffered to stand. We cannot, indeed, easily bring ourselves to believe that Mr. Jones would have gone thus far afield and beat the bushes of imagination on new ground, if he had not felt that the game offered him in the tracks hitherto frequented by his friends, is not altogether worthy of his attention.

If Mr. Jones's argument concerning the Essenes be worth any thing, it is a direct call upon all the Unitarians of the present day to follow the example of these primitive and uncorrupt fathers of the Unitarian faith: and hence we may shortly expect to behold them taking vows of celibacy, abandoning their wives and families, the world, and all its vanities, adopting the children of other persons instead of their own, establishing their anchoret community, perhaps, in the wilds of the New Forest, as Pliny tells us the Essenes did on the banks of the Dead Sea, living upon acorns, as the Essenes lived upon dates, without women and without money, and never changing their clothes till they were entirely worn out.

We close with observing, that it is somewhat too much to call upon us towards the close of the nineteenth century, to believe as facts what, had they been true, would have been triumphantly laid hold of by Celsus in the second century, Porphyry in the third, and Julian in the fourth. The works of Porphyry indeed are lost; but they were extant in Julian's day, and he has made ample use of them, as also of those of Celsus, and consequently would have quoted the present opinions if they had been found in either. With respect to Celsus we have his own words, as preserved by Origen, that Christ was incarnate: that he was born of a virgin; that he was worshipped by the Magi, and that his life was sought after by Herod, through

through the means of the slaughter at Bethlehem. These, together with various other collateral circumstances, are adverted to as admitted facts, at a time when it was easy to solve them into the types and historical blunders here advocated, had it been possible; and this not having been done, one conclusion only can be drawn; and the peculiar doctrines of christianity are thus established by a double testimony, *our enemies themselves*, as well as our friends, *being judges* on the occasion.

"An Essay on the authenticity of the New Testament, with an account of the ancient versions, and some of the principal Greek Manuscripts. By J. F. Gyles, Esq. A. M." 8vo. This is a well-written and judicious publication: drawn up with care and worthy the attention of those who have not learning or time enough to consult the original authorities. Its object, as the author himself tells us, is to compress into a few pages some important arguments for the *authenticity* of the New Testament, with as much general information on the subject as the limits of the plan would admit. Mr. Gyles lays no claim to the merit of originality, and is only anxious that his treatise may prove useful. The inquiry is confined to the *authenticity* of the New Testament, it being his intention to examine into and support its *credibility* in a subsequent essay. The order adopted is, first to give an account of the ancient versions, and several of the principal manuscripts: it then proceeds to the testimony of Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian: and afterwards slightly touches upon the confirmation afforded by the fathers, and the internal evidence derived from the nature of the sacred style. The resurrection of our Saviour from the dead forms the fore-ground of the general argument.

"Novum Lexicon Græca-Latinum, &c." "A new Greek-Latin Lexicon for the New Testament, compiled and illustrated with various philological observations by J. F. Schleusner. The fourth edition, revised and corrected by J. Smith, S. T. P. J. Strauchan, and Adam Dickenson, Edinburgh." 2 vols. 8vo. in four parts, large paper, 6*l*. 6*s*. small paper, 3*l*. 3*s*. We merely notice this valuable work as an information to those who are without a Schleusner, and in order to observe that the alterations and emendations it has received render it, in our opinion, a better book than the German editions.

"An Inquiry into the Religious Knowledge which the heathen Philosophers derived from the Jewish Scriptures. Published according to the will of the Rev. John Hulse, in consequence of having gained the annual prize instituted by him in the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. Daniel Guildford Wait, of St. John's college." 8vo. 4*s*. The subjects treated of in this little work are, I. The Ideas of a God. II. Cosmogony. III. Certain miscellaneous points of resemblance. IV. The consummation of all things. V. Reasons why the majority cannot be fortuitous coincidences, but opinions which are really derived from the Jewish scriptures." The scope taken by the author is too extensive to be laboured with any considerable degree of precision in an octavo volume of eighty pages: and there is a looseness both in the author's style, and connexion of facts and ideas which we did not exactly expect to meet with in the University of Cambridge, and still less so in a prize dissertation. It is only

only sufficient to copy a part of the argument to justify the first of these remarks; the second we will afterward illustrate as briefly: "From the similarity of *certain tenets*, (says the author) and from the corresponding ideas of a God, observable amongst *many* nations of the earth, it appears *indisputably clear* that *all* originated in one common source: (*universals and partials are here strangely jumbled together*): and that these coinciding opinions were either at different times extracted from the Jewish scriptures, or preserved by tradition from the time of their dispersion (*what era is here referred to for the dispersion of the Jewish scriptures? or does the writer mean dispersion of coinciding opinions?*) whilst it is *by no means impossible* that many were disseminated (*many* what?) by the intercourse of the *Gentiles* with the Israelites; and others (*other* what?) were circulated among the *nations* by means of Egypt, that grand parent of Mythos, in which the descendants of Jacob resided for four hundred and thirty years. In the present essay it is therefore proposed to collate several remarkable passages in the heathen writers of *whatever* country they may be, and to assign *probable reasons* why the similarity between them and the Old Testament (*certain passages in the Old Testament*) is not the mere effect of chance; *thereby demonstrating* that the one was *most certainly* indebted to the other for its origin." We have here *demonstration* and *utmost certainty* built upon *probable reasons*: which we take to be a new process in the Cambridge Mathematics, as we have never heard of it before. In p. 48, the author observes, "we may *contrast* his (Elijah's) residence for *forty days in the wilderness* with the Bramanas (*the conduct or habit of the Bramanas*) under Tapasya, who select the thick forest for performing their religious austerities, and with the *extreme veneration for groves and woods* which prevailed *all over the Gentile world*." If we understand the nature of this kind of *contrast*, it is to *demonstrate* that the love of forest retirement, and the worship of woods and groves among *all* the Gentile world (another awkward *universal*) were derived from Elijah's residence for *forty days* in the wilderness. Now not to observe that the *time* seems hardly competent to the purpose, our author ought to have given *probable reasons* that the wilderness Elijah sojourned in was covered with woods and groves, and that he himself evinced a like *extreme veneration* for them. Otherwise we have two pictures *contrasted* that have no tangible points of bearing upon each other; a cause of one kind brought forward to produce an effect of another. So among other *demonstrations* we are told, in the next page, that "it is *by no means improbable* that the wonderful accounts of the shields of Jan Ben Jan and Hercules *may* have proceeded from the Rabbinical forgeries concerning that of David; and *some writers conjecture* that the fables of Bacchus and Osiris being cut limb from limb, relate to the dispersion in the plains of Shinar, whilst *others deem* them symbolical of the universality of God." Our readers, we apprehend, will by this time see what we meant, and perhaps agree with us, in asserting that there is a looseness not only in Mr. Wait's style of writing, but in his connexion of facts and ideas, which was not exactly to be expected in a prize

prize essay of the University of Cambridge.

"A Compendium of the Holy Scriptures: designed for the use of young persons," 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* This anonymous work is well written, and upon the whole ably concentrated and arranged: the gospels are harmonized, and the whole accompanied with occasional notes which will be generally found useful to those for whom it is expressly intended. The author has well explained his intention in the following passage. "The plan and object of the above work is to give, in one connected series, the substance of the holy scriptures *in the language of the scriptures themselves.* It is divided into three parts: the first contains the historical part of the Old Testament, arranged in chronological order. The second contains the prophetical, moral, and devotional books of the Old Testament; and at the end of this part is added an historical connexion of the Old and New Testament, and a brief account of the Jewish nation to the final destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The third part contains the books of the New Testament; the events and discourses in the gospels being harmonized and arranged in one series." A sketch of the contents of each book, with some account of its author, and the space of time it includes is prefixed, and a few plain notes are subjoined.

"Observations on the Twenty-fourth and Thirty-fourth Chapters of Isaiah's Prophecies; wherein the erroneous opinions of the generality of expositors on those very important prophecies are exposed: a true interpretation discovered; and their application to the ruin of the grand apostacy clearly pointed out. To which is added a paraphrase on the third chapter of the book of Habakkuk, with notes by the same author." 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* The anonymous writer of these "Observations" refers the fulfilment of the prophecies in the twenty-fourth chapter of Isaiah to the millennary state; or in plainer words, the universal reign of the Messiah over the inhabitants of the whole world, in opposition to the great body of commentators who refer them to the commencement of the reign of the christian church upon the dissolution of the Jewish state, and the destruction of the Jewish capital. The events prophetically described in the thirty-fourth chapter he conceives to be historical facts fulfilling in the present day, or rather fulfilling at the more awful period in which he wrote, which was before the downfall of Buonaparte. There is no end to conjectures of this kind: but we rather suspect, if the writer direct his eye to the Vatican, and to Spain, to take no notice of the state of ferment at this moment existing at Paris and Vienna, he will not find himself perfectly satisfied with the manner in which this last series of prophecies is likely to be accomplished in modern times.

"Theological Disquisitions: or an Inquiry into the Principles of Religion, which are most influential in directing and regulating the passions and affections of the mind. I. Disquisition on Natural Religion. II. Disquisition on the Jewish Dispensation respecting religion and Morals, Vol. I. A Theological Disquisition on the Characteristic Excellencies of Christianity: or an Enquiry into the superior assistance it affords and motives it contains, for

for the practice of virtue, cultivation of the best affections of the heart, and preparing the *moral* offspring of God for permanent felicity. Vol. II. By T. Logan, M. D. 8vo. 2 vols. 11. 5s." This work is a collection of essays, with a different title to each of the two volumes, in the words just quoted. In the first disquisition of the first volume the author divides the Divine attributes into *physical* and *relative*: the former comprehends eternity, self-existence, spirituality, omnipresence: the latter, power, knowledge, wisdom, and goodness. We can by no means approve of such a division. We object not to the term *physical* as applied to the Deity, for he is the God of nature and nature itself; and the term has been made to comprehend what is now denominated metaphysics, as an appendix or a subsidiary branch, by Aristotle, Bacon, and Locke; but if the term be applicable to the Divinity at all, it must be just as applicable to all as to any of his attributes; of which, indeed, we have a sufficient proof in the present work itself; for having arranged *power* under the class of *relative* attributes, the learned writer shortly afterward tells us, that power abstractedly considered is merely *physical*. Now there is no more reason why power, knowledge, wisdom, and goodness, may not be considered, as they relate to the Deity, just as abstractedly as eternity, self-existence, spirituality, and omnipresence; and unless we do consider them abstractedly, we cannot consider them as infinite, and consequently as attributes pertaining to Deity; for to take them as merely relative, to infer them solely from what we behold and comprehend, is to limit their extent to the extent of our own senses or understanding. All this however is only preparatory to our author's explanation and justification of the Divine conduct in regard to the Jews, whose theoretic economy is the direct point of discussion throughout the course of the first volume. In the progress of which we have a good examination, 1st, of the question how far affections of any kind, and what kind of affections may be ascribed to the Divine nature? with a result that love and complacency are the only affections of this description: 2d, of the expediency in human language, of referring to the Deity other passions and affections than those of love and complacency, which we find partially done in the Hebrew scriptures: and 3dly, of the Jewish dispensation as worthy of a Divine origin.

The second volume is directed to the Christian scheme, as the first is to the Jewish. It comprises three separate inquiries. I. What are the peculiar blessings prescribed to us by Christianity? II. In what manner, and through what medium are these blessings conveyed? III. How great will be their extent? The general answer to the first question is, 1stly, through a lively exercise of the agreeable passions of love, gratitude, and admiration towards the great Being, who, in order to excite these passions for the first time as sources of religious feelings in the heart, has graciously represented himself in the Gospel under the character of the God or love, the universal Father; and, 2dly, through filial confidence or faith upon Christian principles; a subject, however, that is far too much generalized in the mode of treating it before us. The answer

to

to the second question is, through the mediatorial office of Christ: and to the third, that the blessings hereby produced will be extended to all mankind; the learned writer travelling over the old ground to shew that the punishment of the wicked will not be for ever; and that the terms made use of to this effect in the Christian Scriptures are limited or figurative.

"An Original View of the Night of Treason: shewing in this Night, when the rebellious Jews rejected the Truth, that Pilate was a Traitor to Cæsar; Judas guilty of the most *complicate* Treachery, and that Peter, after the three Denials, according to a distinct Prediction, three times apostatized. By the Rev. Francis Thurston, M. A." 8vo. price 8s. This is indeed an *original view*. Pilate and Judas are both supposed to have been friendly to the scheme of making our Saviour a *temporal* king, if he would have consented, and consequently to have been both traitors against Cæsar. Pilate, it seems, resigned him to the people from fear alone; believing that the indignant Jews would have sacrificed himself, and the Roman soldiers under his command, if he had resisted their application. Judas, it seems, betrayed our Saviour, out of rage that he would not consent to receive a temporal crown. And Peter, it seems, denied his Lord six separate times, instead of three: thrice before midnight, and thrice afterwards. Judas after his treason, was struck, we are told, with horror, remorse, and penitence: and that his punishment in the unseen world depends not upon his having betrayed his Lord and Master, but upon his having committed an act of suicide. "Such was the last hour of Judas, that had he not hurried himself into the presence of his judge, surely we might have hoped that even the traitor could have found mercy. If we have a sigh and a tear to spare from Peter, I do not know why they may not be bestowed upon Judas." Pilate, it seems, is equally entitled to our tender commiseration. "He did not even resign him (Christ) as an earthly monarch, until it appeared that he could prevail nothing: that further perseverance would only be destructive to himself, and every Roman in Judea; but, at the same time, being no less certain to the prisoner he was anxious to have saved. He resigned him *as the sad victim of state necessity:* and I know no sentiment which could dictate a farther resistance, unless we could teach Pilate in his own tongue a Christian maxim, indeed, in spirit, but a maxim to the height of which even Christians will scarcely aspire, *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*" Surely the present seems to be an age for giving the Bible in travestie. We have only to add, that in copying the title we have accidentally omitted the two solemn texts or mottos with which this *original view* is introduced. The first is from Luke xxii. 53. "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." The second, placed immediately under it, is from Macbeth:

"Come, thick night,
"And pull thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
"That my keen knife see not the wound it makes."

If the work should reach a second edition, we would humbly recommend to expunge Shakespeare, for the following couplet from Prior:

"A staple of romance and lies,
"False tears, and real perjuries."

We

We proceed to an enumeration of the Sermons for the year, so far as they have reached us. The volumes are not numerous, but some of them of very considerable merit as literary or oratorical productions.

"The Operations of the Holy Ghost, illustrated and confirmed by Scripture Authorities. In a series of Sermons evincing the Wisdom and Consistency of the Economy of Grace. With Notes and Illustrations, exhibiting new Evidences of the Truth, and the Authorities of the Doctrine, from the primitive Church and the Church of England. By the Rev. Frederick Nolan, a Presbyter of the United Church, 8vo. price 12s." The title is so explicit that we have nothing farther to add, than that the author's style is equally serious and animated; and that though his subjects are often highly coloured, they are taken from the life, and supported by the best authorities. We have great pleasure in warmly recommending Mr. Nolan to the perusal of the truly devout.

"Sermons on important Subjects: to which is added a Charge delivered to the Diocese of Meath. By T. L. O'Beirne, D. D. Lord Bishop of Meath. London. 8vo. price 10s. 6d." This is the valuable work of a Roman Catholic Prelate, to whom in his earlier life the state lies under considerable obligations, and not a few in his present comparative quiet. The late Lord Howe, in whose fleet he was a Chaplain; the late Duke of Portland, and Earl Fitzwillam, have conscientiously applauded and patronised him. We need not quote the subjects: they are doctrinal and practical, and of the kind that almost as well qualifies them for Protestants as for Romanists. They are serious, ardent, expostulatory, and highly impressive. We can conscientiously recommend them. The venerable Prelate sets an excellent example to all the clergy of his diocese, his nation, and his church.

"A Christmas Present: being Four Discourses on the Collects for the four Sundays in Advent. Published for the Instruction of the Inhabitants of West Tilbury. By the Rev. Sir Adam Gordon, Bart. Rector of the said parish. 8vo. The warm and benevolent piety of the distinguished author of this little volume is well known to our readers from former publications, with which he has endeavoured to render himself useful in his parish and in his generation. The character of his earlier writings pervades the present.

"Church of Laodicea; in two Parts. Part I. A Critical and Practical Lecture on Revelations iii. 14. 21. Part II. A Lecture on a Pharisaical Spirit: showing the nature and evil thereof. By Samuel Kittle, Minister of the Gospel. 8vo." This is a continuation of the work which our readers will find announced by us in p. 349, of our Retrospect for last year. The judgement we have there given of the author's style and talents will equally apply to the small volume before us,

The single Sermons which have reached us are but few, and chiefly of local or temporary importance. To Mr. C. Val. Le Grice, M. A. we are indebted for an excellent Sermon, entitled "Indifference not Christian Charity," from Matt. xiii. 18. in which the momentous subject made choice of is treated with considerable force and perspicuity. Dr. Holland has published a well-timed, though we think in some places a somewhat too highly seasoned

soned, Sermon against Methodism, entitled "The Imputation upon the regular Clergy of not preaching the Gospel, briefly considered, in a Visitation Sermon preached in St. Michael's Church, Lewes, June 23, 1813, published at the request of the Clergy." In subjoined notes the preacher gives a series of very curious and singular extracts from writers of the Methodistical persuasion to convict them of fanaticism and folly. We do not see much argument or Christian benevolence in heaping up such trash. It has been several times tried in the Edinburgh Review, but we have never heard that it reclaimed a single methodist from his errors.

Among the polemical and controversial works for the year, we perceive among those in favour of Dissenters generally, an "Abridgment of Neale's History of the Puritans, by Mr. Parsons:" "Lives of the Puritans, from the Reformation to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, by Benjamin Brook," 3 vols. 8vo. "Wilson's History of the Dissenting Churches." In favour of the Establishment an anonymous octavo volume, entitled "The Origin of the Constitution, or the Identity of the Church and State in Great Britain." The author's direct object is to attack the policy and point out the danger of the Trinity Bill, in which, with much learning, he discovers so much bitterness and visionary terror, and so many quaint conceits as, in our opinion, to injure the cause he has undertaken to defend. Against the Catholics we have a severe octavo miscellany, entitled "The Protestant Advocate," in which, as in most other miscellanies compiled by different persons, we meet with what is good, what is indifferent, and what is injurious. Against the Bible Society, we have received Dr. Marsh's "Reply to the Strictures of Dr. Milner;" and in favour of Unitarianism, Mr. Aspland's "Plea, in a Letter of Expostulation to the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Natural History, Physics, Metaphysics, Geology, Mineralogy, Mathematics, Architecture, Perspective,

WE shall pursue our usual order, and commence the present Chapter with a brief notice of the more prominent works that have occurred to us in the various branches of the *art of healing*.

"Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Consumption; addressed to Patients and Families. By Charles Peers, M.D. F.L.S. 8vo. price 4s." This is one of the boldest publications, in point of practice, that we have lately met with; yet we readily concede to the author ingenuity and a comprehensive mind. In daring to think for himself he supports his opinions with much plausible reasoning, yet in many instances, as it appears to us, from facts and cases that do not exactly apply: and we are much afraid that the term *rash*, by which he characterises the general practice of the present day, will hereafter be retorted upon him with redoubled force, if, in the versatility of medical fashion, his own views should to any considerable extent, and in their full latitude, be adopted as the routine of prescription and diet. In few words, Dr. Peers regards consumption as in every instance a disease of debility, and he hence argues that a debilitating course of treatment must necessarily add to the disease, and that a high, invigorating, and tonic plan of procedure is the only plan that can promise success.

He first points out the causes of consumption, which he discusses under the four following heads: "The *increased* variability of our atmosphere; the prevailing fashions; the increased mercantile interests; and general intemperance, excess, and debauchery." In several of these we fully concur: but there is a point or two which seems to require a little explanation. We do not fully understand what our author means by the "*increased versatility* of our climate." Its versatility has been a source of general conversation and general complaint as long, we suppose, as it has been inhabited; and, perhaps, there is no period in our history in which, in the course of tea-table conversation, the climate has not been said to be growing every year more and more fickle and insalubrious. Yet we want physical proofs of this: and without such proofs every thing should incline us to think the contrary; for the industry of the last century (we might add the last two centuries) has contributed incalculably to render

der the climate more healthy, and we may add less versatile or fickle from local causes, by draining immense ranges of bogs, fens, and morasses, widening the roads, stubbing up, even without mercy, extensive forests, widening our streets, and conveying all the filth of our cities and larger towns to convenient receptacles by subterranean sewers. The mischiefs from *increased mercantile interests*, are referred to the confinement of a greater number of men in an early age to the sedentary avocations of the counting-house and office, with the head inclined downwards, and the chest pressing against the desk in a small room, and in a confined situation, where many others are engaged, and where each of them must respire for hours the combined and impure mixture of the breath, and general exhalation of the whole." Now this picture of a merchant's counting-house is, in our opinion, very considerably overcharged: but admitting it to be correct, we should rather expect other diseases from such a state of things than pulmonary consumption; more especially jaundice, dyspepsy, and the general affections of a bilious or phlegmatic temperament.

Yet whatever be the cause "as this disease," observes Dr. Peers, "is founded in debility (which every symptom of it evinces and proves) the cure consists in invigorating the whole system.—The food should be of the most nourishing and invigorating kind; *animal food*, strong broths, and beef-tea, poultry, game, *wine*, *fat*, and (what is called rear) or underdone meat, are the most nourishing and proper; spices, if agreeable, and pickles. Salts and savory meats are to be allowed, and are frequently required by the stomach. To this may be added butter-milk, and that admirable nourishing substance called in Devonshire *clotted cream*.—The medicines must likewise be of the most strengthening kind. Avoid every debilitating means. The disease has too much of this to make it necessary for recovery. Violent evacuations are to be zealously avoided: of these bleeding is the worst: *when patients are bled, their death warrant is signed with their own blood:* medicines of the *most cordial*, bitter, and wine kind are most useful. Mineral waters are also highly efficacious. Stimulants, when allowable, strengthening and resinous gums, opiates, blisters, and warm plasters, the *cold bath*, &c. are highly important."

We have not time to examine into the question minutely; but shall offer two brief remarks. The first is, that our author's general rule, that the nature of a curative treatment ought to be opposite to the nature of the disease: for in this case the best mode to attack a frost-bitten-limb would be to expose it instantly to hot water or an active fire: and secondly, that from the very debilty of the system the food and medicines, if they are at all to be digested or turned to a good account, must be of the same character as the system itself, we mean weak and void of potency. A healthy stomach will digest meat and spices and wine, without the smallest exertion: the stomach of a consumptive patient will, in many instances, not digest them at all; but if able to do so, it will be for the most part with great labour, and febrile exacerbation, and consequently with an increase instead of diminution of the disease. In like manner, a healthy person has strength

strength enough upon cold bathing, to produce a reaction of the spasm hereby excited on the cutaneous vessels, and acquire a pleasant and salutary glow; the pale emaciated system of the consumptive patient, on the contrary, will continue in a shivering fit through the whole of the day, till relieved by the natural paroxysm of the evening, which will again be augmented in violence from the increased exertion necesary to get rid of the cutaneous spasm. But we have not space to pursue the subject further. The author's principle seems to be against him.

"A Brief Description of the Plague: with Observations on its Prevention and Cure. By Richard Pearson, M.D." 8vo. The direct object of this pamphlet is to guard the country against this fatal disease as it lately raged at Malta, and the introduction of which, without such guard, may, on any similar occasion, be suspected in consequence of the island having now become a part of the British empire. The general description, precautionary, and medical treatment, are well drawn up.

"Observations on the Diseases of the Army. By Sir John Pringle, Bart. Physician in ordinary to her Majesty; new edition." We merely notice the present edition of this most excellent work for the benefit of our young medical readers, who must of late have found a difficulty of providing themselves with copies. The editor has subjoined, at the first of the page, a variety of useful notes, pointing out the different improvements which have taken place in the army in respect to health, since the work before us was first published.

"Particulars of the successful Treatment of a Case of Hydrophobia, with Observations, &c. By Rice Wynne, Apothecary, Shrewsbury." 8vo. This is very improperly called a case of *hydrophobia*, for the writer expressly remarks that he "did not observe any additional horror at the moment" of offering his patient water. It is by no means certain that it was a case of *lyssa*, or canine madness, nor is it certain that the dog that bit him was under the influence of such disease. "The bitten part was *excised*," however; and recourse was afterwards had "to the *abstraction* of twenty ounces of blood" in the first instance, and ten in the second, with calomel and opium. The patient recovered, and might, perhaps, if he had been left alone.

"An Inquiry into the State of the Medical Profession in England, &c. By Robert Masters Kerrison." 8vo. price 6s.

"An Essay on Medical Economy; comprising a Sketch of the State of the Profession in England." 8vo. price 6s.

"A Letter to Sir Francis Millman, Bart. M. D. on the subject of the proposed Reform in the Condition of the Apothecary and Surgeon-Apothecary." 8vo.

The historical part, and much of the reasoning of all these are drawn up from Mr. Good's well-known *History of Medicine*. The subject, however, seems dropt for the present; if it should be resumed, we shall return to it in our next.

"Domestic Management; or the Healthful Cookery-Book. To which is prefixed a Treatise on Diet, as the surest means to preserve Health, long Life, &c. with many valuable Observations on the nutritious and beneficial, as well as the injurious Effects of Food: also Remarks on the wholesome and pernicious Modes of Cookery, intended as an Antidote

Antidote to modern Errors therein. To which is added the Method of Treating such trifling Medical Cases as properly come within the Sphere of Domestic Management. By a Lady, 12mo. price 6s." Dietetics formed an important part of ancient medicine, and still forms a considerable portion of that of Germany and the North. Many of the best articles in the very agreeable *Amœnitates Academicæ* are devoted to this subject. In our own country it has been comparatively but little studied: we have yet ample room for a good practical and philosophical treatise; till we behold which we must content ourselves with such books of a lower line and humbler merit as the present, which is written with good sense, and an adequate knowledge of the subject.

"Review of the First Principles of Bishop Berkeley, Dr. Reid, and Professor Stewart. With an indication of other Principles. By the Author of an Essay on Consciousness." 4to. Mr. Fearn's "Essay on Consciousness," which has lately undergone a new edition for the purpose of introducing some changes and various additional illustrations, escaped us on its first appearance, and we shall therefore briefly notice it in its present improved shape. It has the merit of deep, abstruse research, and acuteness of reasoning, especially in that part of it which points out the errors of earlier metaphysicians: but we have not heard that it has established a sect; nor from the singularity of its doctrines, and the prim precison of its style, is it very likely that it should ever have such an effect, at least to any considerable range. There are still great difficulties in the way of allowing extension to be a property of mind: but the doctrine that the mind itself is a minute spherule, or little ball, existing somewhere or other in the brain, and consisting of an essence or substance, of which we are just as ignorant, has something in it so radically quaint, that it is impossible to meet it without a smile, even in the severe regions of metaphysics: while the whole, after all, has as little stable support as any of the hypotheses on whose general ruins Mr. Fearn has attempted to erect his delicate and fine-spun edifice. The author himself, however, like most other system-builders, grows every year more attached to his invention, and the work immediately before us, is an additional proof in its support. It still proceeds upon the double service of pulling down former principles, so far as our author conceives them to be erroneous, and of establishing another in their stead; and its direct scope we shall allow Mr. Fearn to tell in his own words, as follow:

"The various theories which have since the days of Plato been formed concerning our intercourse with the *external world*, may, in the present inquiry, be reduced to two, which differ essentially. According to the first of these the sum of things consists in three different natures, minds, bodies, and ideas. The last named of the three are in this system supposed of a middle nature and middle locality between minds and bodies; and as such are the only objects perceived by sense. According to the second scheme, the world is made up of only two natures; these are minds and bodies. In this case mediate ideas are utterly discarded, as being wholly void of evidence, and absurd in their history. The first of the above schemes, under various modifications, obtained almost

almost universally from the high day of the Greek philosophy down to that of Dr. Reid. The last one was advanced to the world by Dr. Reid himself, and is doubtless a *vast amelioration* of the general subject in freeing it from a world of error, and bringing the great question, now at issue, within the reach of a satisfactory induction. But the philosophy of Reid stops not upon the explosion of *scholastic ideas*; for he being at the same time fixt in a certain opinion concerning the manner of the mind's existence, it was impossible for him to conceive any alternative (after discarding ideas) except to suppose that the figures we perceive are the identical external qualities of things around us. This therefore he assumed, together with an equally new and suitable account of the fact or process of perception; and the same is now highly maintained by his successor, combined with other views which couple it with merited celebrity, and must vastly add to procure it consideration. Now, continues Mr. Fearn, "Dr. Reid thought that authority is questionable; and made very frequent, liberal, earnest, and affecting appeals to ordinary men against the extravagancies of philosophers. Thus *called upon*, I would object to both the *old* and the *new* scheme, and apprehend there is a third course which alone ought to be followed; that is to say, the things we perceive *by sense* are neither *intermediate ideas*, nor yet identical qualities of external bodies; on the contrary, they may be *inductively* traced until they are found to belong to another substance."

Objecting as firmly as Mr. Fearn does to the two systems he has here stated (though we are surprised he should have limited himself to a notice of not more than two) we do not see any difficulty relieved by his own scheme. If the things we perceive by sense have no intermediate existence (intermediate as we apprehend in respect to the *sense*, and *external bodies*) and at the same time are so far from being identical qualities of external bodies that they may be clearly traced to *belong to another substance*: the only substance they can belong to in this case is the mind itself, of which they must be mere conceptions; and we seem instantly plunged into the pure immaterialism of Hume, Berkeley, and Father Malebranche; each of whom built upon the same basis, though the superstructure was in every instance widely, and indeed essentially different. Yet it is not into this gulph, which so readily presents itself to us, that it now appears we are necessarily compelled to fall by the adoption of Mr. Fearn's view of the subject, for he has prepared another which is equally open to receive us; and the *third* or other substance besides sense and external bodies to which *the things we perceive* may be *traced* and will be found *to belong*, is the *little ball*, or *mental spherule*, which without being material possesses extent, figure, and locality, and as we have already observed, is caged somewhere or other within the two hemispheres of the brain. We cannot quit the subject without expressing our surprise at the very extraordinary manner in which the system of Mr. Locke is here kept completely out of sight. We are sure Mr. Fearn has read him too carefully and correctly to be led away by the vulgar error of his having endowed

dowed ideas with corporeity or substantive existence of any kind, an error common to the French and German writer, and from which the Scottish school of common sense is by no means perfectly free. We have no doubt that Mr. Fearn believes Mr. Locke to have used the term *at all times* in its popular sense, as he himself expressly and repeatedly assures us he does, and in no scholastic sense whatever, whether of his own forming or of any other metaphysician's; and being positive upon this point, we are equally positive that our author could not include Locke's system among those of his first class, which supposes ideas to be of "a middle *nature*, and middle *locality* between minds and bodies;" and yet if it be not to be found here, we can find it in no part of Mr. Fearn's general description. Let the genuine sense which this great philosopher ascribed to this particular term be openly avowed and adopted, and his scheme will be found at least as simple as Dr. Reid's or that of Mr. Fearn himself, and while far more philosophical, just as much more modest, since a few trivial errors and terms used indefinitely excepted, so far as he proceeds he treads with a steady foot in a clear path-way, and where the track is involved in incomprehensible mazes, he modestly stops short, and leaves the fathomless obscure to others.

Let us turn to a more tangible subject, and examine what the year has afforded us upon the more open phænomena, and visible features of natural history and geology.

"Observations on the Brumal Retreat of the Swallow. By Thomas Forster, F. L. S. &c. 8vo." This pleasing little treatise, which for some time had been out of print, may now be readily obtained in consequence of a new edition. Mr. Forster is well known to have entered with much spirit and success as a champion in favour of the migratory habits of the swallow, when the question on this subject was some years ago revived under circumstances that gave it a considerable degree of ornithological interest. The present work contains his general arguments, together with the natural history of the swallow, and a systematic arrangement of the different species belonging to the genus hirundo. Preliminary to which we meet in a kind of prefatory essay some good remarks on natural history; and subjoined to which, in the form of an appendix, we have an extract from the author's journal, showing the earliest and latest appearance of the different species of swallow usually found at Clapton.

"Wonderful and Eccentric Museum; or Magazine of remarkable Characters. Including all the curiosities of nature and art, from the remotest period to the present time, drawn from *every* authentic source, &c. Illustrated with elegant engravings. Kirby. 4 vols. 8vo." In this general hunt for novelty, the editor, like most editors of similar works, seems more anxious about the marvellous, we had almost said miraculous nature, than about the accuracy or authenticity of his stories, notwithstanding his profession of adhering to genuine statements alone, and his modest declaration of having drawn from *every authentic* source. As an odd medley of facts and things that no science on earth can ever amalgamate, of burning mountains, and adventurous

adventurous heights, of physiological curiosities and trials for murder; the work may perhaps frequently find a place on the window stools of our breakfasting rooms, or the triple-row of a nest of hanging shelves, but it will seldom travel into a library, and certainly never where the library is select.

"Supplement to Rural Sports. By the Rev. W. B. Daniel," 8vo. 2l. 2s. The original work, consisting of three bulky and very expensive quartos, would, we should have thought, have formed sufficient scope for all that the genius or the reading of the reverend and learned sportsman before us could possibly supply upon *the subject*. And to speak the truth, such seems to be very nearly the fact: the present volume, which is almost as much of an *eccentric museum* as the work we have just noticed, is made up, for the most part, of a resuscitation of much of the dead matter of the preceding volumes, eked out with rare and curious anecdotes drawn from all quarters of the world, and now for the first time brought together, without the remotest cousin-germanship or connexion of any kind, either with themselves or the work whose pages they are destined to fill up; consisting of fragments or stories about Alfred the Great and modern pedestrians, stones falling from the air, and the best means for fattening poultry; play-actors' salaries, and the destruction of game; manufacture of gunpowder, and consumption of ale and porter, with an *et cætera* too extensive to be enumerated.

"Essay on the Theory of the Earth: translated from the French of Mr. Cuvier, perpetual secretary of the French Institute. By Robert Kerr, F. R. S. E. and F. A. S. E. with mineralogical notes, and an account of Cuvier's Geological Discoveries. By Professor Jameson." We have had frequent occasion to observe, that M. Cuvier has been long and sedulously engaged in an examination, discussion, and classification of the fossile remains of land animals found in the strata mine at Paris; which pursuit, and the discoveries it has paved the way to, has led him into somewhat of a new view of the structure of the earth's solid surface, and the changes it has undergone upon an extensive scale: His highly interesting and valuable opinions upon this curious subject he has lately offered to the public in four quarto volumes under the title of "*Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles des Quadrupedes.*" "Inquiries into the Fossil Ossifications of Quadrupeds." To this extensive work is prefixed an introductory disquisition (*Discourse Preliminaire*) concerning the present condition of the earth's surface, probable antiquity of its birth, and various extensive revolutions to which it has been subjected: and it is this *introductory disquisition* of M. Cuvier that is given to the world in the translation before us; a new title having been necessary in consequence of the subject being separated from its original connexion, and presented in a detached form. As we shall have occasion to notice the original work in our retrospect of foreign literature, we shall offer but a very few remarks at present, and these shall be chiefly directed to the opinions of the editor himself. Among the various bones that have been discovered in a fossile state, Cuvier appears to determine with a precision which cannot be called in question, that none of them are human. He has carefully examined

which have been conceived to be human by various phisiologists of celebrity, especially Spallanzani and Scheuchzer, and has no hesitation in rejecting the whole of them. This is a curious subject of inquiry: nor do we know any system that will fairly account for the non-appearance of the human skeleton in a fossil shape, amidst such abundance of skeletons, in a more or less perfect state, of other animals.

We are glad to find in M. Cuvier a warm supporter of the Mosaic system, and in Mr. Kerr an advocate of equal strength and judgement. The natural history of the globe, in the opinion of both, informs us every where that the commencement of the present order of things cannot be dated from a very remote period. It is easy, says M. Cuvier, to perceive, that though naturalists might have ranged sufficiently wide within the limits prescribed by the book of Genesis, they very soon found themselves in too narrow bounds; and when they had succeeded in converting the six days employed in the work of creation into so many periods of indefinite length, their systems took a flight proportioned to the periods which they could then dispose of at pleasure. The Pentateuch, continues M. Cuvier, has existed in its *present form* at least ever since the separation of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, when it was received as authentic by the Samaritans as well as by the Jews; and this assures us of the actual antiquity of that book being not less than two thousand eight hundred years. Besides which, we have no reason to doubt of the book of Genesis being composed by Moses, which adds five hundred years more to its antiquity. Moses and his people came out of Egypt, which is universally allowed to have been the most anciently civilized kingdom on the borders of the Mediterranean. The legislator of the Jews could have no motive for shortening the duration of the nations, and would even have disgraced himself in the estimation of his own people, if he had promulgated a history of the human race contradictory to that which they must have learnt by tradition in Egypt. We may therefore conclude that the Egyptians had at this time no other notions respecting the antiquity of the human race than are contained in the book of Genesis."

This is not very clearly expressed. If we understand the learned writer correctly, he means to hold out that the bible history of the human race, which he supposes to be written by Moses, though an original work and perhaps the first work on the subject, is drawn from materials at that time common to all the world, and has been handed down from generation to generation by patriarchal tradition. This *may* be the fact for aught we can prove to the contrary; but as we have no information on either side of the subject, we are somewhat surprised that our author should have expressed himself so confidently upon the point; nor do we exactly comprehend, even admitting that a history of the human race *must* have existed and been learnt by tradition in Egypt, why the Hebrews, at or before the time of Moses, *must have* learnt it there by tradition; for it is surely just as easy to conceive that the source of tradition *must* have been altogether as open to Abraham and the Chaldeans as to the Egyptians, and that the Abrahamic race *must* have as fully and punctually conveyed it from one link of their posterity

posterity to another, as the sages of Egypt are supposed to have done.

M. Cuvier in like manner follows the Mosaic chronology, or what is commonly so esteemed, in settling the catastrophe of the deluge as well as in adjusting the origin of the world. Macrobius, he observes, assures us that collections of observations of eclipses made in Egypt were preserved, which pre-supposed uninterrupted labour for at least twelve hundred years before the reign of Alexander. He notices that Simplicius, in his commentary on Aristotle, has asserted that some astronomical observations of the Chaldeans were sent by Calisthenas to that philosopher which reached back nineteen hundred and three years from the year 331 before Christ, at which time Babylon was taken by Alexander; which would carry us up to within little more than a century of the common era of the deluge. But our author forcibly objects to both these facts, by inquiring how it comes to pass, if such observations had existed, that Ptolemy, to whom they must have been of the utmost value, makes use of none that go farther back than the æra of Nabonasar, 747 years before Christ? He observes, at the same time that a nation may make great progress in one science when such one is chiefly attended to; and that "three hundred years did not intervene between Copernicus and De La Place, the celebrated author of the Mecanique Celeste; though some wish to believe that the Hindus must have have had many thousand centuries to discover their astronomical rules." Our author in consequence proceeds next to an attack upon the antiquity of the astronomy of India; and is of opinion that the proofs which have appeared conclusive in favour of that antiquity are of little weight, and have been most of them satisfactorily refuted. He quotes on this subject with particular approbation the Systeme du Monde (and we are glad to see him thus playing off M. De la Place in some measure against himself) and the well known paper of Mr. Bentley in the Asiatic Researches.

"An Introduction to Geology, illustrative of the general structure of the earth; comprising the elements of the science, and an outline of the geology and mineral geography of England. By Robert Bakewell." 14s. 8vo. This work is composed in an easy and familiar style, and with as little use of technical terms as possible. Indeed we think Mr. Bakewell has in various instances scarcely given sufficient credit to his readers for the comprehension they may be fairly supposed to possess, and has rather darkened and bewildered his subject in a hunt after simplicity. We also think he has not paid sufficient attention to the improvement of the Wernerian system, by the admission of a class of local or accidental formations, intended to include the plaster quarries at Paris, and other basins of a similar kind. It is thus he accounts for the origin of geology: "Till about the middle of the last century, the structure of the earth had scarcely engaged the attention of philosophers. *Near that time* (Why is this put so indefinitely?) Lehman, the German, first observed that there are certain rocks which occupy the lowest relative situation in different countries, and that these rocks contain no organic remains: hence he gave them the name of primary, and

and established a division between them and the rocks by which they are covered, in which the remains of animals or vegetables frequently occur: the latter he called secondary. In our own country the Rev. Mr. Michell was the first person who appears to have had any clear views respecting the structure of the external parts of the earth: they were made public in a valuable paper on the cause of earthquakes in the Philosophical Transactions in 1759. About twenty years afterwards Mr. John Whitehurst published his "Inquiry into the original State and Formation of the Earth." His observations were principally confined to the rocks and strata of Derbyshire. Independently of its speculative opinions, this work was highly valuable as an attempt to describe the geology of a district from actual examination. The great variety of original information it contained, and its general accuracy, will remain a lasting monument of the writer's industry and ability. Mr. Whitehurst, however, fell into the same error with the celebrated Werner in Saxony, an error to which the first cultivators were particularly exposed, that of drawing general conclusions from partial observations, and forming universal theories from a limited number of facts." There is no doubt that we have long been in want of a good elementary treatise on geology. Most of those we have hitherto possessed are too much directed to the study of mineralogy, or geognosy as it is now called, as a science; professor Jameson is too recondite for the general student. M. Brogniart not much less so, and M. De Luc somewhat too much engaged in maintaining his own opinions; and hence there is at present room for such a work as Mr. Bakewell here offers us. Yet we must caution him, in taking our leave, against the use of long words where short ones would answer much better, a fatal mistake in a book pretending to the utmost simplicity; and especially against the use of any words whose real import he sufficiently shews by the employment of them that he has not fully entered into. Had this been the case, he would not have told us that many persons have "lamented their inability to comprehend the geognosy of *Mr.* Jameson, and their equal *inaptitude of attention* to the *polemical controversies* of M. De Luc." *Inaptitude of attention* is a reflection not upon M. De Luc's style, but upon the powers of those who thus complain; and as to *polemical controversies*, we must leave Mr. Bakewell to explain the meaning of this phrase in his second edition.

"Tracts on many interesting parts of the Mathematical and Philosophical Sciences. 3 vols. By Charles Hutton, L. L. D. and F.R.S. &c." 8vo. Whatever proceeds from this celebrated veteran in the career of physics and mathematics, must be entitled to the attention of every one. There is no man perhaps who has kept a more steady eye on the progress of these branches of human science through the last half century than the author before us, and we may add, who has done more to put whatever such progress has produced of most value into a popular shape, and to enrich it by observations of his own. Much, however, that is now offered to us, has been before presented to the world in some form or other; but it is high time that the different pieces

pieces should be collected into an uniform body, and assume that connexion which they possess as well from subject as from unity of origin. Yet a part of the miscellaneous and interesting volumes before us is replete with new materials; and we may say of the whole, that it embraces an important variety of objects both in pure mathematics and in natural philosophy; historic sketches of several branches of the mathematical sciences; solutions of problems and demonstrations of theorems in geometry and algebra; the theory of bridges, a subject on which the author is particularly worthy of being studied; computation of the earth's density from observations made by the late astronomer-royal at Schehallier; new experiments in gunnery, and a tract on the theory and practice of the same art. The tracts which contain these discussions are thirty-eight in number, of each of which some account is given in a short preface prefixed to the first volume. They are not arranged according to the subject, but we believe more nearly according to the order in which they were written.

"From this mass of useful and miscellaneous matter we select the following interesting notice of an English mathematician but little known in the present day; we mean Robert Recorde, who flourished in the sixteenth century. "To this ingenious man we are indebted for the first treatise in Algebra, then named the *Cossic Act*, in the English language. In a book which he wrote on arithmetic he is stiled "*Teacher of Mathematics, and Practitioner in Physic at Cambridge.*" It was for some ages the custom among the Moors, and after them among the Europeans, to unite the title, as well as the practice of medicine, with those of chemistry, alchemy, mathematics, and astrology. It is remarkable that as the Moors were not more famous in Europe for their skill in medicine than their dexterity in calculation, the terms physician and Algebraist appear at first to have been regarded as almost synonymous. When the bachelor Sampson Carasco, in Don Quixote, in his rencounter with the knight, was thrown from his horse and his ribs broken, they sent in quest of an Algebrista to heal his bruises. The first part of the arithmetic above-mentioned was published in 1552, the second in 1557, under the title of "*The Whitestone of Withe, which is the second part of Arithmetic, containing the extraction of Rootes; the Cossike Practice, with the Rule of Equation, and the Workes of Surde Nombres*" The book is a dialogue between the master and the scholar, and treats of figurative numbers, extractions of the square and cube roots, &c. Then follow Algebra or Cossike numbers, and the rule of equation, commonly called Algeber's Rule. Here the character = is employed for the first time to signify equality. Recorde says "*And to avoide the tediouse repetition of these woordes* is equal to, *I will sette down as I doe often in woorke use a pair of parallels, or gemowe lines of one lengthe thus* =; *because noe 2 things are moare equalle.*" In discussing the question, whether Algebra originated in Asia or Hindostan, Dr. Hutton decides for the latter country, to which he also ascribes the first rudiments of our common arithmetic.

"Description of an Improved Method of Delineating Estates; with a sketch of the progress of landscape

Landscape Gardening in England, and Opinions on the Picturesque Effects attempted in Rural Ornament. By T. Horner, Land Surveyor, &c." 8vo. price 7s. 6d. This, for the subject, which is so generally treated of in a different manner, is, upon the whole, a modest and unassuming performance. The author's object is to suggest a mode of drawing, which, to the mathematical accuracy of the common mode of surveying and laying down estates, may give a pictorial representation of the landscape scenery by which it may be enriched, and which, in some instances, forms half the advantage. "Suppose," says Mr. Horner, "a fine estate in a distant part of the kingdom to be offered to the public, and a competition existed among landed proprietors for the purchase of it: they will naturally wish to confirm the idea they have formed of it from the description, by reference to the Surveyor's plan submitted to them. But how little will the one correspond with the other! the tall full-grown woods, the sweeping lawn, the noble expanse of water, the rich variety of arable and pasture land, the wide range of prospect, embellished with distant views of towns, castles, and magnificent residences; the assemblage of interesting objects, belonging either to busy or retired life, are all out of sight in the plan; and even that is neutralized and reduced to a spiritless outline. On the contrary, let there be laid before them a finished drawing which shall comprise an exact plan of the whole property, and shall also represent it, and the circumadjacent country, with the fidelity of a mirror, and their interest will be more powerfully excited than by any florid eloquence of description, or elaborate detail of advantages which the estate may indeed possess, but which the mind cannot picture to itself by the aid of words alone." Whatever can best tend to give a correct idea of the real beauties and advantages, whether direct or collateral, of an estate, must be unquestionably the best plan, as well for family possession as for transfer by sale: but to speak the truth, much of the objection of our author in respect to this last point, is visionary, for such is the figurative eloquence poured forth on every occasion from the pulpit of the modern auctioneer, that the estate is far more frequently over-painted than under-painted; and perhaps there is no arena in ancient or modern times in which such a profusion of tropes and figures, hyperboles and ejaculations, rhetorical gestures and attitudes, are brought forward and hurried together as in the forum before us.

"An Illustration of the Architecture of the Cathedral Churches of Lichfield and Chester. By Charles Wild." Folio. 3l. 3s. Both these venerable fabrics, of which we may say, in the words of Fuller, that "when their substance shall have passed away their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity," are well worthy of being described, and are also well described by the present author. The first Cathedral at Lichfield was founded by St. Chad, the fifth Bishop, and finished about the year 700. It was dedicated to St. Peter, and underwent few alterations for the first five or six centuries. At this last period it was almost wholly rebuilt by the munificence of Roger de Clinton; but the ravages of time have left few vestiges of its original architecture. "The centre spire was erected after the

the great rebellion, in which the original one was destroyed, and all parts of the fabric suffered such considerable dilapidation from war and fanaticism, that when Bishop Hacket was appointed to this see in 1661, he found his church "a splendid ruin," which cost upwards of 9000l. to render suitable to its sacred purpose. The zeal and liberality with which that excellent Prelate restored his church (he contributed 1683l. 12s. out of his own purse) justly place him among its principal benefactors; but it must be noticed with regret that his munificence was directed by the false taste of the age wherein he lived."

The present Bishopric of Chester was one of those established by Henry VIII. soon after the suppression of the monastic institutions: its diocese, originally placed in the province of Canterbury, but afterwards transferred to that of York, contains the entire counties of Chester and Lancaster, parts of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire; the Chapelry of Holt and Iscoed in Derbyshire; and the churches of Hawarden, Hammer, Bangor, Worthenbury, and Chapelry of Orton Madock, in Flintshire." The plates, which are beautiful, are drawn and etched by the author, and aquatinted by M. Dubourg.

"An Introduction to Perspective; adapted to the capacities of Youth. In a Series of pleasing and familiar Dialogues between the Author's Children; accompanied with illustrative Plates, appropriate Diagrams, and a sufficiency of practical Geometry. To which is added a Compendium of *genuine* Instruction in the art of Drawing and Painting. The whole comprising a body of Information adapted equally to the Simplicty of Youth, and to Mental Maturity. By Mr. Hayton." 8vo. price 10s. 6d. Mr. Hayton is a useful writer upon the subject he has undertaken, but he would be more useful if he were less diffuse. His title is a specimen of his general style; not *full* only, but *overflowing*. It gives, however, so minute a table of contents, that we need add nothing further.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Commerce, Political Economy, Jurisprudence, and Law.

THE very extraordinary political events which characterised the opening of the current year, had a natural tendency to direct the general train of our historical lucubrations to the particular spots or places which were the chief scenes of suffering and of triumph, or the particular tribes or people by whom Europe has been enabled to revive from her late melancholy degradation, and to hurl, though with, perhaps, too subdued a vengeance, the thunderbolt of her collected power on the head of the madman who has so generally insulted and ravaged.

"Hamburgh; or, a particular Account of the Transactions which took place in that City during the first six months of the year 1813: with a view of its present State; and of the Conduct of the French during their six years' possession, both before and after its being annexed to the French Empire. By Hannibal Evans Lloyd, Esq. late of Hamburgh." 8vo. price 7s. This work gives us the different acts of the tragedy, but without the happy denouement, the catastrophe of dramatic justice. We have the blessed reigns of Davoust, Lauriston, and the earlier part of that of Vandamme; each of whom seems to have vied with each other in his peculiar system of pillage and extortion. So universal, indeed, was the plunder of public and private property, of charitable institutions, state funds, domestic escritoirs, and household furniture, during the first occupation of this unhappy city by the French, that on their expulsion, there seemed to be a general desert and exhaustion; and on their return it must certainly have demanded the merit of keen ingenuity to devise one single scheme in addition, that should be capable of driving the press farther, and squeezing out another drop from the general dregs of the community. To this merit, however, the French are fully entitled; and the miseries of the first visit, heavy as they were, bear no proportion to the intolerable weight of tyranny and wretchedness reserved for the second. We have not time to copy Mr. Lloyd's descriptions; those who are desirous of knowing them in detail must peruse the work itself.

"Narrative of the most remarkable Events which occurred in and near Leipsic, immediately before, during, and subsequent to the sanguinary series of Engagements between the allied Armies and the French,

French, from the 14th to the 19th Oct. 1813. Illustrated with Military Maps, exhibiting the movements of the respective Armies. Compiled and translated from the German, by Frederic Shoberl." Here the military bustle, and the multiplied misery increase, if possible, in a tenfold ratio over the preceding account. It is a most impressive picture of one of the chief struggles by which the liberties of Europe were wrested from the hands of its accursed tyrant, narrated by one who was in the very thickest of their horrors—horrors almost unparalleled in the history of human carnage. And even now that the battle is won, and the usurpation of France abolished, as we trust, for ever, we cannot look back to the agonies behind us without shuddering, nor even contemplate the miseries endured by the enemy himself without distress. The short narrative before us is one of many which have been drawn up for the purpose of awakening the sympathies of the English people in behalf of the sufferers whom victory has found destitute, and has been compelled to leave them so. We need not now add that the appeal has not been made in vain.

"A View of the Political State of Europe, after the Battle of Leipsic, gained Oct. 18, 1813." 8vo. price 4s. This is an anonymous translation from the French; and the events which have occurred since the publication, sufficiently prove that the author had an extensive foresight, correct views, and a just apprehension of his subject. The work opens as follows: "An usurper had for fourteen years employed two means of subjugating the world. He deceived it by his policy, he astonished it by the prowess of his arms. More fortunate than skilful, he drew from his successes that weight of opinion which gave credit to its falsehoods, and found in these same falsehoods the means of insuring his success. From the day of the eighteenth of Brumaire, when France was reduced under submission to his will, as Lombardy afterwards was at Marengo, and Prussia at Jena, Bonaparte, scattering terror before him, only plucked the laurels of victory, because his adversaries were defeated before they came into the field. Emboldened by every new enterprise, his confidence increased in proportion with their timidity; and thus, stifling the truth, he traversed Europe, upholding his real with his imaginary strength. The two powerful auxiliaries to which Napoleon owed his successes in his former campaigns, falsehood and terror, failed him in his invasion of Russia. The people of Russia understood less than the more central nations of Europe, a tissue of falsehoods established upon customs, upon things, upon names, to which they were absolute strangers; and terror could make little impression upon simple-minded people, who, inflamed with an ardent zeal for their religion, with love for their country, with attachment to their sovereign, had their hearts too full of these generous sentiments for any villany to find a place in them."

We add another paragraph for the purpose of congratulating the author upon the realization of the principles it proposes, and which put him in the light of an honest and consummate politician. "The war has been hitherto carried on with the enthusiasm of the crusades: this enthusiasm has supplied every thing: it has abridged the time; it has rendered

dered all privations easy to be borne. To make peace without narrowly watching the tyrant who has been compelled to make it, would be a want of foresight which cannot be supposed; and it is obvious how dear and how difficult to be executed would be the precautions necessary for the ensuring its duration. *To treat with such a man* would be condemning ourselves to be tied down to views of which we are ignorant, to principles which do not exist: for France will have no system as long as she remains delivered up to the caprices of her oppressor. The emancipation of Germany, the admirable deliverance of Holland are obtained: these great acts are nearly consummated. The completion of the independence of Spain, the liberation of the Low Countries, that of Italy, and the annihilation of that vast political preponderance which threw all the powers of the first rank into the second, ought to be at present the objects of the war. France must be separated from every thing that is not herself: she must abandon those incorporations which have only increased her weight without adding to her colour—*one step more would compromise the general tranquillity for years.*"

"A Concise History of the Cossacs: including a Sketch of the Customs of the Greek Church. By Samuel Kittle." 12mo. This is a little work collected upon the spur of the occasion from many of our best writers on the subject, as "Brown's History of the Cossacs;" "Clarke's Travels in Russia;" Tooke's, and other Histories of the Russian Empire. To this singular description of people the defence of the borders of the Russian empire is almost entirely intrusted; and soldiers by profession, and zealously attached to the interests of their country, they fulfil the task entrusted to them with exemplary ardour and fidelity. They are of different origins and customs, though, generally speaking, they are all members of the Greek Church: and to great activity and frugality of living, they unite the virtue of cleanliness in a far higher degree than belong to most other subjects of the Russian empire. Some of the tribes are rude and of barbarous appearance; but many of them are wealthy, well-dressed, and of polished manners. "There is something," says Dr. Clarke, (we quote him from the volume before us) "extremely martial in the first appearance of a Cossac. His dignified and majestic look, his elevated brows, and dark mustachoes, his tall helmet of black wool, terminated by a crimson sack, with its plume, laced festoons, and white cockade; his upright posture, the ease and elegance of his gait, all contribute to give him an air of great importance. Their dresses were much richer than any thing we had seen in Russia, although all were uniform. Each person's habit consisted of a blue jacket, edged with gold, and lined with silk, fastened by hooks across the chest. Beneath the jacket appeared a silk waistcoat, the lower part of which was concealed by the sash. Large and long trowsers, either of the same materials as the jacket, or of white dimity, kept remarkably clean, were fastened high above the waist, and covered the boots. When on active service every Cossac must keep two horses, one for himself, and the other for carrying provisions, &c. Their arms consist of a lance almost twelve feet in

in length, with an iron head, and a small streamer attached to it; a brace of pistols, with a cartouche-box; a sabre, without either guard or cross-bar, and a whip, which hangs from the right wrist, and which, being made of platted leather as thick as one's thumb, they sometimes use against a conquered enemy, as well as for stimulating their horses. The Cossacs are well adapted for desultory warfare. They are very hardy, contented with scanty subsistence, and can take the field every day without intermission. They are encumbered neither with artillery, baggage, nor store-waggons. A piece of felt serves for their cloak, their tent, and their bed; and they feed their horses upon whatever they can find. They are seldom disciplined to attack in squadron, but act only as skirmishers, and are indefatigable in harassing the enemy."

"A Pictursque Journey to the North Cape. By A. F. Schioldebrand." 8vo. The name of Colonel Schioldebrand is already known to us as a fellow-traveller with M. Acerbi. But the work before us is as distinct as possible from M. Acerbi's Journal: the peculiar attention, the objects described, the feelings, are as different as may be: M. Acerbi's is a work of general observation; Colonel Schioldebrand's of natural history and picturesque landscape. The original edition was accompanied with sixty plates, from drawings taken by the author on the spot, of the romantic scenery of this wild and interesting country. We much wish these plates had accompanied the edition before us, which, in truth, is unaccountably shorn; for of the whole sixty we have only in the translation before us, which is drawn from a subsequent edition published at Stockholm in 1805, two plates and a map. The whole of the tour is highly entertaining and instructive: but we have no need to add any thing more at present, as we have given ample specimens in a preceding department.

"A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, &c. Illustrated with a Map of Abyssinia, numerous Engravings and Charts. By Henry Salt, Esq. F. R. S." large 4to. Mr. Salt has already acquired a distinguished and honourable name from his having accompanied Lord Valentia in a voyage and travels through nearly the same course in 1805, and having contributed much of the most interesting part of the history of that expedition, as afterwards published by this enterprising nobleman; and especially from the elegant picturesque drawings with which he enriched the work. It does not appear with what kind of public character Mr. Salt was invested in his second voyage: we are briefly and abruptly told, without preface or introduction, in the opening of the first chapter, that "on Friday, the 20th of January, 1809, having *taken charge of some presents* prepared for the occasion, and *a letter* from his Majesty the King of Great Britain, addressed to the Emperor of Abyssinia, I embarked at Portsmouth on board the Marian, *a merchant-vessel*, commanded by Captain Thomas Weatherhead, and on the 23d we set sail on our destination, in company with an East India fleet under convoy of his Majesty's ship Clorinde." The Emperor, however, he never reached; but this is of little importance, for the Emperor of Abyssinia has long been possessed of no more power or authority in his own country than the Grand Mogul in India; residing

residing neglected at Gondar as the former does at Delhi, with a very small retinue of servants, and an income by no means adequate to the support of his dignity, so that he possesses neither wealth, power, nor influence in the state, while the government is entrusted to a prince or ras of the empire under the high office of behoudet or vice-gerent, an office in Mr. Bruce's time filled by Ras Michael, but in the present day by Ras Welled Selassé, to whom indeed the present emperor Ayh Egwala Sion is mainly indebted, in consequence of various disputes in the imperial family, for his elevation to this empty pre-eminence. It was to this ruling prince of the empire that Mr. Salt was introduced on his arrival at Chelicut, and from his representations and impediments he found it a hopeless and perhaps an useless task to pursue the emperor any further. "Under these circumstances, says he, I was under the disagreeable necessity, *in compliance with my instructions*, of delivering over his majesty's letter and presents, designed for the emperor to the ras." The presents appear to have been a painted glass window, a picture of the Virgin Mary, and a handsome marble table; all of which we are told arrived fortunately without accident, and were immediately sent to be placed in the church at Chelicut, and all of which the ras was highly delighted with, but none of which determine whether Mr. Salt was specially commissioned by the crown or by an association of merchants, though we rather suppose the latter, and that the name of his majesty was added to give weight to the mercantile investment. How far the attempt, if we are right in our conjecture, may succeed, we know not. In the course of the parting visit which Mr. Salt paid the ras, the latter we are told "expressed in the strongest terms his gratitude to our sovereign for regarding the welfare of so remote a country, and professed his most anxious wish to encourage by every means in his power, an intercourse with Great Britain; at the same time expressing with great sincerity his fears that the country which he commanded might not be able *to supply any quantity of valuable commodities sufficient to recompense our merchants* for engaging in so precarious a trade, more especially as the Abyssinians were not much acquainted with commercial transactions, and the unsettled state of the provinces prevented the usual circulation of gold and other articles which are brought from the interior."

It is obvious from the above and similar passages, that the Abyssinians in general, and the court of Chelicut in particular, is highly favourable to the name, pursuits, and customs of Great Britain. They are especially impressed with the greater purity of christianity as practised in our own country, and ardently desirous of copying from our established principles and discipline. There is one lesson, and by no means an unimportant one, which christianized Europe might learn from them, and that is kind and domestic treatment of slaves. It is an extraordinary fact, that slaves are no where so wretched and destitute of all comfort and attention, as under European settlers and planters in different parts of the world. Among the Abyssinians and Mahometans, as formerly among the Greeks and Romans, they are regarded as a part of the family to which

which they belong, and for the most part meet with kindness and confidence. In Abyssinia all the slaves, as in the West Indies, are negroes, chiefly derived from the Shangalla tribe; and hence this is a term used to import negoes in general.

Mr. Salt feels compelled to admit Mr. Bruce's general merits and accuracy; but we think we perceive a little invidious desire to question his statements and talents on unnecessary occasions, and which we can scarcely ascribe to any other feeling than that of jealousy from Bruce's having anticipated him in his expedition and remarks. In the midst of much valuable and original information, Mr. Bruce has unquestionably been betrayed into occasional errors, sometimes from his predominant passion of personal vanity, and sometimes from an apparent lapse of memory from the length of time that intervened between the period of his travels and the composition of his narrative: but we cannot approve of the manner in which Mr. Salt has gratuitously blazoned them, nor do we see sufficient reason for accusing him of a "wilful deviation from the truth" in every instance adverted to by Mr. Salt. The chief instances to which this heavy accusation applies, are Mr. Bruce's assertion that Ras Michael gave him a shummut or district, and on one or two occasions the command of a corps of black horse; that he was engaged in several of the battles of Serbraxos; that he possessed great facility in acquiring a knowledge of the languages of the country, and actually acquired a very full knowledge of several of them; and that the Worari, a predatory tribe of Amhara, in their feasts cut off the flesh which constitutes their banquet from living oxen, which are for this purpose driven into the banquet-room, and eat it while warm. Mr. Salt also notices, as other points which affect Mr. Bruce's veracity, his singular description of the dress and appearance of Guangol, his connexion with Amba Yasous, Prince of Shoa, and his concealment of the fact that in his excursion to the sources of the Nile or Abaio, he was accompanied by a young Italian of the name of Balugani, who attended him in his travels. Now by far the greater part of these severe accusations are founded upon the colloquial testimony of Dofter Esther, a learned Abyssinian, who at the present time resided at Chellcut, though formerly, when Mr. Bruce was in Abyssinia, at Gondar, and who was intimately acquainted with the British traveller. But admitting that Dofter Esther's evidence goes to the whole extent contended for by Mr. Salt, it would only be the evidence of the memory of one man against the evidence of the memory of another, and of his notes made at the time; and it is surely at least as likely in the course of so long an intervening period that Dofter Esther should have failed in his recollection as that Mr. Bruce should have done so. Mr. Salt indeed appeals collaterally in one or two instances to Mr. Bruce's M.S. notes found on his decease, and published in Mr. Murray's edition; but they do not appear to us to be of much weight upon the occasion: they prove, indeed, that Balugani was with Bruce in his excursion to the sources of the Nile; but as Mr. Bruce has not *denied* this circumstance, his concealment,

cealment, even though it were intentional, can only be ascribed to personal vanity; it may be said, perhaps, to be disingenuous, but his veracity is in no respect touched by it. ' After all, Dofter Esther, even from Mr. Salt's own account, speaks in high terms of him, and had a high opinion of him. " He described Mr. Bruce (says our author) as a noble-looking man, and mentioned that he was greatly noticed by the king, being one of the *baalomaals*, or favourites about the court." He admits that there was a corps of black horse from Sannaar, but asserts that they were commanded by Idis, a Musselman; which may be true, whilst Bruce's assertion may be true also, as the latter may have preceded or succeeded Idris in such command. According to Mr. Salt, he said, in continuance of the conversation, that Bruce was never actually engaged in war, though, continues he, " he was present during our battle;" which is a sort of Irish proof of his never having engaged in war. In like manner Mr. Salt says, he told him that " no shummut or district was given" to Bruce; yet he immediately adjoins that " he was said to have frequently asked for the government of Ras el Feel, which was at one time held by Netcho, and subsequently by Ayto Confu:" both, if we understand, soldiers, and in the highest reputation at the court; and the only conclusion therefore is, that Bruce, who was even by the admission of this evidence a fellow-candidate, must also have had the character of a soldier, and the same sort of repute; and hence probably did, as he himself asserts, either precede or succeed these chiefs of the empire. With respect to the Wo-rari, Esther admits that on particular occasions they cut slices of flesh from their oxen, and eat them raw. Pearce was a witness to the fact; and the only question therefore relates to the extent to which this barbarous practice has ever been carried. Bruce declares that he was a witness to its being pushed to the extreme stated above; the others never saw it practised in the same manner:—Esther indeed does not seem to have seen it practised at all, and only speaks from report, admitting at the same time " the licentiousness of the higher orders to be carried to much greater lengths in Amhara than in Tigré;" and hence the testimony of both these, so far as it goes, seems rather to corroborate than contradict Mr. Bruce. While in regard to his acquisition of the dialects of oriental Africa, the information of Esther is loose indeed, but so far as it goes is altogether in favour of our countryman. He declared that Mr. Bruce did not *speak* the Tigré language, nor much of the Amharia; *that he could read the characters of the books of the country on his first arrival*; but did not possess any *great* knowledge of the Geer; though, in this repect, as well as with regard to the Amharia, *he* CONSIDERABLY *improved himself during his stay in the country*. An interpreter accompanied him, of the name of Michael, through whom he *generally* conversed, always indeed, when he (Dofter Esther) had been present: *but he understood that he occasionally spoke Arabic with the Mahommedans.*

Now what is the general amount of this loose colloquial information, even as given by Mr. Salt himself? In few words, that he was more or less acquainted, as he declared himself to be, with the leading

leading dialects of the country; that he knew something of the Amharic, and something of the Geer, "in both which he improved himself considerably during his stay;" that he was so well versed in Arabic as to converse in it with the Mahomedans; but that he did not *speak* the Tigré language, though "he was acquainted with the character of the books of the country on his first arrival," and was hence probably able to read and understand it; and yet upon this very evidence of Dofter Esther, Mr. Salt brings it as a charge affecting Mr. Bruce's veracity, that he had declared himself to have acquired a knowledge (Mr. Salt's words are "an almost historic knowledge") of the languages of the country. Our readers must pardon the extent of these observations; they have been extorted from us, not from a desire to oppose Mr. Salt, but from a powerful desire to do justice to the merits of a British traveller whose character for general accuracy and veracity has of late years been rising on the continent, from a comparison of his statements with those of subsequent adventurers, and which appears to be most unduly called in question by a fellow countryman, who should rather have stepped forward to protect than to impeach him.

"A Voyage round the World in the years 1803 and 1806, performed by order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander I. Emperor of Russia, in the ship Never. By Urey Lisianski, Captain, &c." 4to. In our retrospect for last year we noticed at some length Captain Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, under the same imperial orders. In effect the volume before us is in many respects only a second narration of the same expedition; the voyage having been suggested by the Russian-American company to determine whether a passage for provisions and other necessaries from the mother country to the Russian colonies in the north-west coast of America might not be rendered less tedious and irksome by water than by land; and his Imperial Majesty having been graciously pleased to appoint two ships for the purpose, the Nadedja, and the Never, the former commanded by Capt. Krusenstern, and the latter by the gallant author before us, with an extension of the original object, so as to convert the undertaking into a voyage of circumnavigation and discovery, constituting the first attempt of the kind that ever proceeded from the Russian coast. Hence much of the present work is little more than a repetition of that which we have noticed already; yet as the two ships had different destinations assigned them on their arrival in the Pacific Ocean, as well as from occasional separations, we have various descriptions in the present work, which are not to be found in Captain Krusenstern's. Of these the chief are an account of the Easter and Sandwich Islands, of Cadiack, and of Sitka, or Norfolk Sound, together with an account of an island and shoal in the South Seas, hitherto unknown, but of some importance to its navigation. From these parts of the work we have extracted a passage or two in another department of this volume. The reader will find Captain Lisianski a plain intelligent man, gathering such information as must strike a common understanding in witnessing the different novelties of the voyage, and seldom advancing beyond this: but though there may be less entertainment in this man-

ner of seeing and describing things than in the high flights and unrestrained ardour of our picturesque travellers, there are evident marks of truth and honesty which are not always visible in the former, and we feel more peculiarly attached to the Captain of the Never from his having studied in the school of our own country, and passed a great part of his life in learning the tactics and fighting the battles of the British navy. In 1807 he commanded a (Russian) squadron in the Baltic, and was the same year appointed commander in chief of all the private yachts and vessels of his Imperial Majesty. In 1808 he had also the command of a line-of-battle ship of 74 guns, but finding his constitution in a debilitated state, from the different climates he had visited, and the many years he had spent at sea, he was under the necessity, in 1809, of retiring from the service, with the half-pay of a post-captain; and in this honourable retirement he has drawn up, by order of the imperial court, the narrative before us, and submitted it to the judgment of the world.

"Travels to the Source of the Missouri River, and across the American continent of the Pacific Ocean, performed by order of the government of the United States in the years 1804-1806. By Capt. Lewis and Clarke. Published from the official report. Ever since Louisiana has been obtained possession of in a manner not very creditable either to the buyer or seller, the government of the United States has shewn a strong desire to become acquainted with its interior, and the adjoining territories. For this purpose Lieut. Pike was dispatched on a survey in 1805, and continued his investigations till arrested by a detachment of Spanish troops and carried prisoner to the capital of New Mexico, from which he did not reach home till July 1, 1807. We have already noticed the result of his discoveries. A more extensive expedition, however, towards the same quarter, was projected by the American government in 1806, and entrusted to Captains Lewis and Clarke, who were directed to explore the river Missouri from its confluence with the Mississippi to its source, and to proceed thence across the mountains, and return by the first navigable water trading to the Pacific. They traced the Missouri to its mouth, being a length of 3000 miles, and returned by the great Columbia. The present is the official journal; but as we have already noticed the same course as published in a more succinct work, we shall not resume the subject at present. It is chiefly interesting as a geographical document.

"Voyage to the Isle of Elba, with Notices of the other Islands in the Tyrrhensian Sea. Translated from the French of Arsenne Thiébaut de Berneaud, Emeritus Secretary of the Class of Literature, History and Antiquities of the Italian academy, &c. By William Jordan." 8vo. We opened this little volume, full fraught with a curiosity excited by the closing scene of the vast political tragedy so lately exhibited on the continent; and our expectation was not a little sharpened by the long list of qualifications applicable to the subject which M. Thiébaut asserts himself to be possessed of, in a long laborious introduction, his minute acquaintance with the country he undertakes to describe, and his utter contempt for all the histories and historical sketches to which this

this insulated spot has hitherto given rise, which, in fact, though few and somewhat meagre, are as numerous and as ample as the insignificancy of the island may be supposed to demand. Having thus produced his self-signed testimonials, he proceeds with undisturbed gravity of countenance to search for records of this obscure and diminutive spot among the events of the Trojan war, and in the darkness of the middle ages; and in a brief sketch of a sort of universal history, the name of Iloa, Ilua, or Elba, starts upon us incidentally at the remote distance of once in four or five pages, for the most part upon some circumstance of no moment or interest whatever. Having ransacked the pages of Greek and Latin, of Byzantine and Italian writers, for its etymology, history, and politics, our author enters in an equally rambling and unsatisfactory manner upon its natural history; with every branch of which science, however, in spite of all his pretensions, he appears to be far less acquainted than with classics and paleology; so that while the last furnish us with every thing that is doubtful, the first exhibit proofs of almost every thing that is erroneous or confused. He commences with telling us that "the soil of the Isle of Elba is throughout hilly, unequal, and *unfertile, because it is uncultivated.* The depth of the *vegetable earth*, it is true, is not considerable, but *the slightest labour is sufficient to render it productive*;" so that the soil is at once peculiarly *unfertile* and peculiarly *productive*; and this is all we are told about the soil in the *vegetable earth*, as it is also called in the same breath; for we have no information whatever, whether this soil or earth is principally loam, chalk, clay, or sand, or a mixture of any of these. It appears, however, in the subsequent pages, that the soil of this island, whatever it consist of, is peculiarly rich and fruitful, and that grain and pulse of all kinds, aromatic plants, the vine, and fruit-trees of all sorts, except the apple, not only grow readily, but are cultivated by the inhabitants with great industry. The agave or American aloe, flourishes extensively, and its fibres are not only substituted for hemp, as in many other places, but by a peculiar process are here made to possess that flexibility in which they are so generally deficient. The hemp of this plant is denominated by the Elbrise *Zeppara*; and M. Thiébaut asserts that in this island the plant flowers *annually*. The Indian fig (a loose and indiscriminate name) he also tells us grows with equal luxuriance; and we afterwards learn that the particular species of the plant which he adverts to (for all the genus coctus, compressed, with proliferous joints, are denominated Indian figs, or prickly pears) is the coctus coccinillifer, the nopal or cochineal-insect plant; and he ventures to suppose that this valuable insect might in consequence be as well propagated here as in either of the Indies; but though the climate may suit the plant, it may not equally suit its parasite, yet the attempt is worth trying. In like manner, he conjectures that, as there are no silk-worms, this valuable insect, as well as the bee, would thrive here well, and prove a new source of wealth to the inhabitants; yet we have no information whether the mulberry-tree flourishes or is likely to flourish here; and his list of honey plants

is but very meagre. Among the indigenous insects Mr. Thiébaut mentions the aranea guttata, or blood-red spotted spider. This, as a venomous insect, is known to all entomologists, but we think its powers are here somewhat too highly coloured. We are told that it dwells solitarily, "attacks the scorpion itself with great fury, and is extremely fond of its blood. Its bite, the author continues, is very dangerous, and is mortal even to man. Its venom is of a very subtle nature, and the more active the more intense the heat;" and he immediately adds, "I have not learned that it has *done any mischief* in the island, doubtless for want of particular observations on the part of medical men:" a dangerous insect, whose bite is mortal to all animals existing in an island without doing mischief, is indeed a phænomenon; yet it is equally strange that our author should suppose the presence of a medical practitioner indispensably necessary for a man to know whether or not any one has been bitten or stung to death.

The commerce of the island we are told "consists in the importation from Leghorn and Marseilles of grain, cheese, cattle, and other articles of prime necessity, and in the exportation of tunny, common wine, Vermont, and Aliatico wines, vinegar, which is in great request, granite, and above all *ore*." This ore, as we are told in another chapter, is of iron, for which the island is peculiarly celebrated; nor do we learn from the present history that it contains ore of any other kind. Our author adverts to the celebrated mountain of iron ore in the neighbourhood of Rio. "An entire mountain of the height of one hundred and ninety-four Florentine fathoms bathed by the waves of the channel of Reimbino, and situated near the little village of Marina, almost in front of the ancient port of Naleria, forms the iron mine; *mons totus ex ea materia*, says Pliny. M. Thiébaut calculates the ore as containing from seventy-five to eighty-five parts of pure metal in the hundred, "from which (says he) a very good *natural steel* is obtained;" what is the meaning of this? He gives us no experiments or analysis to authorise his calculation, yet he roundly opposes M. Haüy, who had previously, and from experiments, calculated the proportion at from 50 to 60 per cent. It appears that the mountain is both dug into and blasted, and that "a hundred and twenty vessels of the island, of from forty to a hundred tons, are daily employed in the service of exporting it to the neighbouring coasts, chiefly to Corsica. The manufacture of salt seems also to be extensive.

We do not much understand M. Thiébaut's system (if system he have) either of geology or geogosy. He traces no proofs of volcanic origin, and indeed undertakes to *demonstrate* that there is no such thing, yet he is doubtful whether the present appearances may not have been produced by igneous fusion; that which *undoubtedly* (says he) tends most to establish the existence of *subterraneous fires* in the isle of Elba, is the presence of granite, which prevails in abundance." Here is more ignorance than we could possibly have expected from any man of general reading in the present day. Our author confounds primary or plutonic with secondary or volcanic fusion. No advocate for the former has ever contended

contended that granite is produced by subterraneous *fires*, however it may have been by primitive heat and fusion of some other kind. Yet M. Thiébaut conceives not only that granite may be formed by *igneous* fusion, but that its existence is a proof, and an *undoubted* proof (though not only *doubted* but denied by three-fourths of the geologists of the present day), that such fusion did exist primarily, and produce the present constitution of things. In like manner he tells us that the earths of the Elban artizan "are at the present day not susceptible of being vitrified:" and that "at present, the workmen, either owing to their necessities or their ignorance, no longer possess the art of making bricks, nor of burning them to the highest degree that the material will bear, and thus giving to the *natural gluten* of the clay the consistence necessary for the use for which it is intended." The whole of which we must leave to our readers to explain, humbly confessing that it far surpasses our own inferior powers: as it does also to understand the following definition of mica, and the *salts* adverted to: "mica is considered to be a substance, the composition of which arises solely from the mixture of *uleanic salts*." The chief towns are the following:—Porto Ferrajo, containing a population of about 3000 souls, "the spot most advantageously situated either for war or commerce," commanding a fertile valley, enlivened with country seats, and intersected by the fine road leading to Zungone, five miles distant: Rio, containing about 2800 souls, mean and poor in its buildings, and chiefly celebrated for its iron mines: Porto Langona, built by Philip III. of Spain, in 1596, well fortified, and containing 1500 souls, the environs of which are described as peculiarly pleasant and picturesque: Capo Liveri, and its district, the whole comprising about 1100 inhabitants, and enriched with a mine of magnetic iron ore, or natural loadstone. Besides which the island contains the canton of Campo, which, with it dependencies, Sant, Ilario, and San Pietro, comprise about 1700 inhabitants; and Marciana, which in its entire district embraces 2790 inhabitants. Of the natural genius, make, or character of the inhabitants, our author gives us little or no information; and from the period in which the work was written, is necessarily silent upon the fund of happiness in reserve for them from the introduction of their recent system of political government.

"Letters written in a Maharatta Camp during the year 1809, descriptive of the Character, Manners, Habits, and religious Ceremonies of the Maharattas. With ten coloured Engravings, from Drawings by a native Artist. By Thomas Dewer Broughton, Esq. late Commander of the Resident's Escort at the Court of Scindia." 4to. price 2l. 2s. This volume is written in a plain, unornamented style, and is chiefly worthy of perusal as the remarks of an author present at the scenes he describes, and penned at the moment of their occurrence. The communications are in the epistolary form, the letters being addressed to the writer's brother, and the whole is introduced by a concise, but warm eulogium upon the Marquis Wellesley, in the shape of a dedication. The Mahrattas, according to the account before us, have nothing interesting belonging to them. In their customs and manners

manners they combine all the knavery of civilization with all the barbarity of savages; low cunning with deadly cruelty; and miserable servility to their governors, with untamed passion and relentless fury towards each other. Nor are their pleasures more numerous or of a higher rank than their virtues. The endearments of domestic comfort, the love of home, the delights of social intercourse, are nearly banished from their filthy and wretched habitations. The character of Scindia himself, the Mahratta Prince, as drawn at full length in these letters, is perfectly in unison with that of his degraded subjects. A low debauchee, involved in debt, caring for nothing but momentary gratifications, puerile in his condescensions, and mean in his haughtiness, he excites no other sensation than that of contempt. In the naked and uncivilized barbarians of the South Sea Islands we meet with far more to interest us than in the half-civilised habits of this tribe of villany and worthlessness.

"The Re-establishment of an Effective Balance of Power stated to be the only solid Basis of a general and permanent Peace. By T. M. Musgrave, Esq." 8vo. price 2s. 6d. This pamphlet was written a short time before the downfall of Bonaparte, and the establishment of peace with the new order of French Government. "An effectual balance of power," says Mr. Musgrave, "must be re-established. The basis of this equipoise of relative political strength must be laid in the reduction of the physical and political resources of France: the limits of her empire must be circumscribed. They can never be permitted, with any prospect of security for the future repose of Europe, to form an outline of colossal power, which a restless spirit of aggrandisement is incessantly labouring to complete, but which will never be completed while the weakness and folly, and blindness of the continental nations supply the *chief* of this mighty empire with materials for the daily nourishment of his insatiable ambition." Mr. Musgrave has judged rightly so far as his judgment carried him; but he does not seem to have had all the penetration of the author of the "View of the Political State of Europe," which we have already noticed: nor to have taken into the account the *expediency* or *possibility* of getting rid of this *chief*, this man of "insatiable ambition," and thus fixing the greater security on a comparatively impregnable basis. As to the rest, many of the observations here offered are just as pertinent now as before the peace of Paris; for we lament to see that the "balance of power" is not even yet by any means re-established; while the great protraction which is given to the important discussions at Vienna, fill us with increasing anxiety upon the subject.

"Idea of a Constitution for Italy." 12mo. This ideal modification of a government is the work of Mr. Kelsall, to whom we shall have to return presently, as the author of the "Phantasm of an University." He commences with a general survey of the different Italian States, and their existing, or rather their late political constitutions: in doing which he discovers a very extensive acquaintance with his subject, and an accurate judgment in analyzing them. The different principalities thus indagated are those of Monaco, Piedmont, Genoa, Milan, Venice,

Venice, and the Venetian Terra Firma, Tuscany, the Republic of Lucca, San Marino, Rome, Parma, and Naples. Of the larger states he assigns by far the greatest merit to the political and municipal laws of Florence; next, to those of the Venetian Terra Firma, but not to those of Venice itself; while the worst government is that of Rome, and next to Rome that of Naples. The happiest and best regulated of the whole is San Marino, the chief of which our author ascribes to its minute extent and authority, and its being necessarily therefore cut off from the public and private contests and intrigues for rival power which have so peculiarly distinguished and often ruined the larger states. Mr. Kelsall compliments Pius VI. upon his patronage of a variety of public works, as the draining the Pontine Marshes, "a work which from its magnificence and utility surpasses the attempts of the Roman emperors, and has bidden fair to cleanse the campagna of its malaria;" his arranging the statutes in the Campidoglio. But the municipal and domestic regulations, if regulations they may be called, are in the highest degree wretched. Of six-and-thirty thousand houses, which Rome is estimated to contain, twenty thousand are possessed in mortmain. The territorial wealth is very inconsiderable in the Ecclesiastical State, and certainly would not suffice to maintain the inhabitants. Rome is unable to export any part of her productions or manufactures to the general markets of Europe. Take the following as a specimen of the manner in which the husbandry of the little land cultivated near Rome is conducted. At the seasons for tillage and harvest a number of persons repair to a public place near Rome, with one, two, or three hundred pairs of oxen: the landholders then appear, hire a certain number of them, and send them to their estates, frequently at a distance of eight or ten miles. There, in the course of a single day, they finish all the labours of the season. In one and the same day they plough and sow; and, in the same manner, at the proper season, reap and get in the harvest in one day. They reckon near ten thousand mendicants. The cultivation of the mind is here as much neglected as that of the earth. There is not a sovereign in Europe, where authority is less limited by the laws; his word admits of no contradiction. With respect to the administration of the finances there is neither judgment nor economy in the application of the public money. As for the military power, the shadow of an army obeys the shadow of a commander. There is neither military spirit nor discipline. The *sbirri* are privileged robbers. The tribunals are composed of prelates, who are in general ignorant of the laws. As for the penal power, the multitude of asylums, of which there are near seven hundred in Rome; the inability or connivance of the *sbirri*; the power and protection of the individuals; the little severity used in, and the want of a proper guard for the gallies, reduce it to a mere bug-bear. Every house on which a cardinal has placed his arms, becomes a place of refuge for creditors against judicial executions. These asylums are very numerous: some cardinals make a traffic of them. Impunity is a revenue at Rome. Assassinations are

are frequent: they never occasion either horror or disturbance; the inhabitants see them committed coolly before their eyes, and relate them with the same indifference."

For all these evils, and others of a similar kind existing in other principalities, our author proposes that Italy shall be united into one general state or kingdom, to be superintended by three co-estates, consisting of a consul, a senate of nobles, and a senate of the representatives of the people. He has taken especial pains to work up this outline of a constitution into a detailed and efficient body, by assigning to each estate, under distinct chapters, its respective prerogatives, powers, and numbers. Into this part of the work, however, it is not necessary to follow him, since, whatever may be its merit or defects, Italy has no chance of experiencing the benefit of the one or the mischiefs of the other.

"The Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy; promulgated at an Assembly of the General and Extraordinary Cortes held at Cadiz, March 19, 1812. Translated from the Castilian, by Daniel Robinson, Esq Lieutenant of his Majesty's Royal Marine Forces, &c." 8vo. price 4s. We have here another ideal scheme of a constitution, not indeed planned, like the preceding, in a closet, but formally drawn up, discussed, acceded to, and ratified by the whole Spanish people, through the medium of their constitutional representatives, and which in many respects is full of wisdom, and could not fail of being beneficial to the Spanish nation. Yet the whole is to this hour merely *ideal*; it has never been assented to by Ferdinand VII. who, with a species of gratitude new to the world, made the first use of his restoration to his people, and of the sceptre which they had religiously, and at the expense of an ocean of blood, guarded for him in the midst of weaknesses and imprudences that had urged him to his own captivity and ruin, by tumbling down the noble fabric which had thus been erected by public consent, and by throwing its virtuous projectors into dungeons. To speak the truth, the constitution is built rather too much upon a democratical basis: in some points it appears unnecessarily to infringe on the royal prerogative; and in a few cases seems contradictory to itself: for, according to the 131st article the Cortes alone are to *propose* as well as to decree the laws: to approve, *before their ratification*, the treaties of *offence, alliance*, subsidy, and commerce; and to adopt the system of weights and measures; while, by article 171, the king is allowed to submit, for the consideration of the Cortes, such laws or reforms as may appear to him beneficial; but only to declare war, but "to make or ratify peace (which last can only be done by treaty) laying afterwards authentic documents of the same before the Cortes;" and to regulate the coinage of money. All these little discrepancies, however, might have been easily reconciled, and must have been so by Ferdinand VII. proved himself worthy of the immense sacrifices which the loyal and patriotic Spaniards have made for him.

"Oriental Commerce: containing a Geographical Description of the principal places in the East Indies, China, and Japan; with their Produce, Manufactures, and Trade, including

including the Coasting or Country Trade from Port to Port: also the Rise and Progress of the Trade of the various European Nations with the Eastern World, particularly that of the English East India Company. From the Discovery of the Passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the present Period; with an Account of the Company's Establishments, Revenues, Debts, Assets, &c. at Home and Abroad By William Milburne, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's Service." 2 vols. 8vo. A work of this kind, if drawn up from authentic documents, by a person practically acquainted with the subject, cannot fail to be of great value to the country and to the world at large, since the passing of the late bill for the future regulation of the Company's privileges and prerogatives. The work before us seems to possess this character, and the title is so full that it requires no further detail.

"A Dissertation of the Public Fisheries of Great Britain, explaining the Rise, Progress, and Art of the Dutch Fishery, and shewing by plain and unequivocal demonstration that the establishment of a National Fishery on similar principles will extinguish the Poor's Rate, afford Universal Employment, prevent the necessity of Naval Impress, increase Trade, diminish Taxes, supply constant and perpetual Food, and augment the Wealth of the Nation annually Twenty Millions of Pounds; with the Method proposed for effecting such Establishment. By Henry Schultes." 8vo. 2s. 6d. The author seems to be an honest man with a sanguine heart, and warm imagination. His book is worthy of attention; and if any one of the multitudinous benefits which it promises so confidently could be obtained by the adoption of its principles, it would be a sufficient remuneration for the trouble of carrying his scheme into effect.

"State of the Prisons in England, Scotland, and Wales, extending to various places therein assigned, not for the Debtor only, but for Felons, and other less criminal Offenders. By James Neild, Esq." 4to. This is the most valuable work upon this most important subject which we have met with since the days of Mr. Howard. The author is an active and intelligent magistrate of Buckinghamshire; a man of high character and independent fortune, who having no party to serve, no place to seek for, no pension or reward of any kind to solicit, sallied forth with the spirit of Mr. Howard in his bosom upon the benevolent tour of visiting the different prisons throughout the country. He went upon the pure principle of benevolence, unauthorized, unaided, and alone, and accordingly, as might have been expected, "many prisons proved difficult of access," and "the information which he sought was not easily obtained." Considerable information however of real importance, much to the credit of many active magistrates, and much to the discredit of others, is here freely and openly, and most impressively communicated. This book should be in the hands of every magistrate, and of every minister.

In the department of the Law, the chief works that have occurred to us are on the popular subject of

of libel. The principal are by Mr. George, Mr. Starkie, and Mr. Holt. They are all works of merit, Mr. George enters more fully into the question of the right, benefit, and proper boundaries of political discussion; and Mr. Starkie connects with this inquiry the law of slander and *scandalum magnatum*. Mr. Gibson Atherby has published a useful "Practical Treatise of the Law of Marriage, and other Family Settlements."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE LETTERS.

Containing Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Classics, Philology, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

"THE Transactions of the Royal Society," which for many years have held a very distinguished and leading rank in the path of science, bid fair, from the contributions of the present year, to maintain their pre-eminence. The articles indeed are so much more numerous than in the volumes for many former years, that we can do little more than copy their titles.

I. "A Synoptic Scale of Chemical Equivalents. By W. H. Wollaston, M.D. sec. R. S." This scale, which is founded on the system of proportions suggested by Dr. Higgins, and in a considerable degree established by Mr. Dalton, is calculated to save an immensity of trouble in ascertaining a variety of other constituents in a compound substance, by a previous adjustment of its chief principles. It is a sort of Gunter's sliding rule applied to the science of chemistry, and will at least serve for a specimen of the extreme facility of mechanical approximation, which may very frequently be advantageously substituted for computations that are often more laborious than the accuracy of our data warrants.

II. "Methods of clearing equations of Quadratic, Cubic, Quadratocubic, and higher surds. By William Allman, M. D. communicated by the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Banks. K. B. P. R. S."

III. "Analysis of a new Species of copper Ore. By Thomas Thomson, M. D. F. R. S. &c." This mineral was discovered by Dr. Benjamin Heyne, about the year 1800, in the peninsula of Hindostan, near the eastern border of the Mysore, where copper mines were formerly worked in abundance. The two native species of the salt hitherto obtained were malachite, and blue carbonat or copper azure, both which contain water as a constituent, and are therefore hydorus carbonatis; the first, according to Klaproth, holding twice as much as the second. The ore here analyzed is anhydrous, or without water; when heated to redness it loses its carbonic acid, but undergoes no further change.

IV. "The Bakerian Lecture; on some new Electro-chemical Phænomena. By W. T. Brande, Esq. F. R. S. Prof. Chem. R. I." A prosecution of the experiments upon the Voltaic apparatus commenced by Sir Humphrey Davy, to determine the elementary principles of bodies as acid, alkaline or inflammable,

mable, by the course they took towards the positive or negative surface of the machine. Many of these are various, but the whole detached, and the only position they seem to lead to is the identity of common and voltaic electricity.

V. "An Account of some new Experiments on the Fluorine Compounds: with some Observations on objects of Chemical Inquiry. By Sir H. Davy, F.R.S. &c." In this paper Sir Humphrey speaks modestly, not to say doubtfully, of the simple existence of chlorine. "In the views," says he, "that I have ventured to develope, neither oxygen, fluorine, nor chlorine *are asserted to be elements*; it is *only* asserted that as yet they have not been decomposed. It approaches strongly, however, to the former assertion, that they should equally possess specific names, and form the radix of compound names to substances supposed to be combined with them."

VI. "Some Experiments and Observations on a new Substance which becomes a violet-coloured gas by heat. By the same." An account of the discovery of iodine, with additional experiments on this curious substance, and observations on its name, and the names of its compounds.

VII. "An Account of a Family having Hands and Feet with supernumerary Fingers and Toes. By Anthony Carlisle, Esq. F.R.S. In a Letter to the President." The family here alluded to is that of Zerah Colburn, well known as the extraordinary calculating boy. The extra limb consists of a fifth finger and a sixth toe, the monstrosity having been propagated from the fourth generation, sometimes on the part of the father, and sometimes on that of the mother. The father of this boy is formed like himself. The whole family consists of eight children: of these four sons inherit this peculiarity more or less complete; two sons and two daughters are free from it.

VIII. "Experiments and Observations on the Influence of the Nerves of the Eighth Pair on the Secretions of the Stomach. By B. C. Brodie, Esq. F.R.S."

IX. "On a Fossil Human Skeleton, from Guadaloupe. By Charles König, Esq. F.R.S. In a Letter to the President." This paper gives an account of the very extraordinary fossil human skeleton lately brought home from Guadaloupe by the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, and deposited in the British Museum. It was found imbedded in a block of marble, destitute of its skull and cervical vertibræ, together with a few other limbs, with observations upon the supposed cause and age of the petrifaction.

X. "A New Method of deducing a First Approximation to the Orbit of a Comet, from three Geocentric Observations. By James Ivory, A.M. &c."

XI. "On the Affections of Light transmitted through crystallized Bodies. By David Brewster, LL.D. &c."

XII. "On the Polarization of Light by oblique Transmission through all Bodies, whether crystallized or uncrystallized. By the same."

XIX. "On new Properties of Light, exhibited in the optical phenomena of Mother of Pearl, and other Bodies to which the superficial structure of that Substance can be communicated. By the same."

XXI. "Results, &c. of the Same." We unite these articles as produced by the

the same celebrated hand upon the same subject:—a subject of high importance in physical science, and of great curiosity to all. We have formerly had occasion to touch upon M. Malus's very able prosecution of a similar line of study: this admirable analyst is now no more, and the farther development seems to have fallen almost exclusively into the hands of Dr. Brewster. It is probably from the cultivation of this department of physics that philosophy will be enabled to unfold the secrets of double refraction, to explain the forms and structure of crystallized bodies, and to develop the nature and properties of that ethereal matter, which, while it enlivens all nature by its presence, performs also a principal part in the operations of the material world. The discovery of the polarization of light by oblique reflection is, perhaps, the most important that optics has received since the discovery of the principle of the achromatic telescope: we now know, however, that refraction enters into this curious fact as well as reflexion, and the discovery of this last phenomenon is of great importance. The first paper before us gives experiments on the polarizing power of the agate, and the formation of elliptical coloured rings; the second is on mica, and plates of glass of different thickness; the third on mother of pearl, and similar compounds; the subject of the fourth is sufficiently explained in its title, and the principle it endeavours to establish is, that glass brought to a certain temperature forms two images and polarizes them in an opposite manner, like all doubly refracting crystals, the one image being coincident with the other.

XIII. "Further Experiments on the Light of the Cassegrainian Telescope, compared with that of the Gregorian. By Captain Henry Cater, Brigade Major. In a Letter to the President."

XIV. "Astronomical Observations relating to the sidereal part of the Heavens and its connexion with the nebulous part: arranged for the purpose of critical Examination. By William Herschel, LL.D. F.R.S." A continuation of the subject which we have formerly noticed at some length, with additional facts and arguments in its support.

XV. "On a New Principle of constructing his Majesty's Ships of War. By Robert Sepings, Esq. one of the Surveyors of his Majesty's Navy. Communicated by the President." The deficiency of oak timber in our country, but more particularly that of a large scantling, renders every scheme valuable that has a fair prospect of reducing its consumption, and compensating for diminution of size. In pursuance of this valuable object, Mr. Sepings attempts, in the paper before us, to support the two following axioms: "that the strength of a fabric consists not so much in the quantity of the materials of which it is composed, as in the disposition, the connexion, and the security of its several parts:" and "that the strength of a ship, let its construction be what it may, can never exceed that of its weakest parts, and consequently that partial strength produces general weakness."

XVIII. "Remarks on the Employment of Oblique Riders, and other Alterations in the Construction of Ships. Being the Substance of a Report presented to the Board of Admiralty; with additional Demonstrations and Illustrations. By Thomas Young, M.D. For. Sec. R.S."

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A valuable article, but incapable of abridgment.

XVII. "Some further Observations on Atmospherical Refraction. By Stephen Groombridge, Esq. F.R.S."

XVIII. "Propositions concerning some Properties of Tangents to Circles; and of Trapeziums inscribed in Circles, and non-inscribed: together with Propositions on the elliptic representations of Circles upon a plane surface by Perspective. By Richard Hey, LL.D."

XV. "An improved Method of dividing Astronomical Circles, and other Instruments. By Captain Henry Cater."

XXII. "Considerations of various Points of Analysis. By John F. W. Herschel, Esq. F.R.S." An able mathematical article, but incapable of abridgment. It consists of four parts: on the calculus of generating functions; on logarithmic transcendents; on functional equations; on differential equations of the first degree.

XXIII. "Observations on the Functions of the Brain. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. F.R.S." This seems to have been intended as a practical inquiry into the truth or fallacy of the craniology of Drs. Gall and Spurszheim; for in the outset it alludes to "attempts to procure accurate information respecting the functions that belong to *individual portions* of the human brain, but the author, in the prosecution of his paper, speaks of the brain more generally, and examines not so much the functions of its individual parts, as the mischief resulting from injury to membranes, vessels, or other organic dependencies common to every part, as undue pressure of water upon the brain; concussion of the brain; its blood-vessels preternaturally dilated or diseased; extravasated blood, &c.

XXIV. "Further Experiments and Observations upon Iodine. By Sir H. Davy, LL.D. &c."

XXVII. "Some Experiments on the Combustion of the Diamond and other carbonaceous Substances. By the same." A continuation of the experiments commenced in article V.

XXV. "Observations respecting the natural production of Saltpetre on the walls of subterraneous and other Buildings. By John Kidd, M.D. Professor, &c." These observations were made on the walls of the Ashmole Museum, a building erected by Sir Christopher Wren, in the reign of Charles the Second: these walls produce spontaneously a nitrat of lime, and it appears that exposure to the atmosphere is absolutely necessary to such production; that it occurs more largely in winter than in summer; and that in the former darkness seems more favourable to its production, and in the latter, light.

XXVI. "On the Nature of the Salts termed Triple Prussiates, and on Acids formed by the union of certain bodies with the Elements of the Prussic Acid. By Robert Perrett, jun. Esq."

XXVIII. "Some Account of the Fossil Remains of an Animal more nearly allied to Fishes than any of the other classes of Animals. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. F.R.S." The animal possesses an elongated jaw, something like the mandibles of the grallæ order of birds, but with teeth like those of the pike: for the rest the remains are so detached and imperfect, that no decided opinion can be offered on the exact nature or methodic arrangement of the animal.

XXIX. "On an easier Method of procuring Potasium than that which

which is adopted. By Smithson Tennant, Esq. F.R.S." Well worth attending to, but incapable of abridgment.

XXX. "On the Influence of the Nerves on the Action of the Arteries. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. F.R.S." Designed to show that the nerves which accompany the arteries regulate their actions, and that it is through their agency that the blood is distributed in different proportions to the different parts of the body.

XXXI. "On the Means of producing a double Distillation by the same Heat. By Smithson Tennant, Esq. F.R.S." The process is performed by a double boiler, the steam of the first passing through the second in a vermicular direction.

XXXII. "An Account of some Experiments on Animal Heat. By John Davy, M.D. F.R.S." This article tends rather to the support of Dr. Black's than of Dr. Crawford's hypothesis; but the author does not pretend to satisfaction even in his own views.

"Transactions of the Geological Society, Vol. II." We congratulate this useful and spirited institution upon its success, which, we trust, will continue to increase. The present volume consists of thirty-four articles in different branches of mineralogy, petrifactions, crystallography, and what may be called chemical geology. We have not space to enumerate the whole of these. One among the most valuable is, Dr. Mac Culloch's paper "On certain Products obtained in the Distillation of Wood, with some account of Bituminous Substances, and Remarks on Coal." It enters clearly into the nature of naphtha, petroleum, maltha, and asphalt; and points out the more obvious distinctions between amber, mellilite, the subterraneous resins of Cologna, Bovey, and Highgate, respecting the three last of which "it may fairly be doubted," says Dr. Mac Culloch, "whether they are not more entitled to be ranked among the mineral substances, strictly so called, than the other vegetable matters which are found in alluvial soils." He also traces the gradation from naphtha to asphalt, through a series of undefinable petrolea, and carries the analogy into coal, the next general variety of bitumen. He gives, however, an account with which we have been particularly pleased, of the nature and manufacture of the pigment well known by the name of *bistre*, and has now, for the first time, introduced this term from the fine arts, into physics, as the distinctive appellation of the pitch of distilled wood, of which in reality it consists. We have also been pleased with the remarks "On the fresh-water Formations in the Isle of Wight, with some Observations on the Strata over the Chalk in the south-east part of England. By Thomas Webster, M.G.S." This paper exhibits an enlarged view of the subject, and a minute and accurate attention to subsidiary points in connexion with it. And we may here observe that the two writers whom we have now adverted to are the chief contributors to the volume, Dr. Mac Culloch having furnished not less than nine separate articles; and Mr. Webster two; though we perceive that the society is also indebted for two distinct papers, and both valuable, to Mr. H. Phillips, one "On the Veins of Cornwall," and the other "On the Oxyd of Tin," produced so largely in Cornwall; with a minute examination into

into the doctrine of the primitive crystal, and its modifications, and an attempt to ascertain with precision, the admeasurement of the angles by means of Dr. Wollaston's reflecting goniometer.

"Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Vol. XXXIII." 1813. We are happy to say that we perceive no abatement in the general spirit and activity, or the patriotic and beneficial range of the society before us, as the following brief and limited survey will, we think, sufficiently evince. In the department of agriculture, W. C. Knowles, Esq. has displayed a useful and indefatigable industry in planting and bringing into cultivation three hundred and eight acres of waste land, and adopted a very useful plan for furnishing his land with manure from the public stables, built by him for the change of horses on the Brighton road. Mr. J. Whately has communicated the means of providing from potatoes, at a very little expense, a farina or nutritious diet, less liable to suffer by long keeping in the action of sea-water than other farinaceous matter. It insures a certain profit to the farmer, retains much nourishment in a small bulk, and ought to form a part of the stores of the army and navy. Mr. Green has sent specimens of useful implements for forming regular sets from potatoes, by means of a peculiar drill, a considerable quantity of the original potatoe being still left for the use of hogs and cattle. Mr. Edward Knight, in a paper on growing beans and sowing wheat, undertakes to shew how to prevent the usual custom of a fallow. He has also some useful observations on the best method of preserving weak swarms of bees produced after the month of June.

In the department of Chemistry, T. White, Esq. has published a paper on the application of forest bark to tanning leather, which is highly entitled to attention, and is one of the most valuable communications in the volume. Mr. Tilley has devised a cheap and commodious blow-pipe, which will be found peculiarly useful in various chemical experiments; and Mr. Drury has pointed out a method of converting the farina of potatoes into a cheap paste to answer the purpose of wheaten flour.

In the department of the Fine Arts, Mr. Farey has presented a useful instrument for drawing ellipses; Mr. Tallmart various figures from a new and improved composition of bronze; Mr. Charles Wilson a method for rendering oil painting on canvas more durable; and Mr. Williams a plan for a painter's easel of superior advantage to that in common use.

In Mechanics, Mr. Barralet has proposed a new kind of shop-board for tailors, which is calculated to do away many of the mischiefs resulting from that in general employment; and in Mechanics, Mr. Hughes is entitled to the thanks of the public for simplifying the common scaffolding employed in repairing the interior of domes. Mr. Whitford has proposed a mechanical substitute for leeches well worthy of attention; and Mr. Arthur Young a new and improved fire-escape. There are also various important papers on our public fisheries.

We proceed to the section of the *Biography* for the year, and cannot open it with a more interesting or lamented

lamented name than that of General Moreau.

"Memoirs, &c. of General Moreau; illustrated with a portrait, a fac-simile of the general's last letter to Madame Moreau, and a beautifully engraved plan of the Siege of Kehl, and the passage of the Rhine, in 1796. By John Phillippart, Esq." 8vo. We should much like to see a work that would do honour to the great and prominent character before us, drawn up from confidential communications, and an intimate knowledge of the man by a hand capable of tracing the moving springs of a mind so richly stored, so active and comprehensive, yet at the same time so even and subdued, so prompt in its conceptions, and bold in executing them, and, to crown the whole, so correct in its views and unswerving in its principles as the mind of M. Moreau. Such however, is not the merit of the volume before us, which is drawn up from little more than resources open to every one, and even these not always selected with requisite judgment and taste; and it is hence the merit of the man rather than of the biographer, that has induced us to notice it in this part, and to extract from it a passage or two that will be found in another part of our volume. The whole is indeed trite and meagre, and unworthy of so high a theme or of the general expectation of the public. There are some characters that seem peculiarly formed for adversity; it is the only sphere in which they can open and expand their bold gigantic powers, and become nursed into fame and immortal glory; in the piping times of peace, and the sunshine of general prosperity becoming as torpid and inert as a marmot in the Alpine snows. Such seems to have been the temperament of General Moreau; the earlier years of his life were devoted to the study of the law, and there can be no doubt, from his general talents and habits of attention, that he would have passed in this line of pursuit, as possibly he would have done also in that of medicine, had he been initiated into it, with progressive and honourable approbation; but there is, at the same time, as little doubt, that out of the precincts of his own country we should never have heard of his name. It was during his more quiet career in the law that the wild vortex of the French revolution broke out and swallowed up every other pursuit: Moreau, like many other advocates, abandoned the profession of the law for that of arms. In 1792, when 31 years of age, he was appointed to the command of a battalion, soon afterwards promoted to the rank of a colonel, which almost immediately led to the post of general of brigade; and his station having placed him under General Pichegru, he studied military tactics under this accomplished soldier; and soon, from the talents he exhibited, obtained his friendship and admiration. There was a simplicity and honesty belonging to him which soon acquired and secured the confidence of every one under his command. When he led the way, his troops felt sure of success; but it was in his famous retreat from the heart of Germany, it was in the midst of difficulties of every kind, into which he was plunged by the defeat of General Jourdan, that he appears to most advantage, and had an opportunity of shewing the master skill he possessed. Surrounded on all sides by armies more numerous than his own, in a country

where retreat seemed impossible, he contrived, by an alternate series of pitched battles and dextrous manœuvres, to supply his ranks, to maintain their spirits, and to cut his way in safety to his native country. He saw the selfish spirit and unrestrained ambition of Buonaparte, and he showed sufficient aversion to these qualities to render him an object of jealousy. He seems rather to have approved in his heart the attempt of Pichegru and his colleagues to rid the country of this pest to its peace and happiness, than to have embraced it even by a confidential understanding to this effect; yet his connection with Pichegru was laid hold of as a pretext by Buonaparte to involve him in the same ruin. Moreau was arrested, and stood his trial. The result is well known—the tyrant would have destroyed him, but such was the influence Moreau possessed in the army, that he dared not: he transmuted the punishment therefore to exile, and Moreau betook himself to America; where he continued a silent, though anxious spectator of the miseries of Europe, and more especially of his own country, till the mysterious course of events that characterized the year 1813 drew him once more from his retirement, placed him at the head of the allied staff, consigned his person to a sudden grave, and his name to a glorious immortality.

"Memoirs of Algernon Sydney. By George Wilson Meadley." 8vo. The author of these memoirs has already made himself known to the public by his "Biography of Dr. Paley," which we noticed shortly after its appearance. In his present, as in his former attempt, he discovers great assiduity in searching for information subservient to his purpose, and a manly and liberal spirit in his portraiture. His style is plain and unornamented, but sufficiently strong and perspicuous. Mr. Meadley has made the most of the materials which he has been able to collect: his ground-work is the celebrated "Letters and Memorials of the Sydneys, with Collins's prefixed Memoirs;" to these he has added various facts and elucidations derived from a fresh access to the Penshurst Manuscripts, to which Collins is so largely indebted: an attentive investigation of contemporarary histories and journals; a perusal of various collateral documents in the State-Paper Office, and the use of Sir William Wynn's Collectanea relative to Sydney's trial and defence. It is to be lamented that his letters to his uncle, the Earl of Northumberland; as also those successively addressed to Sir John and Sir William Temple, appear to be irrecoverable; while the war with France altogether prevented our biographer from extending his inquiries to the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, or to any other authorities which he might have advantageously consulted at Paris.

Sydney is well known to have been a man of inflexible honesty, and heroic courage. In his politics he was a determined republican; and in his religious principles an avowed enemy to creeds and establishments. In the unswerving independence of his heart he appears to have hated Cromwell as much as the Stuarts: though appointed one of King Charles's judges, he declined interfering in the commission, and led a retired life in the country through the extraordinary period of the usurpation. On the death of Cromwell he obtained a pension from

from the crown—returned to political pursuits—attempted, but in vain, to obtain a seat in parliament; but laboured with all his might to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. He was hence to a certain extent disposed to unite with Russell, Essex, and Monmouth, in the accomplishment of this point, though it does not appear that he had ever committed himself by any overt-act or treasonable declaration. To the court, however, his courage and honesty rendered him a dangerous man; and it was determined to get rid of him. He was consequently arrested upon a charge of high treason, and after the mockery of a trial, in which not the slightest legal evidence was adduced against him, except the *single* testimony of the infamous Howard, he was declared guilty, condemned, and executed. Mr. Meadley has given us a somewhat meagre account of his writings. He has entered, indeed, at some length into the number and nature of the editions of his "Discourses concerning Government;" but we should have expected a brief analysis of this valuable and popular composition; while he merely notices by their titles, his *Essay on Love*, and his *General View of Government in Europe*. Mr. Hollis, of Corscombe, was one of the steadiest admirers in modern times of Sydney's political and theological principles; and it is to him we are indebted for two editions of his works; one published in quarto, in 1763; and the other, more carefully revised, in 1772. And in allusion to this circumstance, as well as from private friendship, the volume before us is appropriately dedicated to the Rev. John Disney, D.D. F.S.A. of the Hyde, Essex, who, (and we unite with Mr. Meadley in the well deserved compliment) "participating in all his noblest feelings, so worthily dispenses the fortune and maintains the constitutional principles" of Mr. Hollis.

"An Essay on the Life of Michel de l'Hôpital, Chancellor of France. By Charles Butler, Esq." 8vo. This little sketch is admirably calculated for the meridian of the present æra; and is drawn with that force of outline and correctness of touch for which Mr. Butler is so justly celebrated. Its direct object is contained in the following passage in p. 30, copied as a motto into the title-page. "The principles of religious toleration which it was the constant object of the Chancellor l'Hôpital to establish, were the same as those expressed in the excellent preface prefixed by his friend, the President de Thou, to his Universal History, which Lord Mansfield, in his celebrated speech in the case of the Chamberlain of London against Mr. Allen Evans, declared he never read without admiration." The genuine liberality, indeed, of the President, founded alike on the principles of sound policy and christian charity, is that which should equally guide Protestants and Catholics in the present day. The former may hence learn that an intolerant spirit is by no means essential to a Catholic Government; and, that some, at least, of the best and wisest Catholic statesman, while conscientiously attached, instead of being indifferent to the religion they have professed, have exhibited a candour and allowed a right of dissent which would have satisfied Sydney or Locke; whilst, on the other hand, amidst the narrow and repulsive spirit which the Catholic

religion is at this moment exhibiting in Ireland, and the grosser bigotry and detestable intolerance by which it is contaminated in Spain, the picture before us may well be held up for the purpose of shewing what a Catholic ought to be who is entrusted with the government of a country, or ventures to interfere in political concerns. Neither the spirit at this moment predominant in Ireland or in Spain, nor even the train of events which are said to have taken place in the Vatican since the emancipation of the head of the Catholic Church are favourable to a general emancipation of Catholics in Protestant countries. Whether such emancipation ought to take place, or might safely be allowed under better or under any circumstances, is a question we cannot at present enter into. We have no hesitation, however, in stating that the warmest advocates for the Catholic cause were never more disposed to favour such a step than ourselves a short period since; but such disposition has been much shaken and chilled by the violence that has since been manifested, and the strong and unequivocal desire of blending matters of religion with matters of politics in the countries above alluded to. And we know that the same feeling has in some degree communicated itself to the bosoms of not a few of the candid and enlightened Catholics of our own country. We trust the temporal claims of the Vatican over any of the Catholic churches will not be revived; though the appearances of the present moment are not altogether favourable to such a hope: but should they, we trust, in the next place, that they will ever be resisted with the spirit and success evinced by the Gallican Church during the Chancellor l'Hôpital's administration. How much is it to be regretted, and what an awful and astonishing change does it exhibit, that the barbarous massacre of Bartholomew's day should so soon have succeeded to the lessons and practice he had been inculcating. But l'Hôpital was at this period no longer in office or in power. He had retired from the turmoil of public life; he foresaw the gathering storm at a distance, and narrowly escaped being one of its victims.

"Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer, with original Letters, and Meditations and Prayers, selected from her Journal." 2 vols. 8vo. Except in times of general persecution or other great trouble, the lives of excellent and pious persons do not often furnish much matter for those vicissitudes, enterprises, hair-breadth 'scapes, and catastrophes which render biography interesting to the world at large. Commonly it will be found of them that

> Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
> They keep the noiseless tenour of their way.

The machinery by which they operate is often extensive and powerful in its effect, but calm and quiet in its exertion: it is the sweetness of still life diffusing all around it an indescribable feeling of goodness, and virtue, and untumultuous happiness—of moral beauty, and a present divinity. Such seems to have been the unobtrusive life of Mrs. Trimmer, whose simple history is confined to the few chronological and historical facts, that she was born in January, 1741, died in December, 1810, showed exemplary piety from her cradle to her grave, moved in

in the middle sphere of life, was an excellent wife, an excellent mother to a very numerous family, an excellent neighbour to those immediately about her person, and by her pen a most excellent instructress to those who only knew her by name. Her productions are numerous, for she wrote with facility, and the whole of them are directed to the weighty cause of the young and poor: the dissemination of sound religious principles, and the diffusion of wholesome religious instruction. She was consequently in high esteem with various contemporary characters of considerable rank and opulence, who were actuated by similar views, and were capable of appreciating her value, and the benefit of whose connexions has been, as it ought to be, extended to her family. This, we believe, will be found to be a pretty correct epitome of the present work, so far as relates to the "Account of the Life and (Public) Writings of Mrs. Trimmer;" which, even in the hands of the editor, extends to not more than the first sixty-five pages of the first volume. The letters, addressed to different persons, some of them with, and others without names, are upon different subjects, but in almost every instance moral, religious, or benevolent; they are interspersed in the general course of the *Journal*, which is by far the most extensive part of the present work, and which, with these intermixed and explanatory letters, makes up three-fourths of the whole. We purposely avoid entering into the question of the expediency of keeping such a journal as that before us, which is a diary of the common events of domestic as well as social life, drawn up altogether in a religious character, with a deep sense of a particular providence attached to every transaction, however minute, and interspersed with the most solemn ejaculations, and sometimes extensive prayers, in the midst of the most familiar and colloquial narrative. We have no doubt that such a practice may aid the devotion of particular persons, and be of use to them in private reflections on former parts of their lives. But we cannot too much deprecate the promulgation of this secret and retired communion of the soul with its Creator. We are confident that it could never be Mrs. Trimmer's intention that the hallowed cabinet of her private thoughts and imaginations should thus be ransacked and exposed to the garish eye of public perusal and criticism. We offer not a single remark upon the contents of this singular journal. We question not the purity of the motives of those who have brought it forward; but we cannot avoid thinking that the step has been injudicious, as well in regard to the memory of the very excellent author of the journal, as to the cause we are persuaded the editor has hereby intended to promote. If closet devotion be ever designed for the public eye, it is closet devotion no longer; and if it be not, to advertise it in the public papers, to blazon it before the world, is, in our opinion, to profane its proper spirit and object.

"Musical Biography; or Memoirs of the Life and *Writings* of the most eminent Musical Composers and *Writers* who have flourished in the different Countries of Europe during the last three Centuries." 2 vols. 8vo. An amusing, though not an original work: the author acknowledges himself large-

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ly indebted to Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, and we can at once point to the history of Jeremiah Clarke, as well as to several others, which, so far as we recollect, are taken *verbatim* from the last writer. The arrangement is formed on the principle of chronology, class, and country. It opens with a brief introduction to the history of music, drawn up very considerably from Dr. Burney.

"Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character. From the beginning of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the establishment of Lord Chatham's second Administration 1757, containing Strictures on some of the most distinguished Men of that Time." 8vo. 6s. 6d. The anonymous editor of these anonymous strictures conceives that their style and sentiments are very much like those of Junius: *ergo*, he has brought them before the public as the productions of that eloquent but severe satirist; and, without venturing to assert roundly that Junius was the author, he has ventured to identify the two, and has made the incidents of the life of the one serve for those of the other. Had we time we could easily point out such gross diversities of diction and opinion as to settle the question at once. But it is not necessary, the public seem to have settled it for themselves already.

"Phantasm of an University: with Prolegomena. By Charles Kelsall, Esq." 4to. price 6l. 6s. Mr. Kelsall is a versatile, or perhaps he may be better pleased if we say a scholar of a versatile genius. Genius we are certainly disposed to allow him, and we have already regarded him in his "Idea of a Constitution for Italy," as a sensible and accomplished man; but we think his taste is not equal to his genius. This we hinted on a former occasion, we mean his translation of two of Cicero's *Pleadings*, as he affectedly translates *Orationes*; and we have somewhat more reason for the same opinion at present. Our author points out various objections to our English universities, and thinks they would be much improved if the several colleges in each were set apart for different scientific pursuits, which, in truth, forms the *phantasm* of his title. He is particularly indignant that the study of mathematics should be so universal in the opening of academical education; a remark, however, which seems to be at open variance with a recommendation of his in the introductory part of his volume, in which he exhorts that the genius should at first be repressed, and the judgment be brought forward and invigorated. The work closes with thirty-eight plates, being portraits of ancient philosophers and other eminent characters, or of proposed architectural arrangements.

"Proverbs: chiefly taken from the Adagia of Erasmus, with Explanations, and further illustrated by corresponding Examples from the Spanish, Italian, French, and English Languages. By Robert Bland, M.D. F.S.A." 2 vols. 12mo. A useful collection of national wisdom, in the form of apophthegms, but destitute of proper order and method.

"The Satires of Juvenal translated into English Verse. By Charles Badham, M.D. With Notes and Illustrations." 8vo. A new translation of Juvenal is at length undertaken and offered to us in a modest octavo, and at the moderate price of 14s. This at least is meritorious; but we are afraid this is the chief merit

merit of the work. We cannot compliment the author on the ease or spirit of his versification.

"Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana; or a Select Collection of rare and curious Tracts, illustrative of History, Literature, Manners, and Biography of the English Nation, during the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth Centuries: Old Meg of Herefordshire for a Mayd Marian; and Hereford Town for a Morris Dance, or Twelve Morris Dancers in Herefordshire of Twelve Hundred Years Old. 4to." This is a re-publication, with a close copy of the original type, of an old and famous story, often quoted by lovers of black-letter, but so scarce as to have had its existence doubted by many. The present tract is to be followed by various others of the same kind, if the editor meets with sufficient success to induce him to persevere.

We proceed to the Poetry of the year; and must commence with Mr. Southey's "Roderick, the last of the Goths, a *Tragic* poem." 4to. in which the word *tragic* seems taken out of its proper sense; for, as applied to poetry, it has hitherto been used to express a peculiar style or character—a mournful poem, intended for *dramatic representation*, which certainly is not the case with the poem before us. The subject, which is as follows, is partly fictitious, but chiefly derived from history. Roderick, the son of Theodofred, the chief of the Goths, was married to Egilona, a beautiful princess, but barren of family: he falls in love with Florinda, the daughter of Count Julian, a powerful Gothic chief, who is also highly beautiful, accomplished, and virtuous. It so happened that one evening when sauntering in a retired walk, he carried his dalliance so far as to kiss the latter, and they parted with a view of meeting again the next evening. In the mean while however, Florinda reflecting upon her impropriety in allowing so great a liberty as a kiss, determines upon taking the veil as a proper punishment for such a transgression. She nevertheless meets Roderick, as agreed, who tells her that he had now put in train the means of obtaining a divorce from Egilona on account of her vanity and producing no children, that the church was about to assent, and that he should be the happiest man in the world with his Florinda. But here comes in the unfortunate obstacle of the kiss and the vow of celibacy, from which the piety of the lady, much as she loved Roderick, would not allow her to deviate; the lover presses her by all the arguments in his power to withdraw her stern resolve, and relinquish her vow; but this she cannot assent to: the debate continues, the passion of love rises, and Roderick, incapable of obtaining all his wishes through a legitimate medium, has recourse to force; and all manner of mischief ensues. The injured lady informs her father, who immediately invites the Moors to his assistance with a view of avenging himself upon Roderick and his house. A furious battle takes place, in which Roderick fights desperately, but suddenly disappears, and is supposed to be dead or drowned. In agony of heart, however, for the evils he had thus brought upon his people, he wanders solitarily; meets with an old priest of the name of Romano, who makes a complete convert of him, and endues him with the sacerdotal habit; they continue for years alone, till the death of Romano, when Roderick

derick quits the solitude in the garb of a priest, is recognized in this character by all he meets; succeeds in inspiring the Goths, who were subdued by the Moors, with a determination to recover their liberty; meets with Florinda; they renew their friendship for each other; assists as a priest in re-converting the old Count Julian to the Christian faith, after he had abjured it for the calam, but only so as he was on the point of expiring from the assassination of a wretch sent purposely to kill him by the heads of the Moorish camp: at which time, after having administered to him the holiest rites of the church, Roderick unmasks himself to Julian, and asks his forgiveness, which he obtains. He then unmasks himself to the Goths at large; meets with his former horse, mounts him, carries vengeance on every side, obtains a glorious victory, and then again suddenly disappears, and no tidings it seems are heard of him till, many centuries afterwards,

Within a hermitage near Viseus' walls
A humble tomb was found, which bore inscribed
In ancient characters, king Roderick's name.

The descriptive poetry is beautiful in many passages; and the chorography well maintained. But the moral is most vicious, and the licentious use of the holiest rites and most solemn and awful language of the Bible, is, in our opinion, an unpardonable sin. The moral, if so it may be called, is designed to prove that seduction or rape may be atoned for by a life of penitence; and the sacred mysteries and text of the Bible are ransacked for the mere sake of poetic embellishment: and because Mr. Southey having already pillaged all he could in former poems from the traditions and mythologies of the Celts, Peruvians, Indians, and other ancient nations, has nothing left upon his hands but the *traditions* and *mythologies* of the Jewish and Christian churches. We admit, however, that there is upon the whole great beauty in the poem; but we repeat it, that this, in our opinion, is an inexpiable crime. We also object to such new fangled words as *misbelieuer*, *safeliest*, *sacring*, *all-father*, *all-able*, *martialists*, *frequentage*, *argentry*.

Among other subjects of poetry the glorious termination of the European war, and the visit of the confederate Sovereigns and other illustrious princes, and their great and gallant companions, have proved a fruitful source. We can only find room to point particularly to Mr. Southey's triad of "Congratulatory Odes;" the first addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the second to the Emperor of Russia, and the third to the King of Prussia. Upon the whole we think he has here been eminently successful; there are numerous passages of spirit and sublimity that are almost, if not altogether, equal to his high inspiring subject: while the delicate digression in the first poem, to the distressing malady of our beloved Sovereign, cannot fail to touch every heart; and there is a general simplicity in the language and arrangement, which those who have studied or written little, may perhaps think easy and despise; but which the man of real taste and mature judgment will regard as an accomplishment of difficult acquisition. It seems difficult to restrain the muse of the Laureat within any sober limits of equable measure, and hence

hence the blank verse in which these Odes are composed are best adapted to the poet's taste; but we should otherwise have preferred a system of easy and correct rhyming in effusions of so short a length.

One of the longest poems we have met with, but not too long to afford us pleasure, is altogether of the descriptive kind. We allude to Mr. Haygarth's "Greece, in three Parts, with Notes, classical Illustrations, and ketches of the Scenery. 4to." Versed in classical literature, and ardently enamoured of the philosophy, poetry, and sculpture of ancient Greece, Mr. Haygarth resolved to visit the hallowed regions which have given birth to so much genius and excellence The poem before us, with the elegant notes that accompany it, are the result of his travels. Its object is "to describe some of the most remarkable features of Grecian scenery, manners, and antiquities. It was designed in the country which it attempts to delineate, and a part of it was written at Athens in the winter of 1811." The poem is composed in blank verse of the long-established ten-syllable Iambic measure: the lines, for the most part, flow smoothly; the subject is well sustained and sufficiently ornamented, and, independently of the historic truth of the matter discussed, which is well selected and arranged, there are occasional passages that rise to a glowing and highly animated enthusiasm, and others that cannot fail to touch the heart by their fine and unsophisticated pathos. At times, however, there is a monotony which we have much regretted; and a want of connection between the subjects brought forward in succession, which it was, perhaps, difficult to avoid. In his notes the author has ably described the remains of manners and customs preserved by their ancestors from the present race of Greeks; and has illustrated, either from his own observation or from the best ancient writers, the general appearance of a country of which almost every mountain and river and valley are celebrated in history or in song. Mr. Haygarth, moreover, is nearly as well skilled in his pencil as in his pen, and the engravings which accompany the work and add much to its interest and elegance, are accurate copies of sketches taken by himself on the spot. We have made various extracts from this amusing and classical volume, in a prior department of our Register.

"Childe Alarique, a Poet's Reverie; with other Poems. Second edition, corrected and enlarged." 8vo. Mr. Gillies professes himself to have studied chiefly in the schools of Mr. Scott and Lord Byron; though we should otherwise conceive, him to have been principally trained in that of Dr. Beattie; for there is much more resemblance in the first outline of his fable, in the general assortment of his images, his style, and mode of versification, to the Minstrel than to any piece that either of these two bards of the present day have ever produced. Childe Alarique, as the title hints, is the longest piece. The story belongs altogether to the imagination, and it is the simplest in the world: there is no plot or counterplot, no intrigue, tournament, or war-hoop, no wife or child, or relation or female of any kind. It supposes a man of genius, enamoured of nature and the muse, at first perfectly happy and master of his own mind, who finds a paradise of sweets in every

every hour of the day and every season of the year; in all he sees, and hears, and smells, and tastes: it then supposes him a prey to melancholy and mental distraction, during which every thing is a horror and a wilderness to him; and it afterwards supposes him restored to the possession of his senses and his love of nature, by the operation of some friendly power of a different kind, which the reader is left at liberty to call *reason* or *religion*, or what he pleases, for the author declares he is not particular; and in truth his portraiture of this same divine personage is general enough for any thing. All we learn is, that it was a female "form, arrayed in a spotless garb, smiling and shining in her own fair lustre, holding in her hand a magic gem which she gave to the wandering Childe; kindly telling him that it was the best cure for earthly woes, and that while he bore it in his sight he should ever vanquish his unholy foes:" The Childe took it, and found the assertion true; for, as we have already observed, the fiend Despair and his ghastly myrmidons no longer annoyed him. For the prototype we are referred to Tasso, or Shakespeare, or Chatterton, or Cowper; neither of whom, however, it seems to resemble with much precision. Mr. Gillies is an elegant rural poet, who paints in brilliant colours the beauties of the purple heath, and the shadowy groves, and the crystal current, and woodlands, solitudes, and mountains, and the ambrosial dew of morning, and the enchanting hue of twilight, and the song of the blackbird, and the thrush, and the nightingale, and the sweet reign of spring, and the pride of summer, and the serene days of autumn, and November chill: but beyond these groups of rural images Mr. Gillies does not stir a step: for his muse, it seems, has confined the whole of her study to the science of natural history—the Linnén system of nature, and never ventures beyond what she has thus committed to memory. The remark applies to the subsequent poems, which are of shorter length, in which the same squadrons of metaphors and descriptions, and no other, are perpetually marshalled before us, and double and redouble till they equally dazzle and tire us. The versification, however, is easy and the diction elegant; yet the author has been peculiarly unfortunate in the name by which he becalled the demon Melancholy or Despair, in the first poem, which is that of *Braggadochio*; and in a few instances we have found him not quite euphonous or correct in his metre, of which the following may serve as an example, Part iii. Ch. 14.

> But leave a while each object here below
> That custom *familiarises*—lift thine eye
> To sights divine that such delights bestow,
> That habit cannot quench our ecstacy.

"Moonlight, a Poem; with several copies of Verses; by Edward Lord Thurlow." 4to. thin. The title is scarcely correct; for more than a third part of the present fascicle, consisting of three separate pieces, is the production not of Edward Lord Thurlow, but of the late Lord Chancellor Thurlow, whom we are now for the first time, though more than half a score years after his decease, to introduce before the world in the character of of a poet of no mean qualifications; and who, moreover, does not himself seem to have discovered these qualifications, till he had retired from

from the chancellorship, and was regarded as superannuated for public service. The most singular of his attempts is a translation of the famous *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*: or, as our author, imitating the compound Greek term, denominates it, *The-Frog-and-the-Mouse-Fight*, This, when properly understood, is one of the finest mock-heroics that ever was penned. The chief part of the wit and humour, however, consists in the real meaning of the Greek names of the heros, and as these in most versions are given in the original Greek, the intention is totally lost sight of by the English reader, who is induced to regard it as a serious heroic. Lord Chancellor Thurlow has translated these as well as the rest of the poem, and with inimitable exactness and spirit. To show the difference of effect between the two modes, we shall select the following passage as rendered according to each. The version commonly ascribed to Pope runs thus:

Known to the gods, the men, the birds that fly
Through wild expanses of the midway sky
My name resounds; and if unknown to thee,
The soul of great *Psycarpax* lives in me.
Of brave *Tromartes'* line, whose sleeky down
In love compressed *Lychomele* the brown:
My mother she, and princess of the plains
Where'er her father *Pternotrictas* reigns:
Born where a cabin lifts its airy shade,
With figs, with nuts, with varied dainties fed.

For this we have the following in the Chancellor's translation:

Him *Crumb-Catch* answer'd, quick in vocal sounds:
Why, friend, *my* birth demand, so known to men,
To gods, and to the fowl who wing the sky;
My name is *Crumb-Catch*, and I am the son
Of *Nibble-Biscuit*, my great-hearted sire;
Lick-Mill's my mother, King *Gnaw-Gammon's* child.
She bore me in a hole, and brought me up
With figs, and nuts, and every sort of food.

But we must not forget the poem which gives its name to the title of the work; and which is the production of the present Lord Thurlow. *Moon-light* is the longest piece in the book, composed in regular Iambic blank verse of ten-feet measure; it is written with feeling and taste, with general elegance, but sometimes quaintness, from an adoption of antiquated terms or turns of expression which have no claim to a revival. Its object is to describe the beauties of earth and sky during the dominion of the moon, and its friendliness to sober contemplation. Its general merits consist in keeping a tolerably even tenor between dullness and enthusiasm—between what is low and what sublime.

"Safei: an Eastern Tale. By J. H. Reynolds." The writer is a warm admirer of Lord Byron's style and genius. These he has studied with tolerable success, of which the short poem before us, dedicated to his lordship, affords a sufficient proof. It is a love-story, of which we have somewhat more of a beginning, middle, and end than the noble prototype usually favours us with: the end, however, is tragical and without poetic justice.

The year has been peculiarly prolific of satirical poems upon temporary subjects. They are of various merit, and we have only room to notice them in a *catalogue raisonné*. The chief are as follows: "Virgil in

in London; or Town Eclogues: to which are added imitations of Horace." 8vo. "Anacreon in Dublin, with Notes, critical, historical, and explanatory." We have lately been pleased with various resuscitations of the poets of former times; but for what purpose their ashes are disturbed on the present occasion we are a loss to determine. Most certain we are that neither of the Roman bards feel at home in the English metropolis, nor the Grecian in the Irish. The chief subjects of satire in the first of these are a love-sick lawyer who drowns himself in the St. James's Park canal; a discarded minister; a penniless poet, under the name of Crambo; a field-preacher, intended as a personification of the late Mr. Huntington; and the civic honours of a Lord Mayor's day: all in very second-hand poetry. The sole subject of the Dublin performance is an attack upon the Catholics and the Catholic Board; for which purpose, the old dust of Anacreon being rubbed into new life by this active member of the Humane Society, he is carried, apparently very much to his astonishment, before the Titular Archbishop of Dublin, and compelled to sing psalmody, instead of bacchanalian and love odes.

"Sortes Horatianæ. A Poetical Review of Poetical Talents, &c. with Notes." 8vo. 6s. 6d. Akin in name, pretension, and merit to the preceding. The author, in the dead skin of Horace, deals his critical lash with an almost unsparing hand. Lord Byron, indeed, Miss Mitford, and Miss Holford, are panegyrized with a sort of fulsome eulogy; but besides these there is scarcely a poet or poetaster of the present day who does not receive a round dozen, and some of them far more than this. Nor does the author stop at the the poets. He carries his flogging fury into the arena of theology, and has a rod in brine for Dr. Herbert Marsh, the Arian, and Socinian tribes, and Sir W. Drummond.

"The Lay of the Scottish Fiddle. A Poem in five Cantos. Supposed to be written by W—— S——, Esq. First American. From the fourth Edinburgh Edition." A burlesque imitation of Mr. Walter Scott, pretended to be of American manufacture, and deriving its subject from our present contest with the United States.

"Chalcographimania; or the Portrait-Collector and Printer's Chronicle; with infatuations of every description. A humourous Poem in four Books: with copious Notes explanatory. By Satiricus Sculptor, Esq." 8vo. A satirical attack upon the modern rage for collecting scarce or curious prints. The subject is a good one, but the present execution is by no means equal to its merits: the notes are a hodge-podge, culled from every quarter, and upon almost every topic.

"The Rejected Theatre; or a Collection of Dramas, which have been offered for representation, but declined by the Managers of the Play-houses." 8vo. The first idea of this publication seems to have been taken from the *satirical* which was succeeded by the *genuine* "Rejected Addresses." The intention is to furnish monthly a pamphlet of dramas which have been rejected, each number containing a tragedy, a comedy, and a farce. Those we have thus far perused are of various merit; but few of them seem to be worthy of representation.

Of the fortunate and accepted dramas

dramas for the year, the chief appear to be "The Students of Salamanca, a Comedy in five acts, as performed at the Covent-Garden Theatre; by R. F. Jameson, Esq. of the Inner Temple:" and "First Impressions; or Trade in the West, a Comedy, in five acts, as performed at the Drury-lane Theatre, by Horatio Smith." The first is full of bustle and incident, and the stale trick of mistaken identity; it is well calculated for scenic action and embellishment, and seems to have been chiefly indebted for its success to these adventitious supports. The second has more internal merit, and shews a strong desire, not without a considerable portion of talent for the purpose, to revive the old comedy of genuine wit and sentiment. It met with no inconsiderable degree of approbation; but has not had all the success to which it is entitled. Perhaps the author may lay part of this to the host of enemies he has excited by his very spirited publication entitled "Rejected Addresses."

The year has been somewhat richer in the department of novels, tales, and romances than usual, and has to boast of several that possess considerable merit. To the prolific pen of Miss Edgeworth we are indebted for a novel of four volumes, entitled "Patronage," intended to point out the evils and miseries of a dependence on others, and to stimulate the mind to a reliance on its own native powers. The story is upon the whole well supported, but in some parts would derive strength from abbreviation. "Waverley; or 'tis sixty years since. 3 vols." is an interesting production, ascribed to a character highly celebrated in modern poetry, but from whom we should have expected something still more interesting. "The Sylvan Wanderer" has been furnished to us by Sir Egerton Brydges; it is written with classical taste, and has many impressive scenes and well-turned incidents. We have also received "The Strangers of Lindenfeldt; or who is my Father? by Mr. Ross. 3 vols. 8vo." "Jane de Dunstanville; or Characters as they are; by Miss Kelly. 4 vols." "The Wife; or Caroline Herbert. 3 vols." "Adelaide; or the Counter charm. 5 vols." "Liberality and Prejudice, a Tale, by Miss E. Coxe. 3 vols." "The Splendour of Adversity, a domestic Story. 3 vols." "Letters of Ortis to Lorenzo; translated from the Italian." And as romances, "Urbino; or the Vaults of Lepanto; by T. R. Tuckett, Esq. 3 vols." And "The Vale of Guasco; or the Maid with Seven Lovers," written in easy, though not very animated verse.

FOREIGN

FOREIGN LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1813.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications, or Literary Transactions of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, India, South America.

IN offering any thing like a summary of the progress of Biblical Literature in foreign countries, it would be unpardonable to pass by, without any notice whatever, the Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society; since the extensive correspondence of this powerful and excellent institution spreads over almost every part of the world, and gives us a more comprehensive insight into the subject before us, at least in a popular view, than any other publication extant.

By the energy and pecuniary aid of this Society, the Bible is now actually translated, in whole or in part, into all the predominant languages of the four quarters of the globe, and is circulated in each of them, if not gratuitously, at a price so low, that it must be a personal fault if, in a few years, every individual is not in possession of a copy of the Sacred Scriptures in his vernacular tongue; while even the more limited dialects are in a train of being provided for. The chief exertions, however, as it appears to us by the Report for the current year, are making in Asia, and in the vast tract of the Russian empire. In the former we perceive by a letter from Dr. Carey, dated December 10, 1813, p. 132, *twenty-one* translations into distinct tongues or dialects, are proceeding at Calcutta, of which sixteen were at the above date in the press, independently of a large edition of the New Testament in the Cingalese or Hindustanee version, in the Persian character; two separate editions in Malay, one in the Roman character for Amboyna, and another in the Arabic for Java; and an edition, for which the types were at the above date casting, of the whole Bible in the Armenian; making the whole number of distinct translations not less than *twenty-five* at Calcutta alone. "Notwithstanding these versions, observes this indefatigable biblicist, I know seven or eight languages on the continent of Asia into which not a syllable is yet translated;

translated; and to these may be added ten or twelve more in the islands. The number therefore of languages into which the word of God is not yet begun to be translated is fully as great in the East as those into which it is. The work will, however, be assuredly carried on till all nations hear, in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God."

Our readers well know that the Bible Society at St. Petersburgh is under the immediate patronage of the Emperor. It is peculiarly active, and was engaged in the beginning of last year, and has now perhaps succeeded in introducing the Scriptures into *ten* different languages, as follows: 1st. Into the Calmuc, in which nothing was ever printed before. 2d. Into Armenian, in which an edition of 5000 Testaments was completed in January 1814. 3d. Into the Finnish, with standing types. 4th. Into Polish (sixth edition) of 5000 New Testaments having been completed in the course of the year. 5th. Into the Sclavonic, with standing types, the consent of the Holy Synod of Moscow absolutely necessary for this purpose having been previously obtained. 6th. Into the Dorpatian Esthonian, so far as concerns the New Testament. 7th. Into the Revelian Esthonian. 8th. Into Zettonian, both as above. Besides which the Society is engaged in editions of German and French Bibles, for such of the vast extent of this empire as chiefly use these languages.

The next remark that has occurred to us is the readiness with which in most parts of the world the Roman Catholic Clergy have co-operated in this respect with Protestants. This is particularly observable in Germany, Poland, and India. There is reason to suppose, indeed, that even the Archbishop of Goa has fully assented to the general desire, the Calcutta Society having offered to his Excellency to print at their own expence a Canarese edition of the Scriptures for gratuitous distribution, "taking for their copy such version of the whole, or part of the Scriptures as his Excellency shall approve." In further pursuance of which object we find a very useful pamphlet upon this subject, *Aos Catolicos Romanos da India*, "To the Roman Catholics India."

Whilst upon this subject we may remark, that even in Spanish America a considerable relaxation has lately taken place in Popish bigotry. The General Constituent Assembly of Buenos Ayres abolished the Inquisition, March 24, 1813, and in April passed a law of religious toleration in favour of the workers of the mines of this country.

M. Hedborn has been long celebrated in Sweden for the excellence of his devotional poetry. He has now just published an entire edition of his scattered pieces.

"Memoire Arles Sept Espèces d'Hommes," &c. "Memoir of the Seven Species of Men, and on the Causes of the alterations in these Species. A Work interesting to Natural History, the Fine Arts, and Civilization. Dedicated to all the Sovereigns of Europe; by M. Peyroux de la Condreniere, Captain in the Army of his Catholic Majesty." Moses has been said by some physiologists to announce in his first and second chapter of Genesis, the creation of *two* distinct species

species of man; and this has for the most part answered the purpose of the humane venders of the human living muscle. The writer before us traces *seven* species; and we could just as easily trace *seven-and-twenty*.

"Bibliotheca Arabica: Auctam nunc atque Integram Edidit D. Christianus Fredericus Schnurrer," &c. "The Arabic Library; revised and augmented, by D. Christian Frederic De Schnurrer, &c. Halle. 8vo. p. 550." We introduce the miscellaneous work now before us into the present chapter, because the greater part of its contents relate rather to theological, ecclesiastical, or polemical subjects than to any other. M. Schnurrer has for many years held the office of Oriental Professor in the University at Tubingen with great credit to himself, and advantage to the world at large. In this impotant post he has found it necessary from time to time to write various philosophical or theological works, as University Theses, or for the purpose of supporting academical acts. For this purpose he thought nothing could be more useful than to collect and publish from time to time brief sketches of Arabic works given to the public from the origin of printing, and divided according to the nature of their respective materials. This work at length reached to seven distinct parts; at which time the author having been advanced to the rank of Chancellor of the University, thought proper, without proceeding any farther, to collect the separate fascicles, and publish them conjointly in a revised and connected form. And it is this form which constitutes the work before us. The divisions run as follows: I. Essays on Grammar. II. On History. III. On Poetry. IV. On the Christian Religion. V. On Biblical Criticism VI. On the Alcoran. VI. Miscellaneous.

Under the fifth head it was his intention to have noticed the different polyglot Bibles, or parts of the Bible that have in various periods appeared in different countries of Christendom; but as this has been already done pretty fully by M. Masch, in his edition of Leland's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, he has remarked upon a few pieces which Masch does not seem to have dwelt upon agreeably to their merit. He accordingly describes the Syriac and Arabic Psalter, printed at Mount Libanus in 1610; the Syriac and Arabic New Testament, printed at Rome, in two volumes folio, in 1703; the Coptic and Arabic Psalter, printed at Rome 1744; and divers fragments of the New Testament, published in Arabic and Ethiopic, at Leyden, by Nisselius and Petræus; the rarest and most curious of all which is the first, or Syriac and Arabic Psalter of 1610. Besides which we have an account of the Bucharest Greek-Arabic Missal, and Psalter of 1701; of the Psalter and Book of the Prophecies, printed at Aleppo; of the Acts of the Council of Mount Libanus; of the Four Evangelists of the Medici; of the Arabic Alcoran of Venice; of two editions of the same, printed at St. Petersburg and Casan; of various other editions; as also of Reland's Treatise on the Mahommedan Religion. He particularly extols the excellence and elegance of the characters employed in the Arabic Psalter, and a New Testament printed at London, the former in 1725, the latter two years afterwards: *Peracta*, says he, *est editio typis antea haud visis, perquam elegantibus*

elegantibus quales deinceps Gothingam expetiti ornabant quæ Arabicè edaret, J. D. Michaelis. He affirms that these types must have been the same as those employed in the Arabic edition of Avicenna, at Rome, in 1593. "They belonged, consequently," continues he, "to the typography of the Medici: I presume that a font from the same matrice was sent over to Oxford."

The work abounds with notices of various singular and interesting oriental *Horologia*, or Breviaries; *Treparia*, or Hymns proper for Saints days; *Theotokia*, or Hymns in honour of the Virgin Mary; other Hymns in honour of our Saviour, and of the Holy Spirit; and Prayers for the body of the People, most of which are in Arabic. The Bucharest Breviary, of which there is a copy in the Imperial (now again Royal) Library at Paris, opens with the following curious title in Arabic: "*Horologium*, or Canonical Prayers, with the rest of the service for the whole course of the year; first imprinted in Greek and Arabic, at the request and under the superintendance of the most holy Father Athanasius, heretofore Patriarch of Antioch, at the expence of the most glorious and most illustrious Lord the reigning Prince of Walachia, my Lord John Constantine Basarabas, Hospodar; the most holy Father and Metropolitan, my Lord Theodosius, Archbishop of this country: at Bucharest, a town in Walachia, in the year of Jesus Christ, 1702, by the regular Priest Anthimus, a Georgian by birth."

In one of the *Typica* for finding the epoch of the festival of Easter, as well as other points appertaining to the course of the year, we read the following address in Arabic, from the same writer:—"Venerable brethren, who may read this blessed book, I pray and conjure you—I who have imprinted it, that you will forgive all the errors and inaccuracies which I may have committed, since the Arabic tongue is foreign to me; and since, as a man, I am a sinner and a transgressor, for there is none perfect but God alone. Receive then favourably my good wishes and my excuses, as our Saviour received the widow's two mites. If God should give me to imprint another book, we will try to bring to it more care and vigilance, according to the aid which we may receive from our Saviour, to whom be glory through all eternity. May his grace and mercy be with you for ever, amen." Imprinted at Bucharest, in Walachia, by Anthimus, regular Priest, a Georgian by birth, in the year of Jesus Christ 1702, month Haziran (June.)

"Monumens Historiques, relatifs a la Condemnation," &c. "Historical Monuments respecting the Condemnation of the Knights Templars, and of the abolition of their Order. By M. Raynouard, Member of the Imperial Institute, &c." 8vo. Paris. This work is connected with the religious or rather the ecclesiastical history of the times adverted to. There is, however, a courtliness about the author which makes him hesitate to reprobate the conduct of Philip le-Bel, even whilst justifying the religious order before him. Yet if the latter were innocent, the former deserves to be severely lashed: while, if the sentence were just, the Templars only met with their desert. M. Raynouard, however, endeavours to cut the gordian knot, by casting his blame on the Council of Vienna, whose

inculpation and prescription the French monarch, in his opinion, did no more than follow. This writer we have formerly had occasion to notice as the author of a celebrated drama formed upon the same subject.

"Observations sur le Prospectus, et la Preface," &c. "Observations on the Prospectus and Preface of the new edition of the Works of Bossuet, projected at Versailles." Neither Bossuet nor Fenelon have been very fortunate in the editors of their respective works. We are not yet in possession of the *whole* of the productions of either, nor of the whole of what is most worthy of themselves. It was sixty years after the death of Bossuet before any attempt was made to record the events of his life. In 1743, the Abbé Peraut began to collect the various pieces which Bossuet has himself published separately. To these M. Leroi united his posthumous productions, which extended the undertaking to twenty quarto volumes. Still, however, many important pieces remained inedited. The Abbé Lequeux undertook to render the whole complete some years afterwards, but died shortly after he had commenced his task; when the Benedictines resolved to finish it, and committed the execution of it to M. Desoris, who had just published two fascicles when the revolution broke out, and stopped the edition in the midst of its course. M. Lébel, the Librarian of Versailles, has now resumed the task; and in his Prospectus and Preface undertakes to give the whole of Bossuet, Bossuet all entire, Bossuet without omission, *tout Bossuet, Bossuet tout entier, Bossuet sans omission*. Yet with a singular inconsistency, and an inconsistency severely, but properly reprehended by the critique before us, he distinctly asserts in these prolegomena that he shall only give selections of some pieces, *fragments* of some, and altogether omit others. The critic particularly laments that in this inexplicable edition of the *whole* of Bossuet, his very excellent Latin commentary upon the Bible, is to be still altogether excluded. It is with this most important work the edition ought to commence: Desoris discovered the manuscript too late for his first fascicle, but designed it for some of those that were to succeed. The manuscript is little known, and the present writer has hence given a general survey of it, and one well adapted to stimulate the curiosity of all lovers of sacred literature, and to make them long for its appearance.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Italy, and Germany.

AMONGST the most valuable medical works which have reached us from the continent, we may perhaps enumerate M. Portal's Treatise "Sur la Nature et le Traitement des Maladies du Foie." "On the Nature and Treatment of the Diseases of the Liver." We have here no new and violent hypothesis urged in regard to etiology, or therapeutics, but the plain observations of an intelligent man who has long directed his attention to the class of diseases before him, and is honestly intent on giving the result of his experience, which for the most part comports with the general view of the subject as offered by the best and most approved writers of our own country.

"Offrande aux Veillards de quelques Moyens pour prolonger leur Vie." "Hints submitted to old Persons as to the means of prolonging their Life. By M. Tenon." The writer gives the result of his practice upon his own person. Having from his youth been of a very delicate and precarious constitution, he has been compelled to a life of great care and attention; by means of which he has reached a late period of existence with considerable comfort and enjoyment; and he now makes an oblation of his experience for the benefit of others. His advice is rational and practicable, without any great sacrifices.

"Memoire sur les Dangers qui courent les Anatomist," &c. "Memoir on the Dangers which occur to Anatomists during Dissections, and the means of preventing and remedying them; by M. Chambon." These dangers are fearfully represented, but they occur rarely. The remedies proposed are the common ones against contagion and envenomed wounds.

"Elementa d'Anatomia Esterna," &c. "Elements of External Anatomy; folio, Florence; published by Carli." These elements of the anatomy of the external parts of the body are comprised in twenty plates. They appear to be correctly drawn, and are elegantly engraven. The letter-press is subordinate to the engravings.

M. Charles Pictet has drawn up an interesting account of the Plague, as it lately prevailed in the Russian port of Odessa, where he was stationed. The judicious plan of prevention, which upon his recommendation was carried into effect, appears to have had a happy influence in curtailing its ravages.

"Interpretationes Clinicæ," &c. "Clinical Explanations of select Remarks collected from his Academical Diaries, for the purpose of forming a proper Epitome respecting the Cure of Human Diseases. Part I. By J. P. Franck. 8vo. Tubingen. Seven plates." A great part of these Memoirs are the work of the author's pupils: he has revised them, and added many of his most interesting remarks, as delivered before the Institute of Pavia. The number of Memoirs are seventy-nine, many of which are drawn up with great shrewdness of judgment, and accompanied with reports on dissected subjects.

"Voyage aux Antilles," &c. "Voyage to the Antilles, or Windward Islands, and South America, begun in 1767, and finished in 1802; containing historical Notices, &c. An account of the Diseases occurring in each Climate; Observations on the influence of Climate on Men, Plants, and Animals; Geological Researches on the primitive State of the Globe, and the Changes which it continues to undergo; and Remarks on the effects of the general Current of the Ocean, Tides, Winds, Monsoons, &c. By J. B. Le Bland, Physician and Natural Historian, Correspondent of the Academy of Sciences, of the Royal Society of Medicine, the National Institute, &c." Vol. I. 8vo. Paris. 1813. This longitude of title will serve for an Index and table of contents. The author went abroad in the true spirit of adventure at an early age, and having passed thirty-five years under a vertical sun, has had the good fortune to preserve a stock of health sufficient to enable him to communicate in his declining years a full account of the multifarious incidents he encountered, and the observations that occasionally occurred to him. It is obvious from the title itself, that this volume is rather to be regarded as a work on physical than on moral and political science, to the first of which indeed the professional education and habits of the writer more immediately inclined him; and hence it has rather a claim to notice in the present chapter than in the ensuing. "The works of Buffon," says M. Le Bland, "had impressed me with a strong desire to study that part of geology which exhibits the natural history of the world in its primitive state, and its subsequent changes; and I had hopes of succeeding in discovering the origin of the primary and secondary mountains, as well as of the vallies and plains in which the regularity of the strata showed that they were formerly a part of the expanse of the ocean." For his researches upon these points, however, we must wait for a further prosecution of his labour; for the first volume, which is the only one that has yet made its appearance, is uncommonly barren in relation to them. Like other experienced practitioners, M. B. advises Europeans and North Americans, on first arriving in the West Indies, or any climate in the torrid zone, to avoid with the greatest care, an exposure to the sun, especially when the head is uncovered; phrenytis being a common and often a fatal result from such exposure. The acclimating fever attacks in every situation with a greater or less degree of violence, according to the condition and residence of the patient; often accompanied with itchings and petechiæ, or flea-bite irruptions, which the

the author regards as a good symptom. When the fever is severely bilious, he advises laxatives of a gentle kind, such as a strong decoction of tamarinds, or lemonade, with a few grains of tartar emetic. Early bleeding he advises strongly, but not repeated bleedings, which exhaust the strength and prolong the disease. When there is delirium the general rule is to employ blisters, camphor, infusion of cinnamon in wine, with other cordials, and strong dozes of bark frequently repeated, often in connection with laudanum, so that the disease is evidently regarded as of the typhus species, if we may be allowed to say *species* rather than *genus* in this case. Excessive debility generally succeeds as the fever declines, and the best remedy for this is a removal to a cool clime—Bermuda, North America, or Europe.

M. Boyan, a pupil of M. Kant, like many other of his pupils, has been striking out a new path in a work published at Leipsic, entitled "Anthropological Fragments; referring particularly to the Moral Character." The original system, from the inroads and deviations to which it is equally exposed on every side, seems crumbling to pieces with a rapid fall.

M. Brogniart, to whom the mineralogical world is already under great obligations, is at present engaged in a more extensive work on the same subject, "Traité Général de Geologie." "General Treatise on Geology:" in this he proposes to submit a new arrangement of the different rocks, or mineral aggregations which compose the actual crust of the globe, as we find it on examination. And in applying the principles recognized by all naturalists of the present day, it is his object that the foundations and details of his method should rest on characters taken from the rocks themselves, and which they offer intrinsically; rejecting all those which are deduced from their mutual positions on the globe, which have, indeed, a reference to their history, but not to their systematic division.

M. Sturm, Professor of Economy and Finance at Jena, has published, illustrated by a plate, a valuable work "On the Wool of Sheep," in which he points out the peculiar knowledge necessary to the breeder and purchaser. It is divided into four chapters. The first treats of hair in general, its nature, and the causes which influence its quality. The author supports an acknowledged principle that in southern climates all animals fed on vegetables have a soft and fine hair; and those fed on flesh a harsher and coarser; while the contrary takes place in northern climates. In the second chapter he discusses the subject of wool, and points out the different kinds. The third examines the qualities and defects of the fleece, in regard to economy, and manufactures. The fourth treats on the subject of washing and preparing the fleece; and dwells particularly on the mode of washing sheep practised by M. Kuhn de Saalborn, near Weimar, and which has been found highly beneficial. Upon the whole, however, it it easy to perceive that the German economists may derive many a good lesson from the farmers of our own country.

"Geschichte des Pferdes," &c. "Natural, Economical, Technical, and Historical History of the Horse. By G. P. Sebald." Nuremberg. 2 vols. 8vo. This is a work equally useful to the grower and the purchaser,

chaser. The first volume is confined to the *natural* and *physical* history of the horse, the mode of taking proper care of him, breeding and bringing him up. The second examines his different intentions and employments, the manage, and the veterinary art.

M. Chambon, whom we have already noticed, and who is well known to the French Institute as an able naturalist, has made various experiments to determine whether any and what advantage would result from cloathing sheep, as the ancients were accustomed to do, who prided themselves considerably upon such a method. He has not found, however, that the wool is sufficiently improved in excellence and value to defray the expence of the cloathing.

The French and various other philosophers and naturalists have occupied themselves with great industry of late years to invent substitutes for sugar and coffee, from the difficulty of obtaining these articles during the war. Professor Marsan, of Padua, has been particularly sanguine in regard to a large grass indigenous to the south of Africa, and which Arduino in his description of it in 1775, denominates *holcus caffer*, distinguished by its having glumes, and globular seeds. It has been largely cultivated of late in Italy, Bavaria, and Hungary; but the peace, we apprehend, will put an effectual veto upon its farther growth.

In like manner we learn that a variety of roots and grains have been employed as substitutes for coffee, but in every instance without success: "les boissons," says M. Cuvier, "qu'on s'est procurées n'avoient du café que la noirceur et l'amertume:" "the drinks herby obtained had nothing of the coffee but its blackness and its bitterness."

"Historia Muscarum Frondosorum," "Description of Mosses indigenous to the Grand Duchy of Wurtzburg. By M. Woit." 8vo. Nuremberg. There is a good deal of exact delineation in the author's style and manner: he is evidently an attentive observer, and zealously attached to the science of botany; but we do not perceive any new observations of much importance; the added species are not numerous, and there is an unhappy desire too frequently manifested of changing established names.

"Traité Systematique de Coquilles Terrestres et Fluviales," &c. "Elementary Treatise on Land and River Shells, dicoverable at Augsburg and its Environs. By M. Altan. Augsburg." The vicinity of this city is peculiarly rich in shells of various kinds: the author has collected and arranged a considerable quantity, and of these he has described fifty-eight distinct species. The work is illustrated with coloured plates, of great delicacy and accuracy; the number of the plates twenty-six; the artist M. Horman.

"Nouveaux Elemens de Chimie Technique," &c. "New Elements of Technical Chemistry. By J. J. Brechtl. "8vo. with plates. Vienna. By technical is here meant *operative*; the work is intended for artizans, and will be found useful in most branches of arts and manufactures. Something of this kind, composed in a popular manner, and adapted to the comprehension of the lower ranks of handicrafts, would be highly useful in our own country.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Denmark, Spain, Germany.

" ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ." " Description de la Greece," &c. " Description of Greece, by Pausanias; a new translation; with the Greek text collated with the Manuscripts in the King's Library. By M. Clavier, Member of the Institute, &c. Dedicated to the King." 8vo. pref. p. 15. work p. 399. A correct text of Pausanias is a desideratum of great importance to the literary world, for even at the best his style is often uncouth, unequal, and obscure; yet his matter is precious; and the Abbé Barthelemy in his Travels of Anacharsis is perhaps under more obligations to this writer than to any other. Pausanias, indeed, is his *Vade-Mecum*, and there is scarcely a page in which he does not acknowledge him in this character. Next to a correct text, we wish to see a good and correct translation either in our own tongue or in French; and the present is sufficient to satisfy us upon this subject. M. Clavier examines with much critical acumen the different editions, and many of the translations of his author; and draws his chief emendations from four distinct manuscript copies preserved in the King's library; compared with a Vienna and a Moscow manuscript, both of some importance.

" Histoire Litéraire de la France," &c. " Literary History of France; commenced by the Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur, and continued by a Committee of the Historical and Literary Class of the Institute." Vol. I.—XIII. 4to. Paris. 1814. A work of this bulk, and at present only brought down to the twelfth century, we can merely announce. It was begun by the religious order above alluded to, towards the commencement of the last century. Rivet conceived the plan: his principal coadjutors were D. Pouncet, and D. Columb, who resided with him at Mons in the Abbey of St. Vincent. They made immense researches, collected vast masses of materials; and published the first volume in 1738. Rivet advanced to the ninth, containing the range of the twelfth century, and died as it was ready for the press. The coadjutors of Rivet brought forth, with the assistance of other literary characters, Vols. X. XI. XII. which last appeared in 1763. Since then it has been dropped till the French government ordered its continuation, and appointed a committee as above.

" Voyage

"Voyage Picturesque et Historique de l'Epagne," &c. Picturesque and Historical Travels through Spain; by Alexander De Laborde, and a Society of Scholars and Artists." Vol. I. Paris; from the office of Didot the elder, and with the Bodoni type; first eleven Fascicles, atlas folio. This is a magnificent work, founded upon a very extensive basis, and when completed will certainly present to the world a more perfect history of Spain than it is at present in possession of. It is enriched with a variety of very beautiful plates, plans, and maps, of which the numbers before us contain eighty-eight. The following is a brief summary of his description of Lerida, known to all our readers from the events of the late war. "Lerida is the Ilerda of the Roman geographers. This town is one of the most ancient in Spain, without our being able to decide to what people it owes its origin. Its high antiquity is proved by the very name of *Ilerda*; for the syllable *il*, in the commencement of names, belonged to the ancient and primitive language of Spain, and characterizes the earliest places of that that country. Under the dominion of the Romans this town became one of their colonies, and received the title of *municipium* (free-city.) It was laid waste by the Germans during the Imperial government of Gallienus. Under the Goths it became the seat of a celebrated Council in 528. It received the yoke of the Moors in the beginning of the eighth century (probably in 716); but in 799 was retaken, and at the same time ruined by Louis-le-Debonnair. It fell again under the Mussulman government in 826, by the revolt of one of its commanders. Finally, in 1149 it was again taken from the Moors by Raymond Bérenger, who united it to the crown of Arragon. Cæsar put into execution, under its walls, his fine manœuvre against the lieutenants of Pompey, Petreius, and Afranius. The author calculates this campaign of Cæsar, and in our opinion with much reason, as among the most brilliant events of his life; and devotes a distinct chapter to its development; in which he faithfully copies from the "Commentaries" the account which is there given of it, and intermixes various chorographical remarks, and a plan drawn upon the spot, which considerably heightens the interest.

"Recherches Historiques sur la Ville de Saumur," &c. "Historic Inquiries concerning the town of Saumur, its Monuments and those of the adjoining Country. By J. F. Bodin. With engravings designed by the author." Saumur. 8vo. Vol. I. There are few cities or towns in France, of any considerable extent or celebrity, that have not been honoured with a topographical history and description. Saumur has hitherto been without such a distinction, and the present writer has endeavoured to supply what he conceives to be a chasm in the general history of his country. He divides his work into two parts. The first treats of the history of Saumur before the definitive annexation of Anjou to the crown; and the second comprehends the events which have chiefly signalized it from that period to our own day. In the regions of its paleology M. Bodin seems altogether to lose himself; and is but indifferently acquainted with Celtic history, or Celtic monuments. He finds his path,

path, however, in the second part of the work; and he is here worth consulting by those who wish for information on the subject.

"De l'Assassination, &c." "On the Assassination of the Duke d'Enghien, and on the attempted Justification of M. de Caulincourt." 8vo. Printed at Orleans; sold at Paris, 8vo. M. Caulincourt is well known to have written a public vindication of himself against the general charge upon the subject in question. The present work examines into the grounds of that vindication, points our their feebleness and sophistry, and reurges the charge against him in the most direct terms. It then complains that M. Mabée and various characters well known to have expressed the most rancorous hostility against the Bourbons should be allowed a residence at Paris.

Among the literary notices from Denmark we learn that the late Professor Magnusen has bequeathed to the university of Copenhagen a considerable collection of ancient manuscripts respecting the history of the North. A committee has been appointed to examine these manuscripts; and upon their report the university has come to a resolution to print them under the title of "A Complete Collection of the Ancient Laws of the North; with Variations, Glosses, and Critical and Explanatory Notes, arranged by its Members." The original text is to be accompanied both with a Latin and a modern Danish translation. The university proposes also to publish separately, a variety of other manuscripts belonging to the same collection, relative to the history of the *Northern Mythology*; which cannot fail of being a work of high interest to our own country as well as to all the Scandinavian boundary.

"Histoire des Croisades," &c. "History of the Crusades. Part I. containing the History of the first Crusade. By M. Michaud. With a Map of Asia Minor, and Plans of Antioch, Jerusalem," &c. 8vo. Paris. This is an admirable, and highly valuable performance, and when completed will fill up, with great credit to the author, a hiatus which at present exists in the department of general history. We are equally pleased with M. Michaud's indefatigable spirit of research for proper materials, his judgment in selecting them, his impartiality in narrating events, and the liveliness of his style. The present volume is divided into four parts. It commences with a summary view of the several revolutions of the Holy Land from the time of Constantine; and an account of the rise and progress of the religious custom of pilgrimages to the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, interspersed with various amusing anecdotes respecting the most illustrious personages who devoted themselves to these pious undertakings. It terminates with the capture of Jerusalem, which formed the close of the first and most glorious of the crusades: "at which time the pious Godfrey, who had abstained from the carnage which succeeded the victory, quitted his companions, and followed by three servants, repaired without arms and barefooted, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

"Raport de Siege de Tarragone," &c. "Report of the Siege of Tarragona, from the Assault and Capture of this place by the French in the month of June, 1811. By General

neral D. F. Senet de Contreras, Field Marshal to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. Governor of the Fortress at the time of the Siege. With details of his Escape from the Fort in which he was imprisoned, and several Observations on the nature, the stratagems, and the resources of the French Government." 8vo. 1813. At the moment in which we are now writing, we mean with the public expectation of a Court-martial speedily about to take place on an English General who thought it adviseable to retreat from before Tarragona, when defended by the French, the present publication possesses a very considerable degree of interest, as it enables us to calculate with some degree of precision the difficulties or facility of obtaining possession of the town and castle from the nature of its fortifications. These General Contreras represents as contemptible, and little able to resist a regular siege. It was originally surrounded by a high and strong wall built by the Romans, which continued till the war of the succession, when it was destroyed, and the present rampart, which is from eight to ten feet thick, and is provided with four bastions, was erected in its place. Towards the close of April, 1811, Suchet appeared before the town with an army consisting of forty thousand foot, and from six to eight thousand horse, having a battering train of a hundred pieces of artillery. By May 4th the place was completely invested, and the water cut off from the town, which is supplied by an aqueduct. On May 29th the French made a desperate attack on Fort Olivo, which they carried after a long and bloody conflict, in which we are here told that the enemy had upwards of 2,000 killed, instead of 250, as stated by Suchet in the public dispatches. June 7th Fort Francolis was captured; and a practicable breach was made in the walls of the town itself on the 28th of the same month, immediately after which it was taken by assault, having stood a siege of nearly two months. The rest of the work is filled up with statements of the grossest deceit and treachery, and the most wilful and barefaced falsehoods on the part of the French Commander, and the accounts of the French Government.

" Traité d'Economie Politique," &c. " Treatise on Political Economy; or an easy Explanation of the manner in which Wealth is created, distributed, and consumed. Second Edition, entirely re-cast, and augmented with a Summary of the fundamental Principles of Political Economy.' By John-Baptist Say." 2 large vols. 8vo. Paris. M. Say is a warm admirer of Adam Smith; and has more clearly explained his sentiments to his countrymen upon the subject in question than they have ever been explained before. In various points he shoots beyond him, but he still confines himself to the same principles, and makes use of the same bow. The body of the work is divided into three parts, following the order of the title as to the mode by which wealth is created, is distributed, and is consumed. It is preceded by a preliminary discourse, in which the author characterizes the nature of the science he proposes to discuss; gives a history of its progress from the earliest times to our own æra; and closes with remarks on its influence, and the results which

which we ought to expect from its proper use and application. He is particularly careful to communicate definite ideas to the technical terms of the science before him, and critically and correctly explains the real meaning of *value, product, money, consumption*, &c. which are too often used in a loose and indeterminate sense, and the genuine and correct signification of which is absolutely necessary to a due comprehension of the subject.

"L'Angleterre au Commencement du 19me Siecle," &c. "England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. By M. de Levis." Vol. I. 8vo. The writer has been a great traveller. By birth an American, for he was born in Canada, and is the son of Marshal Levis, who commanded there before the peace of 1763, he has made the tour of Europe, and has visited and resided amongst the best circles in England five separate times. He is well calculated therefore, it may be supposed, to give a just estimate of the country he has undertaken to describe. Upon the whole, however, he seems chiefly attached to our political constitution: our climate and landscapes, our cities and public buildings, are spoken of with disapprobation or contempt: of the last the only edifices exempt from censure are our hospitals.

"Campagne de Paris en 1814," &c. "The Campaign of Paris in 1814, preceded by that of 1813; or an historical and impartial Account of the events which occurred between the Invasion of France by the Allies, the Capitulation of Paris, and the Abdication of Bonaparte; containing Observations on his Character, and on the Causes of his Rise: compiled from authentic Documents, and the Reports of Eye-witnesses. With a Map of the scene of Operations. By P. F. F. J. Giraud. Third edition: containing the Treaty of the 11th of April, between the Allies and Bonaparte, respecting the island of Elba." 8vo. Paris, 1814. This volume gives a clear and apparently impartial history of those wonderful events of which we have a general, and nothing more than a general idea. It furnishes us with new views of the falsehoods to which Bonaparte for ever had recourse when necessary; of his arrogance to the last, and of his ultimate imprudences, by which he was ruined and lost his throne. During the preparations for the the campaign of 1813, "men of property," observes M. Giraud, "were surprised to read in the papers the offer to government of horses with which they did not intend to part; while conscripts, driven along frequently in chains and in carts, were startled to see in print, that they had quitted their families with enthusiasm to fly to the defence of their country." Prince Marshal Blucher takes the lead by far of the military commanders among the Allies in respect to importance and severity of service; while the transactions of the English army, and the events that occurred at Bourdeaux are duly appreciated as to their importance in compassing the downfall of the tyrant, with a correct and spirited sketch of whose character the work closes.

It was to be expected that the wonderful change which has taken place in France would produce a host of publications complaining bitterly of the late despotism, and evincing the utmost detestation of the

the usurper. The works of this kind that have appeared under the form of sketches, essays, histories, and other titles are very numerous. The following seem to be among the best of them:

"Fuite de Bonaparte," &c. "Bonaparte's Flight from Egypt; a Collection of authentic Documents respecting his desertion of the Army, and the condition in which he left it without Money, Provision, Arms, or Ammunition." 8vo. Paris, 1814.

"Campagne de Moscow," &c. "Campaign of Moscow in 1812: compiled from Official Documents. By R. J. Durdent." 8vo. 1814.

"Histoire du 18me Brumaire," &c. "History of the Eighteenth Brumaire and of Bonaparte. By M. Gallais." 8vo. In this we are amused with specimens of the fulsome compliments paid to Bonaparte on his accession to supreme power. The department de Golo, among other stuff enquires, "Why are you not immortal in a physical as you already are in a moral sense?"

"Bonaparte peint par lui-meme," &c. "Bonaparte delineated by Himself in his Military and Political Career. By M. C. Avocat à la Cour Royale." 8vo.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Germany, Holland, Flanders, Spain, Italy, Poland, and Russia.

THE return of an honourable, and as we trust, permanent peace, has given us an opportunity of renewing our acquaintance with various literary societies on the continent, which reflect credit on the countries to which they belong, and confer benefits on mankind at large.

We shall commence with a brief glance at the French Institute, under which name, with the suppression of the epithet *Imperial*, we suppose this celebrated association is still to be known to the world. On taking a cursory survey of its history and proceedings we cannot but be surprised at, and most truly lament, the heavy loss it has sustained in the course of the last fifteen or sixteen months by the death of several of its most valuable members, more especially of M. Malus, M. Count Lagrange, M. Peter Charles Leveaque, the Abbé Denina, and Count Romford; all of whom have been duly noticed and eulogized in their respective classes of the Institute. Malus had just immortalised himself by his discovery of the singular and interesting laws of the polarization of light; though we ought not to pass by the claim of Dr. Brewster to share the honour of this discovery with him; accident alone, perhaps, having prevented him from taking the lead in laying it before the public. He was also as polite a scholar, as he was a skilful mathematician; and in his earlier life was distinguished for his critical knowledge of the Greek poets, and his own poetical compositions, of which his tragedy, entitled "The Death of Cato," was the most esteemed. Lagrange, the whole of whose long life has been devoted to the career of science, had just finished a work of the highest importance in practical physics under the name of *Mecanique Analytique*, and which promises, in its particular line, to be of almost as much consequence as the *Mecanique Celeste* of M. la Place. Of this valuable work the first volume was published in 1813, and the second was just put to the press when he was arrested from all future labours by the hand of death.

In running over the volumes of the Institute which have now reached us from the year 1810, the chief and most important contributors seem to have been in mathematics and astronomy. La Place, Lagrange, Delambre, Burckhardt, Lacroix,

Lacroix, Legendre, and Monge; in chemistry and physics, Gay, Lussac, Guyton de Morveau, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, and Chaptal; in natural history and physiology, Mirbel, La Billardiere, Bosc, and above all, Cuvier. In our Retrospect for next year we shall endeavour, after having thus introduced these justly celebrated literati before our readers, to give a brief estimate of their respective productions, for which at present we have no space.

We rejoice also that we have again found an opportunity of opening our connection with the distinguished and valuable "Society of Sciences at Haarlem," the sixty-first anniversary meeting of which took place on May 21, 1814. M. D. J. Canter Cannerling, the President, holding the chair. The report for the preceding year is of great length, and proves the society to have been far more active than we had any right to expect, considering the dejected state of the country from the political gloom that hung over it. The prize questions indeed, whether of a physical, mathematical, or literary character, do not appear to have been above half answered; but many of the answers which have been returned discover an ardent love for science, and an indefatigable spirit in its perseverance. Those not replied to are repeated; and among the more important questions for the year 1814, are the following: "To determine by experiment, whether Potash is a product of vegetation, or an absorption by the roots of plants? What circumstances determine the quantity of Potash obtained from plants, and what are the means of obtaining it it with the greatest profit to a country?" 2. "What are the causes of the contagious diseases, which rage most frequently in besieged places? and what the best means which our physical and chemical knowledge indicates to us of preventing or curing them?" 3. "A precise explanation and well-founded critique of the principal theories on the different races of men, and on their most probable origin." 4. "What do we know of the generation and economy of Fishes found in rivers and stagnant waters, and especially those that serve for food? and what are the best means of favouring their multiplication?"

We can notice, and nothing more, that "The Brussels Society for the Encouragement of the *Fine* Arts," has resumed its labours, and proposed a prize question for the four branches of painting, sculpture, architecture, and designing.

The academy of Dijon, whose labours were interrupted by military events, has also resumed them, and proposed as a prize subject for the the year "An Elegy on Louis XVI."

"The Society of Agriculture, Sciences, and Arts for the Department of the North, holding its Sittings at Douay," has in like manner re-commenced its proper objects, and proved its loyalty by stanzas *on the Return of the Royal Family* and *on Peace*, which closed its summer session, and were from the pen of Letenneur.

Among the best articles read before the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen, we have to notice M. Bouterwek's Memoir "*De Justitia Fabulosa*, ad rationem," &c. "On Dramatic Justice, in respect to the Philosophy and Morals of the Greek

Greek Tragedies." The questions to which he has confined his enquiries, and which he has examined with great acuteness and erudition, are, "What is the proper nature of that Divine Justice which in the best Tragedies we possess of Æschylus and Sophocles is so closely connected with the dramatic interest? What is the origin of the ideas which constitute this justice? How far is fable involved in it? What is their general relation to the nature of Tragedy? and whence comes it that Euripides in his dramas has made no use of such ideas?"

Professor Siebel, of Dresden, has just published the twelfth volume of his collection of the "Ancient Historians of Attica," introduced by summary notices, and accompanied with historical and critical observations.

M. Schneider, of Leipsic, has given a new and valuable edition of Oppian. His earlier edition published at Strasburg in 1776, was compiled while he was residing in the same house with the celebrated philologist and counsellor of war M. Brunck. The present edition is enriched by collations with a valuable manuscript copy at Venice, already partially consulted by M. Belin de Balle, and another manuscript copy consulted at Moscow. In opposition to the general opinion, and especially to that of M. Belin, he has undertaken to prove that the author of the poem on *The Chase* is a different person from the author of the poem *On Fishing*, and that the first is of a later date than the second. In this he adopts the opinion of M. Hæries: *in his Introit. in Hist. L. G.* in. 1. and *Fabricius. Bibl. Gr.* Vol. VI. He contends that the author of the poem on Fishing was born at Corycus, in Cilicia, under the joint reign of Marcus Antoninus and of his son Commodus; while the writer of the poem on the Chase was born at Apamea, in Syria, and flourished during the reign of Caracalla, the son of Severus.

"Ensayo Historico-Critico sobre la Antiqua Legislacion y Principales Cuerpos Legales de los reynos de Leon y Castilla," &c. "Historical and Critical Treatise on the ancient Constitution and chief Legal Bodies of the Kingdoms of Leon and Castille; especially on the Code of Alphonso the Wise. By Don Francisco Martinez Marina." Madrid. 4to. p. 450. This valuable republication of Marina took place before the return of Ferdinand VII. or it is easy to see that it would not have taken place at all. The object of the Treatise is to give an historical account of the constitution of Castille before the middle of the thirteenth century; to relate the efforts of Alonzo the Wise, and of his father St. Ferdinand for the correction of its municipal laws; and to make an analysis of the *Partidas*, as the Code of Alphonso was denominated, shewing in what it deviated from the ancient law and usage of Spain, and in what manner it was corrupted by an absurd imitation of the canon and of the civil law. No country in Europe, by its original constitution, possessed a greater portion of freedom than Spain: the king had no power over the municipal laws, or those which appertained to the different provinces or principalities. No duties, except those specified in their charters, could be exacted from communities by the crown, unless they were granted in Cortes

or

or associate bodies, by the *procuradores*, or deputies there assembled. The law establishing this important privilege was passed in the Cortes of Medina del Campo in 1328, not many years after the celebrated English statute *De Tallagio non Concedendo*; and it is a curious fact that this law, though violated in practice, was still retained in the Spanish *Recopilacion* till the reign of Charles IV. when it was expunged in the insolence of despotism within a few years of that revolution, which precipitated the degraded monarch from his throne, and paved the way for a restoration of their original constitution to the Spanish nation, although, alas! only for a second overthrow.

"Biblioteca Espagnola Economico-Politica." "Compilations on the Political Economy of Spain. By Don Juan Sempere y Guarinos." 12mo. Madrid. We notice this publication in connection with the preceding, having omitted to insert them in the antecedent chapter, to which they rather belong. The early history of the poor and of the poor-laws in Spain bears a wonderful resemblance to those of our own country, as collected from the work before us. Before the sixteenth century we find laws enacted against vagrants and sturdy beggars. In 1523 the impotent poor were prohibited by a law enacted in Cortes, from begging beyond the limits of their township. The number of idle vagabonds and impostors still increasing, in 1530 deputies or commissaries were appointed in every town to look after the poor, and a royal proclamation was issued in 1540, directing that the laws against beggars and vagrants should be rigidly executed. Great care was ordered at the same time to be taken of the hospitals and other charitable foundations of the country; in consequence of which they took the care of the poor into their own hands, and provided voluntary funds for this purpose: this in 1565 was succeeded by the legal appointment of overseers: in 1578 the erection of work-houses was proposed; and in 1598 the proposal carried into execution.

"Notice sur la Vie et les Principaux Ouvrages de M. l'Abbé Denina," &c. "Notice of the Life and principal Works of the Abbé Denina, Librarian to his Majesty the Emperor and King, and to the Academy of Turin," &c. This tribute to the memory of a man of well known worth and science does credit to the Journal des Sciences, in which it occurs for January 1814. Denina was born at Revel in 1731. He assumed the clerical habit at an early age, as one of his uncles had the gift of a benefice: he at first engaged in the education of youth in Piedmont, but from his rising talents was soon raised to different chairs of literature both ancient and modern in the Turin university. His publications were very numerous and upon a great variety of subjects. The best of them entitled "*Delle Revoluzioni d'Italia.*" "History of the Revolutions of Italy," in twenty-four books, published originally at Turin in 1768, was ascribed by his enemies to the Abbé Costa d'Arignan, a well known literary character, afterwards Archbishop of Turin and Cardinal: a charge, however, from which he easily freed himself. Being of an independent cast of mind, he was occasionally involved with

with those who were jealous of him in political and theological disputes, some of which were conducted with considerable acrimony, but he always found both protection and consolation in his patrons, Charles Emanuel and Victor Amadeus, successive kings of Sardinia, who justly appreciated his talents, and at length he was so strongly invited to pursue his literary career at a remote distance from his exacerbated antagonists by Frederick II. of Prussia, that, with the consent of his own sovereign, who at the same time gave him the title of his honorary librarian, and that of Ernestus professor of the university of Turin, he removed to Berlin. This transaction, if we recollect aright, took place in 1782, the date, however, is not mentioned in the summary before us. In this asylum he collected the materials for his "History of the Revolutions of Germany," which he intended to have dedicated to his new royal patron, but was prevented by the death of Frederick before its completion. He paid, however, his debt of gratitude by an "*Essai sur la Vie de ce Prince*," and an "*Histoire Abrégée des Hommes qui se sont fait un nom dans les Sciences, ou dans les Lettres, pendant son regne.*" In 1814 he was induced to visit Paris, where he was nominated imperial librarian by Bonaparte. He from this time resided in France, having already reached the age of seventy-three; still continuing occasionally to issue other publications, though he chiefly confined himself to perfecting several of his earlier life, especially his "Revolutions of Italy and Germany." In November 1813 he was attacked with a fit of palsy which deprived him of speech, and apparently of all sense of pain, in which state he continued for fifteen days, and then expired; having maintained a most wonderful calm and self-possession in the midst of a variety of storms and hurricanes both public and private, to which he was exposed, as well by his peculiar circumstances as by the transitions of the world around him. His separate edited works amount to thirty-three, besides his contributions to the Berlin academy, which amount to fourteen. He was fond of philology, and of tracing the origin and connection of languages: and hence, among his academical papers, we find, among other subjects, "Essays on the difference of Languages; on the Origin of the German; of the Celtic; on the Greek, Sclavonian, and Teutonic Origin of the Latin; on the genuine Origin of the Italian; on the Origin of the French and Spanish; and on the Origin of the English."

"Monumens Français Inedits," &c. "Unpublished French Monuments, in relation to the History of the Arts, of Civil and Military Usages, Arms, Heraldry, Musical Instruments, Moveables of every kind, interior Decorations of Houses, &c. designed, engraved, and coloured from originals. By N. X. Willemin," &c. Paris. 13th and 14th fascicles. An elegant and interesting work, well executed and worthy of patronage.

"Kritischer Versuch zur Anfhlörung de Byzantinischen Chronologia," &c. "Critical Essay for settling the Byzantine Chronology, and illustrating the ancient History of Russia. By P. Krug. Published by the Imperial Academy of

Sciences." 8vo. The history of Byzantium has of late years occupied the attention of various writers of character. It was lately made a prize question by the French Institute, and has since been very ably followed up by Professor Schlosser of Frankfort on the Maine. M. Schlosser finishes with Michael III. in 807. M. Krug's Essay may be regarded as a continuation of this performance. It commences at the period before us, and continues to the ninth and partly to the tenth century. M. Schlosser is the pleasantest and most polished writer; M. Krug the most exact and critical. His work offers a fund of well established facts and dates of Greek and Russian chronologies which cannot fail to be of high importance to future historians: and we much wish to see the present work continued to the era of the crusades.

At Berlin Professor Kuks has published an "*Essay on the Propedeutics* of Historical Study." It is a work of considerable research and profundity. By *propedeutics* the author means *auxiliary sciences*; which he considers under six distinct heads, a separate chapter being allotted to each. These are history and arrangement; acquisitions necessary to the study of history, as philology, philosophy, and diplomacy; the fundamental and elementary sciences of history, as chronology, geography, ethnology, genealogy, and heraldry; the critical sciences of history, as historic documents, and their relative value, including coins and medals; historic composition; the sixth chapter containing a brief sketch of the history of historic study.

"Buch de Kabus oder Zehren," &c. "The Book of Kabus; or Lessons of Caeus, King of Persia, addressed to his Son Ghilan-Shah. Translated from the Turkish, and accompanied with Dissertations and Notes. By M. Fr. De Diez, formerly Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Prussia to the Ottoman Court." 8vo. Berlin. The *Cabus-Nameh* is an admirable book of moral offices, in which a virtuous prince instructs his son in all the duties that belong to the different ranks of social life, from the monarch to the meanest artizan. The preliminary disquisitions are three; on the intention of the Cabus-Nameh, the dynasty of the Dalemiter, and critical remarks upon the book itself. We should like to see this work in an English dress.

"Essai Critique sur la Topographie de Syracuse," &c. "Critical History on the Topography of Syracuse at the commencement of the Fifth Century before the common era, as a Manual to various ancient Authors, and especially the different Editions and Translations of Thucydides. With a Map. By A. Letronne." 8vo. This is incapable of abridgment. M. Letronne has been induced to extend his thoughts to this subject, in consequence of considerable approbation having been bestowed on a preceding memoir of his on the same subject, read before the third class of the National Institute.

"Dictionaire Chinois, François et Latin: par M. De Guignes," &c. "Chinese, French, and Latin Dictionary. By M. De Guignes, French Resident at China," &c. Paris, 1813, large folio; printed at the royal press. This highly valuable work has so long been expected and promised

promised that many scholars began to believe there was no real foundation to expect it. The fact now appears to be that M. De Guignes during a residence of nearly seventeen years in China, sent home from time to time examples for the present purpose, which were carefully preserved by the Minister of the Interior: yet after his return in 1801, the French government were strangely afraid of engaging in a Chinese dictionary; and under the influence of fear sent for a foreigner from London (we suppose Dr. Hager), and proposed to him to undertake the work in his own name, but at the government expense. This person, after a residence of four years at Paris, was found inefficient. Another foreigner was proposed in 1808; but the Minister Cratet surmounted the terrors of his predecessor, and most justly appointed M. de Guignes to superintend his own labours. The present magnificent and bulky work is therefore the result. It takes the order of the keys, and not of the sounds, a most judicious regulation. The introductory dissertation we should like to see translated, as a separate essay, into our own tongue.

We are glad to find that a good dictionary of the Polish language is now just completed at Warsaw, extending to six volumes quarto. It is the production of M. Bogumila Linde, and embraces all the Sclavonian and German dialects. It has been published at the sole expence of the author, who is excellently qualified for the undertaking. The first volume made its appearance in 1807.

"*Dictionaire du Mauvaise Language*," &c. "Dictionary of Bad Language. By M. Roland, of Lyons." This is a curious but fanciful work. The author has amused himself with forming an alphabetical collection of low and vicious provincial expressions and forms of speech in colloquial use, and has added a correction of them after the academy and the best writers. This playful piece of criticism is limited to a hundred copies, and is not exposed to sale.

"Prospectus d'une Edition de Fragmens," &c. "Prospectus of an Edition of very ancient Fragments of the Iliad of Homer, accompanied with coloured Prints. By Angelo Majo, Professor of Oriental Languages in the Ambrosian Library at Milan." The professors of the Ambrosian college have long been known to be in possession of a very ancient but imperfect manuscript of the Iliad, illustrated with exquisitely beautiful paintings. This by the indefatigable industry of M. Majo, is now about to be offered to the public, and is preceded by the present Prospectus, which enumerates most feelingly the difficulties he has had to cope with, and informs us that the work will exhibit fifty-eight paintings, and the whole of the text, except the third, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth books, which are irrecoverably lost.

In Sweden we perceive that M. Geyer, Historical Professor at Upsala, is labouring at a translation of the entire dramas of Shakespeare. Macbeth has already appeared, and affords a favourable specimen.

"Illustrazione di un Vasa Italo-Greca." "Explanation of an Italian-Greek Vase in the Museum of his Grace the Archbishop of Tarentum," 4to. Naples. This is a very learned

learned and curious disertation of M. Angelo-Antonio Scotti, in eight chapters, upon a valuable and magnificent vase in the Museum of Tarentum, discovered at St. Agata de Goti. Lanzi proposed to call it the Vase of St. Agatha; but our author, as its origin is not known, prefers calling it "The Italian Greek Vase."

"Delle tre Sontuose Capelle Medicee situate nell' Imp. Basilica di S. Laurence," &c. "On the Three Sumptuous Chapels of the Medici, situated in the Imperial Palace of St. Laurence. By the Canon Dominico Moreni." 8vo. Florence. 1813. The Palace of St. Lorenzo is of a very remote antiquity. Its chief and most celebrated ornaments are the three chapels here referred to, distinguished from each other by the names of the chapel of the princes, or of the tombs, called also the new sacristy; the sacristy of hard stone; and the old sacristy: the first is the work of Michael Angelo, whose taste is here defended against the attack of Frezart, De Piles, and Milizia. It was constructed by order and at the expense of Leo X. who was formerly a Canon of St. Laurence, for the purpose of receiving the remains of his brother Giulio, and his nephew Lorenzo. The chapel or sacristy of hard stone, is of unrivalled magnificence. Cosmo I. planned it, and, as it is said, for the purpose of receiving the body of our Saviour, whom Facardin, Grand Emir of the Druses, boasted of being able to carry off from the capital of Judea, and of conveying to Florence; but more probably intended as a vault for this prince and his family. The old sacristy was founded by Giovanni d'Averardo de Medici, surnamed Bicci, father of Cosmo Antico; its architect was Brunnelesco: it is a repository of various monuments highly celebrated for their beauty, and highly interesting for their history. The work before us is therefore curious and valuable, and discovers a cultivated taste, and deep knowledge of paleology.

"Della Zecca et delle Monete de Pistria," &c. "Letter on the Mint and Coins of Pistria. By Giorgio Viani," &c. 8vo. Pisa, 1813. The study of ancient medals has occupied the attention of the most celebrated antiquaries; and it is only necessary to turn the eye to the *Bibliotheca Numismatica* of Lipsius, to observe the variety of works, dissertations, and essays, to which it has given rise. The subject, however, is not yet exhausted, though the more important points are settled. The numismatics of the middle age open still a vast field to the lovers of this department of science, and has been strongly recommended by Muratori. M. Viani has already proved himself an industrious labourer in this vineyard, by prior publications. The letter before us is addressed to the Abbé Sebastiano Ciampi, Professor of Literature in the Pisa Academy, and is designed to prove that Pistria was at an early period in possession of a mint and of coins of its own, in opposition to various antiquaries who have doubted this fact, and to offer copies of several of them.

"Le Sirene. Poemetto di Onafrio Gargiulli," &c. "The Sirens. A Poem: by Onafrio Gargiulli, Professor of Literature." Naples. 8vo. 1814. The author is a Greek Neapolitan, possessing a thorough knowledge of the clasic writers. He has already given a metrical version

of

of Lycophron; to which, indeed, the present poem in some respects owes its origin, for the traditions preserved by the Greek poet respecting these fabulous beings. The view of the Cape, which still bears the name of *the Sirens*, and particularly the story of the Siren Parthenope, from whom Naples is fabled to have sprung, has directed his attention to the subject of his poem, and altogether laid a foundation for it. It is agreeably treated in two cantos.

"Uebêr die Gedichte des Hesiodus, ihren Ursprung," &c. "Essay on the Poems of Hesiod, their origin and connection with those of Homer. By Frederick Thiersch." 4to. 1813. Our author here attempts for Hesiod that which M. Wolf has so admirably accomplished for Homer. He regards the Poems of Hesiod, or rather those ascribed to Hesiod, as posterior to those of Homer, whom he places about the tenth century before the Christian era. He conceives, however, that the Homeric hymns are a much later production, and cannot be referred to a higher period than between the seventh and ninth; and he conceives Hesiod to have flourished in this latter era; supporting his opinions by grammatical constructions, and peculiar senses ascribed to peculiar words, not known to the Greeks till after the age of Homer; as also by the use of terms found in both these writings, but neither in the Iliad or Odyssey.

The continent has been in too disturbed a state for the production of any very high degrees of dramatic genius; and we look in vain to the French stage for any piece of considerable merit; in this respect the Theatre Français, that of de l'Opera Comique, the Odéon, and the Vaudeville, are on a par. The first was opened in January with a comedy in five acts, called "Fouquet," which did not prove successful: the chief piece brought forward in the second is "L'Hotîtier de Paimpol," an opera in three acts: in the third, "Le Méfiant," a verse comedy, in five acts.

Madame de Montolieu, a name well known in our own country, has been a considerable contributor to the romances of the continent for the current year. In three volumes she has given us the following, "Le Chalet des Hautes Alpes." "Deux Feullets du Journal de ma Vie." "Gustave ou Amore et Silence." "Freres et Sôleurs.' "Les Aveux d'un Mysogyne, ou 'L'Enemie des Femmes." From Mad. Simon Caudeille, Bathilde, regne de France, with two engravings by Girodet; and under the title of "Contes Nouveaux, sans Preface, sans Notes, et sans Pretensions;" "New Tales, without Preface, without Notes, and without Pretensions;" we have met with an anonymous novel which probably unfolds stories of real life.

THE END.

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